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The Jesuits of the Middle United States

by

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PART III (*Continued*)

JESUIT GROWTH IN THE MIDDLE WEST: THE
FIFTIES AND SIXTIES

CHAPTER XIX

THE RESIDENCES

§ I. PAROCHIAL RESIDENCES AND THEIR SCOPE

Colleges and Indian missions did not by any means circumscribe the field of labor of the Jesuits of the Middle West. No small measure of their zeal and energy went into the channel of the parochial ministry especially in the small establishments technically called residences. A residence in the Jesuit sense of the term is a house of the Society serving neither as seminary, college, nor novitiate, but as headquarters for a group of fathers engaged, in most instances, in the exercise of the sacred ministry. Residences should normally owe their origin to the generosity of a benefactor or founder, who provides in their behalf the necessary grounds and buildings. Modern conditions, however, have made this conception of a Jesuit residence impracticable, especially in the United States. As a matter of fact, the residences of the restored Society of Jesus have been generally built up on the slenderest of means and at the price of continued labor and sometimes great sacrifices on the part of the fathers. In return for sacrifices thus undergone the Society secures convenient bases of operation for a ministry very dear to it, the immediate care of souls. "The chief ministries of the Society," so the Jesuit rule declares, "are the following: with a view to the defense and propagation of the faith and the advancement of souls in the life and doctrine of Christ, to preach and lecture to the public and exercise any ministry whatsoever of God's word; to give the spiritual exercises; to instruct children and the ignorant in Christian doctrine; to hear the confessions of the faithful and administer to them the other sacraments; to practice works of charity according as God's greater glory and the common good shall dictate."¹

¹ *Epitome Instituti Societatis Jesu* (Rome, 1924), p. 17. The parochial ministry or the care of parishes is forbidden to Jesuits by the letter of their Constitutions. The normal Jesuit church is of the type known as "collegiate," which affords the fathers opportunity for preaching and administering the sacraments of penance and the Holy Eucharist, but involves no parochial obligations. But this type of church is now rare in English-speaking countries, in which the Jesuits, conforming to general practice, find it necessary to have parishes, if they are to engage in the sacred ministry at all.

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The extent to which the midwestern Jesuits sought to realize this ideal of many-sided apostolic endeavor thus set before them in their Institute may be gathered from an enumeration of the residences or quasi-residences, Indian missions apart, which they administered for a greater or less period of time. These include St. Charles, Mo. (1828); Florissant, Mo. (1832); Portage des Sioux, Mo. (1835); Westphalia, Mo. (1838); Washington, Mo. (1838); St. Michel, La. (1840); Westport, Mo. (1840); Taos, Mo. (1844); Marshall, Mo. (1845); St. Francis Xavier on the Willamette, Oregon (1844); St. Joseph's, St. Louis, Mo. (1846); Chillicothe, Ohio (1847); Cahokia, Ill. (1847); Newport, Ky. (1848); Dardenne, Mo. (1848); Browns Grove (White Oak), Ohio (1848); Green Bay, Wis. (1849); Manitowoc Rapids, Wis. (1851); Milwaukee, Wis. (1855); Normandy, Mo. (1855); Chicago, Ill. (1857). Of these residences, two of which, Milwaukee and Chicago, evolved into colleges, only five remain in possession of the midwestern Jesuits today (1938), the rest having passed into the hands of the diocesan clergy.

Though circumstances justified or seemed to justify the establishment of these various centers of ministerial activity, the multiplication of so many petty residences, many of them manned by only a single father, had disadvantages which did not escape the notice of the Father Generals. In the early forties Father Roothaan was urging the Maryland Province to disencumber itself of parishes and parochial residences, thereby setting men free for the colleges or for the urgently important work of "itinerant missions," very inadequately organized in the United States if at all. In 1849 he was advising Father Elet to give up Dardenne and Portage des Sioux and certain other stations if opportunity offered. The latter made bold to demur. "Your Paternity has told me to surrender [parochial] posts to the secular clergy whenever the Catholics (always the minority) ask for it. And what is to be done with the churches and presbyteries built at our expense?"² The reason here alleged for retaining the parishes had no weight with Father Roothaan. "What the Society did [in this regard]," he replied, "it did for the good of the faithful and for the Greater Glory of God."³ In 1850 Elet did contrive to pass Dardenne over to the Archbishop of St. Louis. "Would to God," was Father Roothaan's comment on the transaction, "that you could rid yourself of so many [other] missions or parishes, which are causing the ruin of the Province."⁴

When Father Murphy arrived in St. Louis in the summer of 1851 in the capacity of successor to Father Elet, he brought with him explicit

² Elet à Roothaan, January 14, 1850. (AA).

³ Roothaan à Elet, 1850. (AA).

⁴ Roothaan à Elet, October 8, 1850. (AA).

instructions from the General on the subject of parochial residences. "No steps are to be taken towards opening any new house or college or residence, and indeed this matter was recently safeguarded by a formal precept. Parishes or stations are to be given up when and where the bishops can be induced to accept them. Nor is it to be objected that these stations have been founded by the Society with great outlay of labor and money." Father Murphy began his administration as vice-provincial by withdrawing the Jesuit priests charged at the time with the parishes of Chillicothe and White Oak in Ohio and Newport in Kentucky. Having learned that Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati was displeased with the measure, he wrote to that prelate August 30, 1851:

I regret exceedingly that circumstances did not admit of my having a private interview with Your Grace at New York, which would probably have rendered this letter unnecessary. The dangerous state of R. F. [Reverend Father] Elet, already despaired of, obliged me to hasten on, instead of awaiting your arrival in Cincinnati. It has pleased Heaven to spare him up to this time, and it is to be hoped that we shall soon have to thank God for his recovery. Father Carrell having informed me by letter of Your Grace's displeasure at the arrangements in regard to *Chillicothe* and *Browns Grove*, [White Oak], from both of which places we are compelled to withdraw our missionaries, I communicated the matter to Father Elet, as being better able to afford the necessary explanation. I learn from him that Father Gleizal, who performed the Provincial visitation in his stead, had apprised the V.[icar] General Rev. E. Purcell of the removal from Chillicothe and that he had consented to it without difficulty. As to Father Weber's leaving, Father Elet remembers having obtained Your Grace's personal approbation. In truth, Most Reverend Sir, these disagreeable measures are unavoidable in our present circumstances, which I beg leave to state fully. 1. Since your departure, nearly a dozen German and Swiss priests have been recalled to Europe or transferred to Maryland. Missions in Missouri and Illinois have been necessarily given up, and as to the Indian Missions, we cannot find two Fathers for Bishop Miége. 2. Positive orders have been repeatedly given to call home those who are *alone* in any station. The General is very pressing on this head. 3. He directs us to strain every nerve in order to enable our young men to complete their studies, and as a first move in this matter, we have been ordered to send several to Georgetown. This obliges us to take wherever we can find them such of our priests as are fit for colleges, otherwise we cannot do justice to our students, nor to our professional obligations. 4. I have been personally directed to press the execution of these points, as of vital importance, nay of conscientious exigence.⁵

In 1852 Father Murphy returned to Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago the parishes of Cahokia and French Village in St. Clair County,

⁵ Murphy to Purcell, August 30, 1851. Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, Ohio.

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Illinois, which had been cared for by the Jesuits since 1847. Circumstances, however, were not to render it possible for him to carry out to the extent that he desired the program of suppressing the smaller parochial residences. But he came all along to be regarded as an open and avowed advocate of this policy in accordance with the instructions issued to him by Father Roothaan. Not, however, that he was out of sympathy with the parochial ministry or would deny it altogether to the men of his jurisdiction; but he saw the necessity of restricting it within the bounds prescribed by the rule and historical practice of the Society. "Residences are as much a need as colleges," he observes to Father Roothaan in 1853; "but if it is necessary to use so many precautions in America to maintain discipline in regularly organized religious communities, what unseemly things are not to be found among those little groups of two or three Fathers with a Brother or two, to say nothing of isolated missionaries. Soon the Jesuit becomes the good curé (*le bon curé*)."⁶

From the time of Father Elet a difference of opinion, more apparent, however, than real, had showed itself in regard to the relative importance of the colleges and the parishes. Favoring the colleges as a field of endeavor offering greater prospects for achieving the avowed purposes of the Society, were, among others, Fathers Murphy and Gleizal, while among the ardent advocates of the parochial ministry were to be found especially the pioneer members of the Jesuit group, as Fathers Elet, De Smet, Verhaegen, and with them Fathers Weninger and Damen. It was argued on the one hand that the fathers withdrawn from the parishes could be employed to better advantage in the colleges or in conducting missionary revivals up and down the country; that the hierarchy would be pleased with this surrender of the parishes; finally, that a life according to the demands of the Jesuit rule could not be adequately safeguarded in the minor residences. On the other hand it was urged that the bishops (for the lack of priests) were not in a position to take over the parishes that might be offered them; that a vast deal of spiritual good was being effected in the parishes, the good effected in the colleges being negligible in comparison; finally, that the parish churches and rectories had been built at the expense of the Society. What Father Roothaan thought of this last consideration has been seen above. As to complaints over the proposed surrender of the German residences in Missouri, he answered that they would be relinquished only if diocesan priests were found to take them in hand. This, he explained, was also Father Murphy's understanding of the matter. "I have urged that

⁶ Murphy à Roothaan, April 1, 1853. (AA).

the smaller residences be dropped only according as the bishops are willing to accept and provide for them.”⁷

Under Father Beckx the still unsettled question of the smaller residences again came to the fore. His attitude in regard to it could not be expected to differ from that of his predecessor nor did it. In 1857 he expressed to the vice-provincial, Father Druyts, his surprise at seeing listed in the register of the vice-province three times as many petty residences as houses organized in keeping with the requirements of the Institute. “In small residences or parishes, as experience shows, it is very difficult to preserve for any length of time the religious spirit proper to our vocation.”⁸ The comment which these words evoked from Father Druyts, while not reflecting on the wisdom of the course now urged by the Father General, is significant as pointing to the spirit of apostolic zeal which had occasioned the excessive multiplication of parochial residences. “We are not unaware that the proper spirit of our vocation can be better preserved in houses organized according to the norm of our Institute. But who can look on indifferently and see such a rich harvest lost for lack of harvesters?”⁹ In the event it was only at a much later period that the policy of reducing the number of residences could be effectually carried out. In Father Beckx’s time by far the greater number of fathers at work in the Middle West were in favor of retaining these vantage points for the exercise of the sacred ministry, the cession of which to the diocesan authorities was advocated by only a few.

Conspicuous among the defenders of the residences was Father De Smet. The sympathies of this remarkable man were at all times with the workers in the parishes and with the missionaries, the Indian missionaries especially. Jesuit educational activities in the United States or elsewhere did not particularly appeal to him nor could he in any proper sense of the term be called a “college man.” In January, 1855, he wrote to the General: “Our German and Belgian Fathers labor certainly with much fruit and zeal in these different Residences and Missions. Those who are engaged in them could not for the most part render greater services to religion in our Colleges. It would be a great misfortune for

⁷ “Surrender of certain posts to the secular clergy. This is not to be understood of all the posts we occupy, but only of particular cases where, in making the cession, one would see an evident advantage from the standpoint of the good of souls; a case, for instance, such as that which has presented itself, so it has been told me, at St. Charles, where the faithful have asked for a secular priest, which the Archbishop was disposed to grant them.” Roothaan à Elet, March 18, 1850. (AA). According to Elet the request made by the parishioners at St. Charles had come from a minority. Elet à Roothaan, January 14, 1850. (AA).

⁸ Beckx ad Druyts, October 3, 1857. (AA).

⁹ Druyts ad Beckx, November 16, 1857. (AA).

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our Society to abandon these Residences. I add this last remark, as several of our Fathers speak about doing so." Again, in the same year, 1855, he wrote: "Nothing of the little we possess in Missouri should be abandoned by us. The good Fathers employed in those German missions do certainly an immense deal of good and could, very probably, not as well be employed in colleges to promote the glory of God. Yesterday, Bishop Carrell, who confirmed hundreds of their parishioners, declared to me 'that nowhere he had felt so much consolation, neither had he found better Catholics.'" In January of the following year, 1856, when steps seemed about to be taken to close the residence of St. Francis Borgia in Washington, Missouri, he expressed in a letter to Father Beckx the pain which "this measure would bring to most of the Fathers, especially such as had labored in those parts for more than thirty years." Still again in the same year he made known to the Father General how deeply he disapproved of the surrender of the residences:

Reverend Father Provincial [Murphy], ever since he has been in Missouri, has very often repeated and said openly that the Society in America needs only colleges with churches attached to them. He even declared in presence of the Vicar-General of the Archbishop [of St. Louis] his intention of suppressing all our residences, commencing with the German ones. He avows that he has always had an invincible dislike for the residences and he has certainly done little, not to say nothing, for their success. All his predecessors for the last thirty-five years have been of a very different opinion and would have increased the number had they possessed the necessary personnel. The effect which this sort of opposition on his part (in which he stands alone or almost alone) has produced in the Vice-Province has been to discourage a considerable number who had very different desires, (namely) the spirit of the missions, when they left their native land to enter the Society in America. In point of fact the residences and missions render and have always rendered the greatest service to religion in these parts. They keep thousands of poor Catholic families in the Faith, while conversions among the Protestants are often very consoling. On the other hand, the colleges are without doubt necessary and we should have to create them if they did not exist; yet such is the moral condition of the country that few young people who go forth from them persevere in the holy practices of religion. I have heard this remark a number of times from the mouths of several bishops. I think, before the Lord and for His glory, that it is absolutely necessary to keep and even increase in number, if the thing be possible, the Residences and Missions as also the itinerant missionaries [*les missionnaires itinérants*] according to the spirit of our holy Rules and Constitutions.¹⁰

As to Father De Smet's unfavorable estimate of the results achieved by the colleges, there will be occasion to appraise its accuracy when the

¹⁰ De Smet à Beckx, March 12, 1856. (A). As to Father Murphy's real opinion on the residences, cf. *supra*, p. 4.

topic of Jesuit education in the West presents itself for particular treatment. Here it will be enough to contrast the missionary's views regarding the parishes with those expressed on the same subject by a contemporary of his, Father Gleizal, master of novices and rector at Florissant, whose admirably written letters addressed in the capacity of consultor to the Father General are replete with illuminating detail. Under date of June 10, 1855, he suggested various measures looking towards a higher level of efficiency in the work of the midwestern Jesuits. One of these was the closing of certain parochial residences in central Missouri.

To abandon the three residences of St. Francis Xavier (Cole County), Saint Francis De [*sic*] Borgia (Washington, Franklin Co.) and New Westphalia (all in Missouri). At a stroke we should thus have at our disposition six or seven Fathers, who could help out elsewhere. Note that these country residences are nothing else but parishes like those in Europe, with succursal (churches), so that our Fathers live therein like good curés (*comme de bons curés*), exposed like them to the dangers of a non-community and secular life, as experience shows only too often. The idea of thus resigning these parishes into the hands of the Bishop had indeed occurred long ago to your predecessor of holy memory. He wrote at the time to the Provincial to proceed to this effect; I mean, to turn these parishes over to the Bishop, but slowly and in a way not to cause his Lordship any embarrassment. Now, far from displeasing the Bishop, I am persuaded that this measure would please him. "And let no one say," added Very Reverend Father Roothaan, "that the Vice-Province has incurred great expenses in these parishes; these expenses the Society always incurs A.M.D.G." The fear besetting those who oppose the cession of these parishes is, that the Bishop having everything in his own hands, we shall soon be set aside and have nothing to do. A vain fear, it seems to me, since besides our colleges and urban residences, there is a demand on all sides for itinerant missionaries. Look at Father Weninger. Has he not more work than he can do? Suppose even that the Fathers resident in these parishes can make themselves of very little use elsewhere; at least, we should not have to replace them in case of death or infirmity.¹¹

Eleven years later the first provincial of Missouri, Ferdinand Coosemans, was recurring to Father Gleizal's proposal that the German parishes in the interior of Missouri, which still remained in Jesuit hands, be given up. "In view of the fact that many bishops offer us German or Bohemian parishes, as in Chicago, Covington, Toledo, Cleveland, where the harvest would be much more abundant than in our little stations in Missouri, I proposed in the last consultation to offer to the Archbishop [of St. Louis], with the approbation of your Paternity, the German missions of Washington and Westphalia, with their stipendiaries [stipends or honoraria], in order to employ our Fathers in

¹¹ Gleizal à Beckx, June 10, 1855. (AA).

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the large towns *ad magnam Dei gloriam*. To this the consultants agreed, not excepting Father De Smet."¹² But it was not until about a quarter of a century later and more that Washington and Westphalia finally passed out of Jesuit hands, so difficult a matter was it to part with these historic and cherished centers of ministerial endeavor. With their passing closed the long chapter of the movement against the smaller residences inaugurated some forty years before by Father Roothaan with the sympathy and vigorous support of the Missouri superior, Father Murphy. That so many scattered petty parochial stations had come to be manned by the Jesuits of the West was an obvious testimony to the fulness of their apostolic zeal; but it was withal a development by no means conducive to the best interests of the body or to the efficacy in general of its endeavors. The familiar saying, "Ignatius loves the great cities" (*magnas Ignatius amat urbes*), expresses the fact that the Jesuit's professional quest of the greater glory of God leads him to labor by preference amid the crowded haunts of men. Pioneer conditions in the United States might have made it desirable for him to burden himself for a period with the labors of the rural ministry; but with the passing of those conditions the role of country pastor became less suited to him, less in keeping with the specific tasks which the Society of Jesus, in accordance with the great principle of the differentiation in the Church of apostolic effort, feels itself called upon to undertake.

§ 2. WASHINGTON IN MISSOURI

The large influx of German immigrants into certain of the eastern counties of Missouri in the thirties of the nineteenth century was due in part to an alluring book of travel and description written by Gottfried Duden. Duden was a German prospector, who lived during the years 1824-1827 on a farm near the Missouri River in the present Warren County. He pictured life in Missouri as idyllic with the result that "*das Dudensche Idyll*" was effective in attracting numerous German settlers to that part of the United States.¹³

¹² Coosemans à Beckx, November 24, 1866. (AA). In a consultation held in St. Louis in 1860, the Visitor, Father Sopranis, being present, the general sentiment was in favor of giving up the German parishes in the interior of Missouri.

¹³ *Berichte über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri (in den Jahren 1824, 1825, 1826 und 1827) in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Uebevölkerung etc., etc.* (1829). Translation in *Missouri Historical Review*, XII. For an account of Duden's book and its effect on German immigration to Missouri, cf. Allen B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (1909), 1441 et seq. Duden's farm of two hundred and seventy acres was above the Femme Osage River in Warren County, and in the immediate neighborhood of the land on which Daniel Boone lived from 1795 to 1804. It was only a few miles north of Washington, Mo.

At least one of the party of emigrants who left their homes in Oster-Kappeln and Belen in Hanover on July 25, 1833, festival of St. James, the Apostle, was familiar with Duden's book. The party, consisting of twelve Catholic families and some Protestant ones, took ship together with the design of forming a settlement somewhere in the wilds of America. From New Orleans they ascended the Mississippi to St. Louis, where they awaited a steamer that was to take them up the Illinois River. They had already boarded the boat when a Catholic member of the group, observing that the craft was overfreighted, with the travellers' baggage piled up on the open deck exposed to wind and rain, declined to remain on board. The other Catholics followed his example and disembarked. They found themselves, as a consequence, separated at a stroke from the Protestant section of the projected colony, which now put off without them. The Catholic emigrants waited in vain in St. Louis for another boat bound for the Illinois. At length, impatient to be off, they took passage on a Missouri River steamer, apparently with no fixed destination in view, but strong in the hope that Providence would find some happy issue to their protracted travels. As they voyaged upstream, one of the party bethought himself of a town called Marthasville in Warren County, Missouri, of which he had read in Gottfried Duden's book. Thereupon they all agreed to go ashore at Marthasville. But, as the Latin chronicler of these incidents is at pains to comment, a kindly Providence intervened a second time in behalf of the exiles and diverted their course from this settlement, which was to acquire some unpleasant notoriety in subsequent years on the score of freemasonry and irreligion. The steamer was already at Marthasville when the captain advised the travellers to land on the opposite shore as night was fast coming on and they would be sure of shelter in a tavern that stood close to the river-bank. The keeper of the tavern was a German Protestant, Charles Iberius by name, the earliest recorded inhabitant of Washington, Missouri. Iberius, with his business partner, Bernard Fricke, welcomed the strangers and lodged them temporarily in a large out-building that had been used as a smoke-house. Here the twelve families spent the winter of 1833-1834. When spring came, they took up and began to cultivate small tracts of land, all within a radius of four or five miles.¹⁴

¹⁴ *Historia Residentiae Washingtonensis, 1833-1886*. (A). A Latin year by year chronicle of the Washington residence, the earlier part compiled apparently by Father Seisl. This has been the chief source here drawn upon for the history of the Washington parish. The heads of the twelve pioneer Catholic families were Joseph Hustermann, Gerhard Trentmann, Henry Koerling or Koering, Adolph Schmertmann, Gerhard Uhlenbrock, Rudolph Uhlenbrock, John Buhr, Herman Schwegmann, Frederick Blockmann, Frederick Riegel, William Weber,

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Washington, chief town of Franklin County, Missouri, spreads out on the south bank of the Missouri fifty-four miles west of St. Louis by rail and eighty-four by water. In 1836 a part of the town was plotted by George Morton and others and called Bassora. In 1837 it was laid out under its present name by Mrs. Lucinda Owens, whose husband had held the title to the entire town-site. Various additions having been made to Washington in later years, it was incorporated as a town in 1840 and as a city in 1873.¹⁵

The approach of the Easter of 1834 awakened in the German Catholic immigrants who had arrived in Franklin County the year before the desire to fulfill their customary religious duties. They appealed for help to St. Louis, but Father Joseph Lutz, then the only German-speaking diocesan priest in that city, was unable to lend them his services. Happily, the Jesuit fathers, Christian Hoecken and Felix Verreydt, while performing the missionary-circuit of the Missouri River towns, came to hear of these isolated Catholic settlers and of their anxiety to see a priest. Father Verreydt thereupon paid them a visit shortly after Easter, 1834, and conducted services for them in the Iberius tavern.¹⁶ Mr. Owens, owner of the town-site of the future Washington, was impressed with the piety and industry of the newcomers and promptly offered them ground for a church on condition that they erected a substantial one. They promptly accepted the offer and at once picked out for the church-site the ground afterwards occupied by the town-hall of Washington. But Owens was fatally shot by another American resident of the place before his donation of land to the Catholics was legally recorded. The court at once assumed charge of all his property on behalf of his widow and children, the latter all minors, and in the end nothing came of Owens's generous offer of a site for a Catholic church.

In 1836, at Father Hoecken's suggestion, Father Verhaegen, superior of the Missouri Mission, visited the settlement. The following year he purchased, or rather obtained as a gift from Gerhard Uhlen-

and John Edelbrock. Cf. Goodspeed (publisher), *History of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Crawford and Gasconade Counties, Missouri* (Chicago, 1888).

¹⁵ Conard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1901). The name Washington appears as early as October, 1835, in Father Christian Hoecken's baptismal records. (A).

¹⁶ *Hist. Resid. Wash.* (A). The *Registre des Baptêmes pour la Mission du Missouri*, (A), contains no reference to Father Verreydt's ministry at Washington, but has the following baptismal entries by Father Christian Hoecken, the earliest recorded for that place: 1835, October 11, Eliza, daughter of John Henrich Klundrop; Frederick, son of Adolph Smertmann; John Henrich, son of John Henrich Boor(?); October 14, Marie Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew Hoostermann; Anna Sophia, daughter of John Henrich Pardich.

brock, thirty-six acres of land in the immediate vicinity of Washington, with a view to providing the settlers with a suitable location for a church.¹⁷ But the settlers for the moment made no attempt to build. Meanwhile Father Hoecken was withdrawn from the Missouri River missions and sent to the Kickapoo Indians. In 1837 Father Cornelius Walters began to visit Washington from St. Charles. He urged upon the Catholics, who then numbered about fifteen families, the propriety of putting up a structure, one at least of wood, in which to hold divine services. As a consequence of Father Walters's appeal, the spring of 1838 saw the erection of a small wooden church, thirty by twenty feet, on the ground which Verhaegen had acquired and which later served as the parish-cemetery. With the concurrence of Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, Father Verhaegen placed the little parish, which was named for the Jesuit saint, Francis Borgia, in charge of Father Henry Meinkmann, a diocesan priest, who had recently served the mission of New Westphalia near Jefferson City.¹⁸ In October, 1839, Meinkmann was withdrawn from Washington by the Bishop, while Father James Buschots was summoned from New Westphalia to fill his place. Father Buschots arrived in St. Louis September 26, 1839, and on December 2, 1839, departed for Washington. He was the first resident Jesuit pastor of the town.¹⁹

¹⁷ This property of thirty-six acres, about a mile south of Washington, was conveyed September 14, 1837, by Gerhard Uhlenbrock and Anna Maria, his wife, to Fathers Verhaegen, De Theux and Smedts for a consideration of five dollars. Another deed of conveyance of the same property, the principals being the same as those named above, bears date June 23, 1838. The land thus conveyed by Uhlenbrock was "congressional land," which had been purchased by him the year before at a dollar and a quarter an acre. A ms. list (1838) by Father Helias of the Catholic stations along the Missouri River indicates that Mass was said at Washington on "Uhlenbrock's place near the town." (A). "J'ai visité, il y a près de deux mois, les stations du Missouri. Celle de Washington contient a peu près 40 familles Catholiques (Allemands). Elles sont pauvres; mais en general très ferventes. A Martha's Ville il y a 15 familles environ." Verhaegen à Rosati, November 17, 1837. (C).

¹⁸ Father Meinkmann in his *Relatio ad Synodum S. Ludovici* dated New Washington, April 16, 1839, states that the Washington church had no title. (A). According to this document the church, which was of wood and twenty by thirty feet in dimensions, was still unfinished and unblessed. There was no bell nor baptistery, but there was a confessional and tabernacle. The parish-house, of wood, was unfinished. A cemetery was staked out, but was not fenced in or blessed. There had been 113 Easter Communion the preceding year and seven first communions. There was no school though the boys and girls of the parish numbered seventy.

¹⁹ Father Buschots's first report from Washington to the chancery office of the diocese covers the period January 1, 1839—January 1, 1840. He gives the name of the church as St. Francis Borgia. The parish numbered two hundred and

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Busschots's priestly virtues gained him the esteem of the parishioners. "Father Busschots," Van de Velde wrote in a statement (1841) prepared for the General, "is much beloved by the people and preaches pretty well in the two languages [English and German]." "Nearly all the Germans are Catholics," Verhaegen reported of the Washington residence in 1841, "and show a better spirit than those Father Helias has charge of. So Father Busschots does not complain of his parishioners nor they of him. He is also acceptable to the Americans, nearly all of whom are non-Catholics. He preaches to them not infrequently in our church; but so far I have not heard of any conversions." Yet some disagreeable experiences were to befall Father Busschots before his career at Washington was at an end. The beginnings of the residence were marked by dire poverty. "This residence, like the preceding one [Westphalia], is extremely poor," Van de Velde said of it in 1841, "and is supported in large part by the general funds of the Mission. Probably the poverty and destitution of these two residences contribute to alienate the Americans from them, especially the Protestants, who have no idea of evangelical poverty." In the next decade, the fifties, the German parishes in Missouri were on a better economic basis. "The German residences easily support themselves on their respective revenues and the alms sent them from Europe, especially from Germany."²⁰

The course of events in the congregation of St. Francis Borgia at Washington during its pioneer days was not an altogether smooth one. Father Martin Seisl, its historian, observed regretfully that the size but not the peace of the little flock increased with the influx of immigrants from Germany. Confession was often railed against as a gratuitous invention of the clergy and the older folk were hard put to it at times to keep the young generation from giving up entirely the practices of the Church. As it was, despite the efforts of pastor and parents, there were many apostasies from the Faith. These unhappy results were seemingly due to the activities of a rather free-thinking, anti-clerical element among the immigrants sometimes dubbed the Latinians on account of their having, so it was alleged, studied Latin in German gymnasia. To the Latinians were also attributed the difficulties with his congregation that beset Father Helias in the first years of his ministry at Westphalia.²¹

sixty souls. (The *Annual Letters* for 1837 gives the number as one hundred and eighteen.) There were, besides, one hundred and thirty souls in and around Marthasville. During the year indicated there had been fifteen baptisms and three deaths. (C).

²⁰ De Smet à Beckx, January, 1855. (A).

²¹ For an account of the persecution to which the German Catholic immigrants

In a communication addressed to the General, Father Busschots pictures some of the perils that entered into the life of a Missouri missionary:

[The country] is mountainous [hilly] and is cut by the Missouri and by numberless creeks, which are sometimes so swollen by heavy rains and the high waters of this river that the missionary often finds himself stopped in his travels. Another danger there is that is not known in Europe, namely, one must cross the creeks and rivers in a canoe, holding on by the hands to the horse's bridle. If the nag is a bit skittish and a bad swimmer, he will try to upset the frail craft. Once my horse ran away with me into a dense forest. Another time I experienced such a dangerous fall that I had to stop on the way to have my arm attended to as I feared it was broken. Last summer my mission was visited by a sickness which carried off quite a number of people; on such occasions one is sometimes on horseback day and night. Your Paternity must not be astonished that such accidents befall us . . . it is the missionary's life. A happiness it is to suffer something when one is working A.M.D.G. ²²

Again, in November of the same year, 1844, Father Busschots forwarded to the General a graphic account of his fatiguing ministry. In the wake of the great flood of the year, the highest in the history of the Missouri River, had followed a great epidemic of sickness. "Never in the memory of man has Missouri counted so many sick, fatal aftermath of the floods from the rivers, which have submerged thousands of acres of the richest land in this country and left numerous families entirely ruined. For a long time it was necessary to be on horse day and night." At this crisis Father Francis Xavier De Coen, still a novice, was sent from Florissant to the aid of Father Busschots. He knew no German, but managed to acquit himself well of his duties. "So is Providence, ever rich in its gifts," reflects Busschots, "pleased at times to bless the labors of men of the Society." Owing to the prevailing sickness the missionary had been delayed this year in making his usual round of the stations. Five counties were covered, the circuit taking three weeks. "This may appear incredible, but ordinarily he stops in each place only for the time that is absolutely necessary to relieve the spiritual needs of the faithful. In the first place the Catholics are too poor to keep us long and, besides, the missionary having sometimes to occupy the same room as the whole family, is glad to be off at the first opportunity." In these backwoods excursions Father Busschots en-

in the United States were subjected by radical and freethinking countrymen, see F. P. Kenkel, "Subjected to an Acid Test," in *Central-Blatt and Social Justice* (St. Louis), 18:163.

²² Busschots à Roothaan, March 19, 1844. (AA).

countered much coldness and indifference among the Catholics. For these conditions he assigns four reasons, the absence of churches, mixed marriages, bad books and papers and "heterodox" schools. The Catholics were surrounded by Protestants and people of no religion at all. The Methodists were making many proselytes among the Lutherans, but none at all among the Catholics. "These latter are immovable (*inebranbables*) and remain loyal to the faith." The Catholic families, being too poor to buy them, were rarely found with objectionable books or papers, which, besides, circulated chiefly in the towns, scarcely ever "among the denizens of the woods."²³

A further account of the difficulties of his mission was communicated by Father Busschots to the Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna:

The parish to which I have been assigned as pastor by order of my Superiors extends over so large a district that five or six priests could very properly be employed in it; as it is, the spiritual care of a flock at once so considerable and so scattered rests upon me alone. Add to this that they are for the most part poor immigrants, who on their arrival here possess, at the most, only so much as enables them to buy a little piece of land, to cultivate it and from the resulting crops assure themselves a livelihood. Scattered about as they are in lonely forest stretches, there is no question of earnings, profit or trade in any large way and so they live from day to day on what kindly mother-earth brings forth for them. It is only the consolations of religion that strengthen their souls and keep their spirits erect. I can truly say, "I have pity on the people." Already has the thought many a time pursued me to ask my Superiors to recall me hence and place me in another sphere of activity; but the consciousness that after my departure the good people might for a long time be left without a spiritual guide, abandoned to the intrigues of the sectarian preachers to become only too early a prey to seduction and suffer loss of their souls, has overcome my despondency and moved me to bear with them still further the heat and burden of the day as long as it shall please the Supreme Pastor of all. But there is still one wish the gratification of which I have very much at heart. We have as yet no church and my own poverty and that of the whole congregation does not allow of our building one. The present wooden barracks in which we celebrate the holy mysteries is more like

²³ Busschots à Roothaan, November, 1844. "That the losses through defections from the Faith among German Catholic immigrants were comparatively insignificant must, to a great extent, be attributed to the watchfulness and activeness of the German pioneer priests and the leaders among the laity . . . the great majority of the German Catholics who had remained faithful to their religion in their native land preserved the faith in America. . . . Well instructed and well fortified as most of the laity were, they became in reality what Rothacker called them because of their tenacious adherence to their faith, 'Incorrigibles.'" F. P. Kenkel in *Central Blatt and Social Justice*, 18:199. Compare Busschots's description of his parishioners as "immovable" (*inebranbables*). Still, as the *Hist. Resid. Wash.* records, there were many deplorable defections.

a miserable stable, as it is so poorly put together out of boards and logs as to admit freely rain, snow and hail through every joint.²⁴

Towards the close of the thirties immigration from Germany rose steadily higher. Already in 1839 there were two additional German Catholic settlements in the neighborhood of Washington. These were situated across the Missouri River in Warren County, one four miles above and the other four miles below Marthasville. The settlement below Marthasville assumed the proportions of a town, to which was given the name of Dutzow. Mass was said by the Washington pastor at these two points in Warren County, first in private houses, but after 1840 in the frame churches erected during that year in both settlements. The church at Peers, above Marthasville, was named for St. Ignatius Loyola, the Dutzow church for Saints Peter and Paul and later for St. Vincent. A tract of forty acres near Marthasville was purchased by Father Verhaegen in 1840 for the use of St. Ignatius parish.

Meanwhile the frame church on the outskirts of Washington no longer answered the needs of the growing congregation and a new one began to be projected. Mrs. Lucinda Owens, widow of the Owens who had offered the Catholics a church-site in 1834, having secured fifty acres from the guardians of her husband's property, attempted to start a real-estate boom in Washington. With a view to furthering her design, she offered the Catholic parishioners four town-lots as a location for a new church. But on the part of a certain group of parishioners there was stiff opposition to building the church within the town-limits, and so, taking the matter in their own hands, they began in 1842 to build a new and spacious church of brick on the old site. Work had not proceeded far when the bricklayers and masons fell to quarrelling, giving vent to their feelings in language violent and profane. Father Busschots, mild and sensitive man, withdrew forthwith from any share in the enterprise, being loath to begin a house of God under such unpromising auspices. The town-party subsequently got the upper hand, especially when John F. Mense, a one-time Catholic and a son-in-law of Mrs. Owens, offered an eligible site within the town for a church.²⁵ In 1844

²⁴ *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, 18:31 (1845).

²⁵ September 23, 1844, John F. Mense and wife conveyed to Father Van de Velde lots 3, 4, 5, and 6 in block 36 in the town of Washington. Lots 7 and 8 in the same block were acquired June 12, 1852, from Frank H. Frece. On these lots the present church and residence of St. Francis Borgia are built. On two occasions Father Busschots was cited before a local judge, "a thing," he observes to the General, "which you will think incredible." Father Verhaegen, vice-provincial at the time, convinced of the father's innocence and "shocked at such black ingratitude," ordered him to return with all his effects to St. Louis. This he did, but after some months was back in Washington "for the sake of the majority,"

a committee of parishioners visited St. Louis to solicit funds for the projected edifice. They collected only a small sum; but Father Van de Velde, Verhaegen's successor as vice-provincial, offered to contribute five hundred dollars. Broad foundations for the new church had been laid and one hundred thousand bricks purchased when the rural group put a check on operations by insisting that the church be built of stone. To restore peace between the parties, Father Van de Velde, with instructions from Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, visited Washington in August, 1845. He communicated to the congregation of St. Francis Borgia the prelate's explicit order that the new church was to be built inside the town of Washington. The only question left for decision was whether the congregation desired to build a second church. To this question the rural group answered in the affirmative. As no agreement could be reached on the further question where the second church was to be built, Father Van de Velde declared that it would have to be put to a vote and settled accordingly. One important result issued from the deliberation. As the congregation decided in favor of a second church, it became necessary to build the Washington edifice on a smaller scale than was at first contemplated. The foundations already laid were thereupon changed and reduced to smaller size. It was a regrettable alteration of plan, for in the event the second church was never built and as a consequence a new and larger town church had soon to be provided.

In 1845 Father Busschots was replaced at Washington by Father Anthony Eysvogels, on whom devolved the erection of the new church of brick. Before the end of that year architect and builders from St. Louis were at work on the structure, which was roofed in by the spring of 1846. It was blessed by Bishop Barron, Vicar-apostolic of the Two Guianas, on St. Francis Borgia day, October 10, 1846. Eysvogels thereupon discontinued services in the old church, which was at once taken down and put up again in Washington as a school-house. Under Busschots school had been conducted in various farmhouses by a hired teacher. Eysvogels himself taught the boys in the new church until the school-house was ready for use.

An account of the blessing of the new church in Washington was

who remained faithful to him. Only two or three individuals, it appears, were responsible for the trouble fomented against the father, whose return did not, however, end the differences among the parishioners on the subject of the location of the new church. "The opposite [i.e. rural] party murmurs at the arrangement and wearies me with complaints and cavillings." In 1844 Father Busschots as an escape from this unpleasant situation had Father Van de Velde's authorization to leave Washington and settle on the north side of the river, where he proposed to build. The plan was never carried out.

forwarded by Father Van de Velde to the Leopoldine Association, Vienna:

From Washington the Right Reverend Bishop in company with Father Eisvogel proceeded to the congregations of Dutzo[w] and Marthasville, a town in Warren County, to give confirmation. In these places there are merely two little churches of wood; in the first, 32 persons were confirmed, in the second, which is dedicated to St. Ignatius, 30. I had promised to join the bishop again in Washington in order to be present at the solemn consecration of the newly built brick church, which was to take place the second Sunday of November. I accordingly left St. Louis the 3rd of the month and arrived the next day in Washington, where the Right Rev. Bishop was together with Father Cotting, whom I had sent from St. Charles to help Father Eisvogel. On the following day almost the entire congregation gathered in the place where the missionary resides and which is more than a mile from Washington. There the Right Reverend Bishop and 2 Fathers were busily employed and there a great number of the faithful received the Holy Sacrament in the old church, which is regrettably near to collapse as it is made merely of big logs piled one atop the other, which are now rotten and readily admit wind, rain and snow. At 10 o'clock began the procession, the weather being very favorable. It moved towards the city while the Miserere, the Litany of the Saints and the Veni Creator were sung and this in German, the men and women forming two separate choirs. Having arrived at the church door the Right Reverend Bishop vested himself in his pontificals and solemnly dedicated the church in honor of St. Francis Borgia. Great crowds of people were in attendance, many of whom had come from a distance of 15 to 20 miles. The high Mass was sung by myself while Father Cotting preached in German, taking for his subject the [liturgical] feast of the dedication of a church. The following day we celebrated also in the same church, which is nearly finished, and, thanks be to God, has no debts. It has a wooden roof, is painted, measures 55 by 35 feet and has a stone floor. Before leaving the place I made a contract for the construction of a communion-rail and a little tower, which is to rise above the roof, and I promised in the contingency that the present dwelling of the missionary be too far from the new church (a thing that renders the discharge of ministerial duties extremely difficult, especially in winter), to contribute \$150 to the building of a new pastor's house close by.^{25a}

The number of stations and mission-churches served from the Washington residence went on increasing. The Church of St. John the Baptist, a fine building for its day but later supplanted by an edifice of brick, was erected in 1844-1845 at the present Gildehouse, eight miles distant from Washington. At a settlement originally called Pevelingsville, from the name of the principal landowner of the locality, but later known as Neier, the Church of St. Joseph was built about 1848. The

^{25a} *Berichte*, 21: 37-40 (1848-1849).

church property, sixteen acres in extent, was the joint gift of Peveling and another settler of the locality. St. Joseph's parish received large accessions of immigrants from Switzerland, Bavaria and Hanover, as many as forty families coming to it from abroad.²⁶ Loutre Island and Hermann, both in Gasconade County, some miles up the Missouri River from Washington, were attended from the latter place until 1848, when the deeds for both churches were transferred to the Archbishop and diocesan priests placed in charge. The next year, however, the Jesuit pastors were called on again to visit Hermann and Loutre Island, where grave difficulties prevailed. At Hermann creditors wished to sell the church property and at the Island the priest recently in charge, but now suspended, attempted to organize a schismatic congregation. Both scandals were happily averted.²⁷ The question of a third parish church on the north side of the Missouri in Warren County gave rise to a difference of opinion. There were two groups of settlers to be satisfied as to the location of the church, and as neither would yield to the other, the matter was referred for adjustment to the Archbishop, who decreed that each party should have its own church. Only one church seems to have been built, that of the Immaculate Conception,

²⁶ The property was conveyed to the representatives of the Church, April 29, 1852, by Henry Peveling and Elizabeth, his wife, and Henry Piernick and Gertrude, his wife, for a consideration of five dollars to be held in trust for "the Roman Catholic Congregation near the Borbouse from about four to ten miles above Union, Franklin County, Missouri." "At this time also [1846-1848] was built the Church of St. Joseph on 40 acres donated by a certain Peveling, whence they called the place Pevelingsville. But as he was unwilling to transfer the ownership of the property either to the Bishop or to the Superior of the Order according to the law recently enacted in the Council, it was not possible to exercise the sacred ministry therein for any length of time. But in 1848 he submitted. A certain Schmid, a Bavarian, living there, wished to dispose of his estate according to the principle of majority [primogeniture], but could not do so owing to the laws of the country; so his sons afterwards divided the property between them and are now good farmers and also excellent members of the parish there, numerous families of which had come from Switzerland, Bavaria, and Hanover, almost 40 all told." *Hist. Resid. Wash.* (A).

²⁷ A ms. account in Latin of the parish of St. George at Hermann for the period 1840-1870 compiled by Father William Hensen is in the Archdiocesan Archives, St. Louis. The first Catholic settlers came about 1840. Many among the early Catholics of Hermann appear to have had a slender hold on their faith, maintaining, for instance, that one religion was as good as another and wanting even to elect their pastors. For a curious instance of the laxity in religious matters indulged in by some among the pioneer German Catholic settlers of Missouri cf. Faust, *op. cit.*, 1:445. Father Hensen says of the ministry of the Washington Jesuits at Hermann: "So far spiritual comfort was afforded them [the Catholics of Hermann] by the Jesuit Fathers of Washington, who aflame with divine love and taken up with the salvation of souls spared no labor to spread the Kingdom of Christ—such among others were Fathers Eisvogels, Elias, Busschots and Seisl."

six miles below Dutzow and one and a half miles from Augusta in St. Charles County. Its erection in 1851 followed a controversy of three years; even in the eighties many traces of the trouble remained. In 1853 a frame church under the patronage of the Holy Family was built at Port Hudson about fifteen miles southwest of Washington while the year 1856 brought with it the erection of a frame church named for St. Gertrude at Krakow, five miles south of Washington.²⁸

All these years the Washington parish itself was steadily growing. Father Eysvogels, on whom devolved all teaching duties in the parish school, was absent so frequently on his missionary trips that a teacher was engaged in the spring of 1850 to conduct the school. Two years later, in 1852, a new school-house of brick was erected, the old one of frame being converted into a residence for the teacher. The building of the Missouri Pacific Railroad in 1853 from St. Louis to Jefferson City added to the labors of the Washington pastors. The spiritual care of the Irish laborers along twenty-six miles of track in Franklin County fell to Father Eysvogels. The parish chronicle notes that they contributed liberally for an organ installed in the Washington church in 1854. Father Henry Van Mierlo, who came in 1849 from the Miami Mission to assist Eysvogels, attended most of the outlying stations, while Father Martin Seisl, who arrived in Washington in 1853 from St. Joseph's parish in St. Louis, attended to the town congregation.

Father Eysvogels's health having become impaired as a result of his wearing ministry on behalf of the laborers employed in the construction of the railroad, he was transferred in 1854 to the Westphalia residence where he died July 7, 1857. Ill-health likewise led to the removal of Father Van Mierlo, who was replaced at Washington in 1854 by Father Michael Haering. For seven years Father Haering remained attached to the residence until in 1861 he was relieved by Father Charles Benys of the province of Poland (Galicia), who had been serving as an assistant at St. Joseph's in St. Louis since his arrival in the United States about a year before. His acquaintance with Polish and Bohemian was the circumstance that chiefly induced Father Seisl to secure his services for Franklin County.

From his first arrival at Washington in 1853 Father Martin Seisl had been superior of the residence, an office he discharged with steady efficiency and zeal for seventeen years. He was a native of the Austrian Tyrol, entered the Society of Jesus in the Austro-Hungarian Province, and was forty when he began his strenuous ministry in Franklin County and beyond. He came to Washington from St. Joseph's in St. Louis where for six years he had exercised the ministry with notable result.

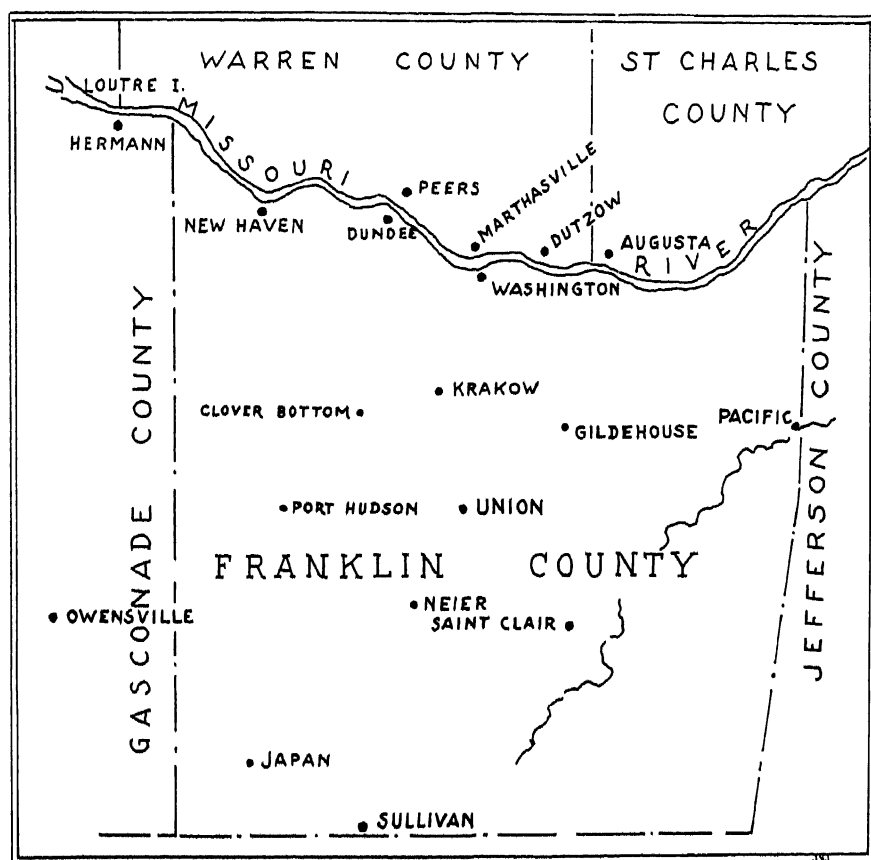
²⁸ The property (one acre) on which St. Gertrude's church, Krakow, is built, was acquired August 18, 1856, from W. Wilking and wife.

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In Washington and the dependent parishes he was to see much accomplished for the expansion of the Church. By the beginning of 1855 six churches had been built by the Washington Jesuits since their arrival in Franklin County and were now being served by them. The six parishes, three north and three south of the Missouri, numbered one hundred and fifty families, or between six hundred and seven hundred souls. Five schools, averaging twenty pupils each, with a sixth about to be begun, had been erected. In 1864 a school was opened at Dutzow with a laywoman from Gildehouse in charge. The following year schools were set on foot at Port Hudson and Newport, the total number now reaching nine.

Nothing is more significant in the pioneer history of these German-language congregations in the interior of Missouri than the efforts made and the sacrifices incurred by them to provide elementary schools. Though the out-of-town Washington group had failed in 1846 to erect a church of their own, they succeeded in building in that year a school-house about five miles from the town, in which Mass was said for them once a month. At Gildehouse in 1855 a school was built, an excellent widow, competent for the task, teaching the few children in attendance. That same year a school which had been opened at Pevelingsville was closed, the parishioners having no means to support the teacher; whereupon a young man was taken as a guest into the residence at Washington and instructed by the fathers with a view to qualifying him to take in charge the school in question, though from what source a salary was to be provided for him is not disclosed by the chronicler. Unpleasant incidents are told in connection with these rural school-masters. This one turned out to be a corrupter of morals and must be dismissed. Another was addicted to drink and meddled with parish affairs, not to say with the private concerns of the pastors. In his differences with Father Seisl the parish took sides, one group supporting the teacher, another, the pastor, who to rid himself of the vexatious pedagogue was constrained to pay him the hundred and fifty dollars which he demanded on the basis of his unexpired three-year contract. To secure competent and reliable teachers was always a vexing problem. Sometimes the experiment was made of bringing them over from Europe. In 1867 two brothers, Andress by name, came from Germany on invitation, one to teach in Washington, the other in Krakow. The reason why Father Seisl opposed for a while the building of a new church at Washington, which the parishioners were eager to take in hand, was his desire first to bring the sisters' house to completion so that they might have needed facilities to train young girls as teachers in the rural schools.

The corner-stone of the sisters' residence was laid July 30, 1859. Then, on November 3 of the same year, came three School Sisters of



Parishes in Franklin and adjoining counties served from the Jesuit residence of St. Francis Borgia, Washington, Mo., 1838-1894. Compiled by G. J. Garraghan; drawn by J. V. Jacobsen.

Notre Dame with their superior, the nuns residing in the old church until the convent was ready for occupancy. A year later two additional sisters had arrived. On May 1, 1860, the convent was solemnly blessed, Father Smarius, noted missionary-preacher, delivering an English sermon on the occasion. The building cost only thirty-three hundred dollars, of which sum twenty-one hundred were contributed by the congregation, eight hundred by Catholics of other parishes and non-Catholics, and the rest by the pastor. Five years later, in 1865, a wing was added to the convent, the cost of which was covered largely by a legacy left for this specific purpose by Michael Lynch of Millers Landing. Almost immediately on arriving in Washington the sisters instituted a unit of the Society of the Holy Child for the saving of pagan children in foreign lands, and succeeded in collecting a hundred dollars on its behalf, a rather noteworthy result in view of the straitened circumstances of most of the Washington parishioners. The circumstance is significant as showing how alive the zealous sisters were to the missionary idea at this early day, when the United States was still dependent in a measure for the maintenance of the Faith among the people on pecuniary aid vouchsafed by eleemosynary societies in the Old World.

In 1856 the parishes on the north side of the Missouri were resigned into the hands of the Archbishop of St. Louis in accordance with Father Murphy's set policy of relieving his men of their excessive burden of parochial obligations. This measure made it possible to proceed to the erection of St. Gertrude's Church at Krakow. The first St. Gertrude's Church was dedicated November 23, 1856, by Very Reverend Joseph Melcher, vicar-general for the German-speaking parishes of the St. Louis archdiocese. Either on this or a subsequent occasion he made declaration that St. Gertrude's would not thereafter be taken from the Jesuits as long as they wished to retain it. The erection of a church at Krakow and the assurance given the congregation there that Mass would be said for them eighteen Sundays in the year were taken amiss by the Catholics of St. John's at Gildehouse, who, it would appear, saw in these measures some prejudice or other to the ministerial service to which they deemed themselves entitled. They therefore preferred in 1857 a petition to Father Melcher for a priest of their own, in which petition the vicar-general acquiesced. The parish of St. John was accordingly ceded by the Jesuits to the archdiocese, but the secular clergyman assigned to it arrived on the ground only in 1858. Meantime, pending his arrival, St. John's continued to be visited once a month from Washington. Later, in 1867, on the departure from St. John's of the diocesan priest, Father Vattmann, and up to the arrival seven months later of his successor, the parish was attended by Father de Haza

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Radlitz of Washington. As to the parishes on the north side of the river, Father Christian Wapelhorst, charged with them after their cession to the Archbishop, had to relinquish them in 1857 on account of ill-health with the result that care of these stations devolved again upon the Washington residence. Another diocesan priest, Father Bernard Seeling, was in charge for a while. But it was only in 1865, on the arrival of Father William Faerber, who had recently come from Germany, that the parishes north of the Missouri began to be provided for permanently by the Archbishop of St. Louis.²⁹

To serve the Washington parish and the others affiliated thereto only two priests were in attendance at the beginning of 1862, Fathers Martin Seisl and Charles Benys. In April of that year Father Sopranis, the Visitor, referred to the General, Peter Beckx, a petition of the vice-provincial for a third father, to be stationed at Washington, one conversant not only with German but also with Polish and Bohemian, as large groups of immigrants speaking these latter languages had to be cared for. Accordingly, there arrived at Washington in November, 1862, from the province of Poland (Galicia) Father Ignatius Peuckert, described by Father Seisl as "very pious, humble, obedient, and warmly devoted to the salvation of souls and the promotion of God's glory." Writing in February, 1862, to the General, Father Benys portrays the existing situation at St. Gertrude's or Krakow, of which he had charge. The congregation, consisting of fifty-four families, seventeen of them Polish, should have Mass every Sunday, so he thought. If only Washington and St. Gertrude's had to be attended to, two priests would suffice; but services had also to be held at St. Joseph's and Port Hudson, each fifteen miles distant from Krakow, as also in the new Polish parish thirty-five miles away on the Gasconade and at other stations for groups of German, Bohemian or Irish settlers. "Alas, so many souls, so many communities, so many churches! Here we famish while in Europe there is superabundant bread. Here we have but two loaves which must perforce be distributed, and unless your Paternity increase the number of loaves, unhappy souls will perish of spiritual hunger and weakness. Alas! how many have already perished in these parts for lack of ministerial aid. (I write thus because I am constrained so to do not only by the common necessities of the faithful, but by personal necessities as well. Some days I scarcely have time to say my breviary)." ³⁰

Of the sincerity of the zeal of Father Benys there could have been no question, but unfortunately it was not a zeal "according to knowledge." A certain arrangement which he wished to make in regard to the church property at Krakow led to brusque opposition on the part of

²⁹ *Catholic Directory*, 1861.

³⁰ Benys ad Beckx, February 17, 1862. (AA).

many of the parishioners. Moreover, certain assurances of ministerial attention which he gave to the congregation could not have been realized, so Father Seisl averred, without the disruption of the Washington residence. Probably he had promised them Mass every Sunday, which arrangement he favored and was anxious to bring about. Whatever his pledges, they were not confirmed by Father Murphy, who journeyed to Washington to inquire into the unpleasant situation that had developed at St. Gertrude's in consequence of Father Benys's impetuous zeal. On January 13, 1863, the latter left Washington for the East. "I blame nobody," he wrote to Father Beckx, "least of all the local superior [Father Seisl], certainly a holy man, but take all the blame on myself."³¹ As a melancholy postscript to the career of Father Benys it may be recorded that shortly after his return to Europe he apostatized from the Faith in Vienna, becoming a Unitarian minister. Whether or not he ever returned to the Church, the Faith of which he had one time worked with strenuous zeal to maintain among the Catholics of Franklin County, Missouri, cannot be said here in default of information.

On the same day that Father Benys bade farewell to Washington, Father Seisl forwarded to the General an urgent petition that some one be sent from Europe to replace his erstwhile assistant. With only two, himself and Father Peuckert, to serve the numerous parishes that looked to Washington for ministerial aid, the congregations across the river had temporarily to be abandoned. A third priest on the staff would make it possible to give each of these congregations Mass at least once a month. Meantime, as a makeshift until a more satisfactory arrangement could be effected, Father Weber of St. Joseph's in St. Louis was to be asked to come out to Washington once a month, Father Murphy engaging to take his place on these occasions at St. Joseph's. At the same time the latter enjoined on Father Seisl to appeal personally to the Father General for help. "Very Reverend Father General sees how distressing our situation is on every side. Therefore do I beseech him suppliantly to have pity on us and our seven congregations and send a third Father to our aid. In the seventh congregation, made up of Irish [settlers], I have just now built a pretty and substantial church and am hoping for a third Father to be here so I can visit the congregation once a month." Moreover, the forty Polish and ten Bohemian families, formerly looked after by Benys, "are now left to themselves. Their faith is perishing, they will become as the Americans [i.e., Protestants] unless relief be sent to them. . . . May your Paternity pardon my importunity; it has never been my way to be troublesome to my superiors."

³¹ Benys ad Beckx, December 17, 1862. (AA).

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Father Seisl concludes his appeal to the General by requesting that Father Francis X. Schulak, of the province of Galicia, who had lately arrived in the country, be assigned to Washington.³² It was not until almost two years later, October 31, 1864, that a Polish-speaking assistant arrived at Washington in the person of another member of the province of Galicia, Father Alexander Mathauschek. In the interval, the Belgian father, Ignatius Maes, who knew no Polish and but little German, had been stationed at Washington since February 14, 1863. With three fathers at the residence, the outlying parishes could be provided for reasonably well. In 1867 Krakow was having Mass every Sunday, Neier every second Sunday and Millers Landing and Port Hudson one Sunday in the month. The more distant stations were visited of course at less frequent intervals. At Durbin in Gasconade County in February, 1864, there were seventeen baptisms of children and adults. Visits to the remote stations sometimes revealed unexpected conditions as when Seisl on the occasion of a trip to Durbin in the October of 1864 met in the vicinity of Mount Sterling a number of Catholic families who had not seen a priest for six or eight years.

The project, long deferred, of a new church at Washington to replace the old one built by Father Eysvogels in 1846 and for years back quite inadequate to the needs of the congregation, was at length to be taken in hand. At a meeting of the parishioners, St. Stephen's day, December 26, 1865, the decision was made to proceed to build. But it was not until April, 1867, that building operations actually began. The carpentering was under the supervision of Brother Francis Heilers, who some years before had lent his skilful services to the erection of one of the outstanding houses of worship in the United States, the Jesuit Church of the Holy Family in Chicago. By the fall of the same year construction was so far advanced as to allow the structure, which was of brick, to be roofed in. Matthew Hastings, a painter of some contemporary note, undertook the interior decoration of the church. Lumber purchased in St. Louis for the pews perished in a fire, a loss which was made good by a collection of three hundred and seventy-two dollars generously offered by St. Joseph's congregation of St. Louis. Out-of-town collections had been previously made on behalf of the new edifice, netting over four hundred dollars at Gildehouse and over five hundred dollars at Krakow. The structure, the third Church of St. Francis Borgia at Washington or its vicinity, was dedicated on Easter Monday, 1868, by the Jesuit provincial, Father Coosemans. Sermons were preached, in German by Father Francis Braun and in English by Father Frederick Garesché. In the afternoon the Blessed

³² Seisl ad Beckx, January 13, 1863. (AA).

Sacrament was removed in solemn procession from the old to the new church. The following day, Easter Tuesday, the new St. Joseph's Church at Neier was also blessed by Father Coosemans. At both places, Washington and Neier, the old church was immediately converted into a school. The new church at Washington represented an outlay of \$34,837 of which \$21,716 had been collected and \$13,121 borrowed. There still remained some five hundred dollars to be paid on the building so that the total cost of construction amounted to nearly forty thousand dollars. The tower was erected only later on.

The organization of new parishes in Franklin County by the Jesuit priests of the Washington residence continued down to the period when they relinquished altogether their ministry in that part of Missouri. Millers Landing, subsequently New Haven, on the Missouri twelve miles above Washington, saw a Catholic church begun in 1862 and blessed for divine service on Easter Monday of the following year. A school was opened in 1868 at Newport, afterwards Dundee, six miles upstream from Washington. Parishes organized in subsequent years included St. Ann's at Clover Bottom, St. Bridget's at Pacific, Martyrs of Japan at Japan, where a log church was built by Father Seisl, St. Anthony's at Sullivan, and the Immaculate Conception at Pacific, all within the limits of Franklin County. Moreover, stations were established at Durbin and Owensville, both in Gasconade County, and at Brazil Settlement and other points in Franklin County.

The Jesuit parishes attended from Washington were relinquished one after another into the hands of the diocesan clergy. Finally, with the transfer of the Washington residence in 1894 to the Franciscan fathers, the ministry of the Society of Jesus in Franklin County in Missouri, inaugurated in 1834 by the visit of Father Felix Verreydt to the recently arrived German immigrants, came definitely to an end. For the historian of the Catholic Church in the United States it is a chapter of interest, not to say, of importance, illustrating as it does the efforts made and the sacrifices undergone in the period of immigration to save and, as far as might be, to spread the Faith in the rural districts of the country.*

§ 3. ST. JOSEPH'S RESIDENCE, ST. LOUIS

In the early forties the German Catholics of St. Louis numbered seven thousand of the city's total population of thirty thousand. The first house of worship reserved exclusively for their use was the building of brick on the west side of Second Street between Market and

* For additional data on the Franklin County parishes see *infra*, Chap. XLII, § 3.

Walnut which had housed Bishop Du Bourg's St. Louis College up to the passing of that institution in 1827. On May 6, 1832, Father Verhaegen blessed the structure, to be known as St. Mary's Chapel, as a meeting place for the German Catholics of the city.³³ Fire having destroyed it in 1835, the worshippers were thereupon permitted to use the cathedral for an hour or two on Sunday mornings. As a convenience for such of their number as lived in what was known as the north end of the city, services also began to be held in the St. Louis University chapel named for St. Aloysius and situated on the north side of Washington Avenue between Ninth and Tenth Streets. What the Jesuits were now attempting to do on behalf of the German members of the Catholic flock of St. Louis is sketched by Father Van de Velde, the Missouri vice-provincial, in a letter to the Archbishop of Vienna, who was president of the Leopoldine Foundation (*Stiftung*) of Vienna, an organization modeled on the lines of the French Association of the Propagation of the Faith and having for its specific purpose the financing of German Catholic missions and parishes in foreign lands:

The worthy Bishop of our diocese, Dr. Rosati, in view of the fact that a great number of Germans in St. Louis were almost entirely deprived of the consolations of religion, as there was no preacher to instruct them in their own language, finally made the necessary arrangements to provide them with a German missionary who was to say Mass and preach for them on Sundays and holydays. Abbé Lutz was the first one assigned to the duty; but on his leaving for Europe in company with the Bishop, Abbé Fischer was appointed in his place. About the same time a similar measure for the welfare of the German faithful was taken by the Society [of Jesus]. A special service for them was introduced in the University Chapel and was very well attended. Fathers Aelen and Ferdinand Helias were successively commissioned to take care of the Germans. But on the appointment of Father Aelen to the Potawatomi Indian Mission of Sugar Creek and of Father Helias to the colony of Westphalians who had recently settled in the vicinity of Jefferson City, they were replaced by Fathers J. B. Emig and Verheyden, who filled this post up to the fall of last year, when Father Cotting was appointed to devote himself exclusively to the spiritual needs of the Germans. As Abbé Fischer's duties multiplied to such an extent that his health suffered as a result, Father Cotting had to substitute for him in the German sermon at the Cathedral. Last Lent he preached three or four times a week in the Cathedral without at the same time interrupting his ministry in the University Chapel. Moreover, in order to make it easier for the [German-speaking] faithful to hear the word of God, an arrangement was made whereby the sermon [in German] is delivered in these two churches at different times, namely, at 9 A. M. in the Cathedral and at 11 in the University Chapel. It is certainly an edifying

³³ *SLCHR*, 4:7.

sight to see with what zeal these simple and pious people besiege our confessionals and come to services in our church.⁸⁴

The first Jesuit to minister for any length of time to the spiritual needs of the German Catholics of St. Louis was the Belgian father, Ferdinand Helias. Arriving by steamer in St. Louis on Saturday, August 22, 1835, he had scarcely stepped ashore when he had the unexpected pleasure of meeting a companion of his school-days, Father Joseph Lutz, at that time the only native German priest in the diocese of St. Louis.⁸⁵ Father Lutz insisted on presenting his friend at once to Bishop Rosati at the cathedral rectory. Here the Jesuit remained as a guest of the Bishop until the following Monday morning, dividing his time between ministerial functions in the cathedral and conversation with his host on the needs of the German Catholics of the city, in whose behalf the prelate then and there sought to engage the father's services.

At St. Louis University, which he reached on the morning of August 24, Father Helias was assigned to various duties, including those of minister of the house, professor of Italian and quasi-pastor of the German Catholics then frequenting the University (St. Aloysius) Chapel. Here, for a period of three years, Father Helias conducted Sunday services and administered the sacraments of the Church on their behalf. After his departure from St. Louis in 1838 to take up his life-work among the German Catholics of central Missouri the care of the German congregation of North St. Louis, then rapidly increasing in numbers, fell to various fathers of St. Louis University. From 1841 to 1845 Father James Cotting, a native of Fribourg in Switzerland, was in charge. In a letter of December 30, 1842, he drew an engaging picture of the piety of his flock:

Having now an eagerness and a holy desire to hear the word of God and share in their Church's treasure of graces, they come in crowds to our little college chapel to partake of spiritual remedies for the salvation of their souls. But these pious purposes of theirs meet with two great hindrances: [1] the narrow dimensions of our chapel, which cannot even hold the grown-up part of the faithful living in our vicinity, and (2) the circumstance that I have not yet received from the Right Reverend Bishop of the diocese all the authority necessary to provide for the needs and interests of the German congregation in accordance with its wishes. Hence it happens (a thing we cannot too much deplore) that very many of the German faithful, as a result of the overcrowding of our college chapel of St. Aloysius, cannot find room and in spite of the fact that on their way to church they have been exposed to every

⁸⁴ *Berichte*, 16:6 (1843).

⁸⁵ Lebrocquy, *Vie du P. Helias d'Huddeghem*, p. 160.

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inclemency of the weather, whether rain, storm or burning heat of the sun, they have to retrace their steps disconsolately to their distant homes without satisfying their burning thirst for the word of eternal life in the reception of the divine means of salvation. In this pressing need I know of no other relief than to build our Germans a church of their own. This the Right Rev. Bishop of the diocese in cooperation with the Fathers of our Society has already piously decided to do.⁸⁶

For the necessary financial aid to enable them to provide for the German-speaking parishes committed to their care, the Jesuits, having no other source on which to draw, turned to the Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna. Help from this quarter was generously given. In 1841 an appropriation of sixteen hundred dollars was made to the Jesuits of North America. In April, 1843, a subsidy of two thousand dollars was granted the Jesuits of the St. Louis diocese, followed by a subsidy to them in May, 1844, of sixteen hundred dollars. Of the two thousand dollars that thus came into the hands of Father Van de Velde in 1843, four hundred went to Father Helias for his new church at Haarville, four hundred to Father Busschots for the church he was building at Washington, and two hundred to the purchase of a church-site in Dardenne. The remaining thousand dollars Van de Velde proposed to put into a new church for the Catholics of North St. Louis as he informed the Archbishop of Vienna, March 20, 1844:

The remaining five thousand francs are to serve for the purchase of a piece of property in a suitable location in St. Louis and the erection thereon of a brick church for the numerous Germans who, up to now, have been frequenting the little chapel of our University but have scarcely found room

⁸⁶ *Berichte*, 16: 13 (1843). When in 1844 the University suffered a decline in consequence of a falling off in student registration, it was proposed to start a law department and to appropriate the so-called St. Aloysius Chapel for this purpose. This proposal met with protest from Father Cotting, in consequence of which Father Carrell, rector of the University, made the following explanation to the General: "The Hall used on Sunday by the Germans was not built for a chapel—it has two stories, the upper story is divided into four rooms—one used for the Cabinet—another for the class of Physics—a 3rd for the debating society, etc. The lower story, one long room fifteen feet high, has always been used for our theatrical exhibitions. At present it is used on Sundays and festivals by the Germans as a chapel. They have free use of it for Mass, confessions, instructions and on any extra occasion, if needed. When they do not use it, we make use of it for college purposes. This arrangement . . . was approved by the Bishop who considers the use of the Hall for religious purposes as merely temporary. . . . The Germans are well attended to—they have a priest exclusively devoted to them—every Sunday morning two Masses are said for them—they have the use of our Hall on Sundays and holidays, though the Blessed Sacrament is not kept in a room which is used for so many and such different purposes." Carrell to Roothaan, April 22, 1844. (AA).

therein for a third of their number. Their pastor is Father Cotting. A happy occurrence has helped along our plan. A rich and charitable lady of the city to whom I appealed, has made me a present of a piece of ground for the good work and I have decided to start at once, with the five thousand francs, the building of the church so sorely needed by the Germans. We have also made an appeal to them for contributions; but as they are poor for the most part, the subscriptions in cash were very meager and netted scarcely five hundred francs. On the other hand, they promised their services for gratuitous labor, levelling the ground, excavating, laying the foundations, etc. Now that we put hand to the work the 4th of the current month, they have eagerly performed their voluntary labor and faithfully complied with the engagements made. According to plans the church will be 103 feet long and 60 feet wide and will cost at least from sixty thousand to seventy thousand francs to finish. But my intention is to go on with the building only according to the measure of means now at my command or to be expected in the future. Yet it is to be feared that the work, though already taken in hand, and though its completion is so imperatively demanded by the needs of the German faithful, may be brought to a standstill were I to fail in my hopes of further support. I venture, therefore, to beg for this object from the Leopoldine Foundation. I am of the opinion that forty to fifty thousand francs will suffice to bring the body of the church so far to completion that it can serve for use. The addition of the façade and tower can be postponed to more propitious times. I would also plan to put up a free school for the German children of both sexes and a small pastor's residence for Father Cotting.⁸⁷

The property, a hundred feet in length, donated to Father Van de Velde as a site for the church he was about to build lay at the northeast corner of Eleventh and Biddle Streets, in what was known as the Biddle Addition. This was a forty-arpent tract originally owned by François Dunegant, founder of Florissant, who in 1805 disposed of it with another St. Louis tract of similar dimensions to John Mullanphy for one hundred and sixty dollars.⁸⁸ It was a daughter of John Mullanphy, Mrs. Ann Biddle, who now made a gift of the hundred feet in question. She was the widow of Major Thomas Biddle, whose tragic death in a duel fought with Colonel Pettis on Bloody Island was a long remembered incident of early St. Louis history. From the Missouri shore, John Mullanphy, mounted on his favorite roan horse, watched the gruesome encounter in which his son-in-law and the other principal fell victims to the fierce passions that ruled the politics of the day.⁸⁹ The corner-stone of the first St. Joseph's Church, built on the property donated by Mrs. Biddle, was blessed on April 14, 1844, by Bishop Kenrick, assisted by

⁸⁷ *Berichte*, 17:38 (1844).

⁸⁸ Garraghan, *St. Ferdinand de Florissant*, p. 46, note 25.

⁸⁹ J. F. Darby, *Personal Recollections* (St. Louis, 1880).

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Father Van de Velde. The occasion was a gala one for the Catholics of St. Louis. There was a procession of ecclesiastics, lay societies and parochial school-children from St. Francis Xavier's at Ninth Street and Christy Avenue to the site of the new church. A sermon was preached in German by Father Cotting, pastor of the congregation, whose hopes for a house of worship of their own were now to be realized.

The edifice, one hundred and seven by sixty feet in dimensions, faced west, its length being along the Biddle Street side of the property.⁴⁰ Built after plans furnished by an architect, George Purvis, it was Ionic in design, with a portico supported by four fluted columns and with an octagonal turret and a spire. Untoward circumstances, among them the throwing down of the north wall by a storm, delayed the work of construction. Moreover, money became scarce as building operations proceeded, for the parishioners, engaged most of them in the struggle for a livelihood, had scant means to draw upon. They organized, however, a building association (*Bauverein*), a monthly assessment of twenty-five cents for the men and fifteen cents for the women being levied on the members. As a result of some unreasonable demands made by certain members of the *Bauverein* it was found necessary by the pastors to reorganize the society and give it a new constitution. As a consequence of this step about one-half of the members of the *Bauverein* withdrew from that association and formed a new society, the Roman Catholic *Unterstützungsverein*. Finally, on the first Sunday of August, 1846, the church was solemnly dedicated to divine service by Father Van de Velde, who penned an account of the event for the Archbishop of Vienna:

All the members of the congregation, i.e. of the parish assigned to this church, assembled on Washington Street [Avenue], which runs in front of our college, and there formed a procession, which was headed by the children of both sexes with the banner of St. Aloysius; after the children came the women; then the men, two by two; next, a band of music which had offered its services for the occasion; at the end came the choir-boys and clergy, i.e. our scholastics in rochets and the priests in dalmatics and copes. The procession wound through three or four streets so as to come up in front of the church. The people were ranged around the church while the solemn ceremonies of consecration were being performed by myself as Provincial of the Society of Jesus. After the ceremonies were over solemn High Mass was celebrated. Father Joseph Patschowski preached in German before a large gathering. The solemn services having ended, the procession formed again to conduct the clergy back to the college. Since that time Mass has been said

⁴⁰ Most of the details which follow are from a Latin ms. narrative, *Brevis historia ecclesiae et congregationis ad St. Josephi, St. Louis, Mo., ab anno 1846-1853*, written apparently by Father Seisl. (A).

daily and other services have been held in the church. Fathers Hofbauer and Patschowski of the Austrian Province have been sent here to take charge of this German parish and rejoice in the love and confidence of the faithful. A great part of the Catholics receive the holy sacrament pretty regularly, many of them once a month, others more frequently or at any rate rather often.⁴¹

Together with this account of the dedication ceremonies, Father Van de Velde conveyed to his Austrian benefactors his cordial appreciation of the substantial aid they had rendered him in the building of the church. This was not by any means completely finished. The ceiling, a part of the choir, and the presbytery were still to be added. The steeple rose only up to the roof and organ and bells were yet to be purchased. Moreover, the entire building had to be plastered and painted. The cost of the construction so far had been in excess of twelve thousand dollars, or more than thirty thousand Austrian gulden. To finish the church would require from twelve thousand to fifteen thousand gulden. Of the thirty thousand gulden already spent, ten thousand had come from the Leopoldine Foundation, five thousand had been contributed by the German and other Catholics of the city, while the remainder had been either borrowed at five and six per cent or was an interest-bearing debt due to the contractors, who, observed Father Van de Velde, "being good Catholics, do not cause me any embarrassment if their bill is not paid on time." The particulars recorded are not without significance as indicating the difficulties that almost everywhere beset the building of Catholic churches in the United States in the period of immigration.

On February 2, 1846, Fathers John Nepomucene Hofbauer, an Austrian, and Joseph Patschowski (or Patschowsky), a Silesian, both of the Jesuit province of Austria, had arrived in St. Louis. The former was at once named pastor of St. Joseph's, the latter being later assigned to him as assistant. Shortly after his arrival Father Hofbauer wrote to Europe:

Here in St. Louis I am so occupied with pastoral duties that I have to steal away an hour to write these lines. What I never wanted to be in my own archdiocese and to escape which was one of my reasons for entering the Society of Jesus, this I now have to be, namely a parish priest. God gives me strength and health. So far I have to do everything myself. On Sundays when I must preach three times I haven't a quarter of an hour to myself. A numerous, unsettled and in many respects divided parochial congregation (for the various districts of Germany do not send the best of their people over to us) surely gives much to do to a lone and feeble worker. May God strengthen me and preserve my health. I join my prayers to those of my very Reverend Father Provincial for help and support. The parish is very poor and we stand

⁴¹ *Berichte*, 21: 35 (1848-1849). The letter is dated November 29, 1846.

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so much in need of a chalice, a ciborium, some mass-vestments, and other things.⁴²

Father Hofbauer retained the charge of pastor until his return to Europe in 1851.⁴³ Father Patschowski was replaced as assistant, August 30, 1847, by Father Martin Seisl, but returned in 1851 as head pastor of St. Joseph's in succession to Hofbauer. Patschowski held this charge until his death in 1859, when after a short interval he was succeeded by Father Joseph Weber, under whom the second or present St. Joseph's Church was built.

At a date prior even to the opening of the first St. Joseph's Church for divine service the organization of parochial schools had been taken in hand. Early in 1846 Brother Peter Karleskind, S. J., was conducting a German school for boys in the basement of St. Francis Xavier's Church. On August 17 of the same year a school for girls was started by the Sisters of Charity in the orphan asylum conducted by them on Biddle Street between Tenth and Eleventh. Two years later a school-house for the girls was erected. Before the end of 1848 the boys also were occupying a school-house of their own, which adjoined the church on the north and served at the same time as a residence for the pastors. During the same year a night-school for adults desirous of learning English was started, the classes being conducted first by a salaried school-master and afterwards by Father Seisl.

On June 6, 1851, Archbishop Kenrick dedicated the German Orphan Asylum on Hogan Street, a few blocks west of St. Joseph's Church. It was built at a cost of fourteen thousand dollars on property provided for the purpose by the vice-provincial, Father Elet.

The pernicious influence exercised, especially through the press and other literary channels, by the German anti-Catholic group of St. Louis popularly known as the Forty-eighters made it incumbent on the early pastors of St. Joseph's to combat the evil with similar weapons. In 1848 a parish library of six hundred volumes was established with the aid of money furnished largely by the Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna. In the same year the first German Catholic paper of the city, the *St. Louis Zeitung*, was founded, with a Mr. Eickhof, a one-time instructor in St. Joseph's parochial school, as editor. It suspended publication at the end of six months. In 1850 Father Seisl, who had set up a printing press of his own, brought out the weekly *Sontag's Blatt*, which ran for

⁴² *Berichte*, 21 (1848-1849).

⁴³ Father Hofbauer returned to Austria in 1851, dying there as a Jesuit October 27, 1878. He met with some difficulty in the management of his St. Louis parish, a curious incident in this connection being told in Seisl's Latin chronicle.

a year and a half. He also either wrote or edited a number of publications, among them *Katholisches Lesebuch für der Deutschen Schulen*, *Kleiner Katechismus*, a *Life of St. Peter Claver*, and an account of the conversion of M. Ratisbon. It may be added that Father Christopher Genelli wrote his scholarly *Life of St. Ignatius* while serving as assistant-pastor at St. Joseph's, 1848-1849.⁴⁴

With the passing of the years and the growing improvement in the economic status of its members, St. Joseph's parish developed into a distinctly self-supporting and highly flourishing section of the Catholic population of St. Louis. An idea of the extent to which the organization of the parish was carried during the pastorate of Father Weber is furnished by a report which he forwarded to the Father General in 1862.

Our residence numbers three Fathers [Weber, Wipperf, D. Niederkorn] with a Brother [Caspar Baumgartner] for the household work. It is scarcely possible to ascertain with certainty the number of souls committed to our care, but no one doubts that it exceeds 2000. Our church, though measuring 104 feet by 65 feet, is twice too small to hold all [the parishioners] even on ordinary Sundays of the year. Great fervor and piety especially as shown in the frequentation of the sacraments are in evidence and as a consequence the other parishes are much edified thereby. A great help in this regard are the different confraternities and pious societies introduced into our parish. Besides the confraternities of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Living Rosary, as it is called, which meet every month, on which occasion it is usual for as many as 350 members to approach the Holy Table to gain the indulgences, we have the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular of Mount Carmel as also the Society for the Propagation of the Faith for the adults and the Society of the Holy Child for the boys and girls of our school. Moreover, there is the Society for young workmen founded in Cologne some time ago by Rev. Mr. Kolping and now spread throughout all Germany. Another society which does a great amount of good and is a source of edification even to the non-Catholics is the Society of St. Vincent de Paul for the relief of the poor, especially those of our own people. Our conference is by far the largest in point of membership and the most fervent in the whole city, numbering over 230 members, nearly all poor themselves and possessing nothing else except what they earn every day in the sweat of their brow. It is a marvel how eagerly they are wont to observe the rules and statutes of the aforesaid Society and how fervently they try to gain the indulgences which the statutes allow to them. It is a custom in our Conference for all the members to go to Holy Communion in a body on indulgence days. It is a rare spectacle indeed to see as many as 200 men

⁴⁴ "The *Herold des Glaubens* appeared for the first time on the first Sunday of January, 1850, under the editorship of P. Martin Scisl, then pastor of St. Joseph's Church. The publisher was P. Kessel, formerly employed in Sailer's printing office." Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1928), 2: 173.

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approaching the Eucharistic table with so much devotion and piety. Finally, there has been introduced the Congregation or Sodality of the Blessed Virgin for young ladies, with the same rules and statutes as obtain in our colleges. This Sodality numbers now over 145 young ladies, who are truly models of innocence and piety. On the first Sunday of every month all of them go to Holy Communion together or in a body, as we are accustomed to say. There are, besides, two other flourishing societies, one of men for the support of our schools and the other of women for procuring altar equipment. To keep all these pious societies up to the mark is no small labor.

Then there are our well-attended parish schools in which Christian Doctrine is explained twice a week. The boys are under the direction of two school-masters, each of whom receives a salary of \$400. This money is supplied by the boys, each of whom pays fifty cents a month, the poor excepted, who attend our schools without charge. The girls are under the direction and discipline of six nuns of the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin founded in Munich to conduct schools for the poor [School Sisters of Notre Dame]. They have over 313 girls, to whom they give an excellent education in every respect.

Again, there is incumbent on us the spiritual care of the German Orphan Asylum, which was built some years ago in our neighborhood by an association of leading Catholic gentlemen. It counts at present some 103 boys and girls under the charge and management of the Sisters of St. Joseph. Every day one of Ours goes to celebrate Mass, to instruct the orphans and to hear their confessions as also those of the Sisters. There are, besides, other convents of nuns committed to our care, in which confessions must be heard and exhortations given every week, and still other convents to which we go only four times a year as extraordinary confessors.

So far I have said nothing about the public devotions introduced in our church. We hold nine-day devotions [novenas] before Christmas Day, the feast of St. Joseph, patron of our church, and the feast of the Sacred Heart. We celebrate the month of May by an exhortation to the people every evening, and the six Sundays of St. Aloysius by a sermon in the afternoon on the virtues of this holy patron of youth, about 400 devout men and women being present at the sermon. Every Sunday, besides a sermon at High Mass, we have in the afternoon Catechism for the children and a catechetical instruction for adults, this last very well attended. Moreover, during Lent the people have a sermon once and the Way of the Cross twice a week.

Then we have a fair sized library of spiritual books for the parishioners. Books are taken out on Sundays after the afternoon services.

Moreover, we have made several excursions to near-by parishes where we preached and heard confessions. One of our Fathers preached every week during Lent in the neighboring Church of Saints Peter and Paul. Another helped our Fathers for a whole month in the Residence of St. Francis [Washington, Mo.]. Still another lent help to the parish priest in Belleville, Illinois. We twice gave the spiritual exercise to nuns.

In the May of this year we began to renovate the church and paint it

throughout with suitable decoration at a cost of about \$1400, almost all of which sum was generously contributed by the people. We began, besides, to build a new school for our boys, as the old one was no longer able to hold them all. The building we began to construct is 75 feet long, 60 feet wide and 55 feet high and will cost \$12,000.

We heard during the course of the year about 21,000 confessions, of which 109 were general. We attended 159 dying. As to conversions there were not more than eight.

Our Residence serves as a stimulus to the other parishes of this city.⁴⁵

In the autumn of 1865 Archbishop Kenrick laid the corner-stone of a new St. Joseph's Church, a spacious and impressive structure of Romanesque design, which was dedicated on December 30, 1866, Father De Smet being the officiating priest in the ceremony. The church was in reality an addition to the old one, which was razed in 1880, to make way for an imposing façade in keeping with the style of the new structure.

§ 4. CHILLICOTHE IN OHIO

From 1847 to 1851 the two Catholic parishes of Chillicothe, Ohio, St. Mary's for English- and St. Peter's for German-speaking worshippers, were in charge of Jesuit priests. Chillicothe, a hundred miles east of Cincinnati on the banks of the Scioto, was visited in its pioneer days by Father Stephen Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, and by the Dominican friars, Fathers Alemany, Mazzuchelli and Young, all names of enduring record in the history of the Church in the Middle West. In June, 1837, came Father Henry D. Juncker, the future Bishop of Alton, Illinois, as first resident pastor. An old Episcopalian church on South Walnut Street, the first of that denomination so it has been asserted, erected west of the Alleghany Mountains, was purchased by the Catholics shortly after Father Juncker's arrival and named St. Mary's. Juncker, who remained in charge of the parish until July, 1845, was assisted at various times by Father Edward Purcell, brother of the Bishop of Cincinnati, Father Amadeus Rappe, afterwards Bishop of Cleveland, Father H. B. Butler, subsequently vicar-general of Covington, and Father J. B. Emig of the Society of Jesus.

In a few years the little brick church was found inadequate to the needs of the congregation, chiefly German and numbering in 1845 about fifteen hundred souls. Arrangements were first made to build a more spacious edifice for the common use of the English and German-speaking members of the congregation; but the plan was soon aban-

⁴⁵ *Litterae Annuae Residentiae ad Sti. Josephi, St. Louis, Mo., July 1, 1861—July 1, 1862.* (A).

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doned as impracticable. It was then determined that the entire congregation should contribute first to the erection of a church for the German-speaking group and afterwards to the erection of another church for the English-speaking members. By the time the new church for the Germans, to be called St. Peter's, would be under roof, the English-speaking part of the congregation were to begin a new Church of St. Mary's for themselves. A lot was purchased at the corner of Water and Church Streets and here June 30, 1845, the corner-stone of St. Peter's Church was laid. It was finished in the fall of 1846 with Father Casper Borgess as the pastor in charge. The new edifice of stone and brick was in Gothic style and measured one hundred feet long by fifty-five feet wide with a recess for the altar and sacristy and a tower in front, its entire length being one hundred and eighteen feet. The spire, finished with ball and cross, rose one hundred and forty-two feet above ground.⁴⁶

In March, 1847, Bishop Purcell expressed a desire to Father Van de Velde that the Jesuits assume spiritual care of the Catholics of Chillicothe. "The Right Rev. Bishop of Cincinnati," Van de Velde wrote at once to the General, "has asked the vice-province to take care of Chillicothe. . . . I have no doubt at all of your Paternity's consent, as the Right Rev. Bishop wishes to have his request complied with."⁴⁷ The superior's advisers in St. Louis were of the opinion that at least one father should be stationed there and the names of Fathers Kenny and d'Hoop were proposed for the mission. In the meantime Van de Velde, on occasion of a contemplated visit to Cincinnati, was to inspect the Chillicothe mission in person and then confer on the matter with Bishop Purcell. Father Roothaan, having been appealed to for a German-speaking father, answered under date of July 12, 1847, that he could not, in view of the great scarcity of German priests, think of accepting the new residence, except provisionally. "Not in Missouri alone but almost everywhere there is a demand for German priests." Fathers Kalcher and d'Hoop were eventually assigned to Chillicothe, the first for the German- and the second for the English-speaking congregation. The Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* for May 27, 1847, contained the announcement: "Rev. Fathers Kalcher and d'Hoop have been charged by the Bishop with the care of St. Peter's and St. Mary's congregations, Chillicothe. These Rev. Fathers intend to commence a school for boys immediately after their arrival in Chillicothe. We have no doubt of the success which will crown their useful undertaking, nor of its being furnished promptly with teachers and professors who will justify the confidence which we bespeak for them from the citizens generally."

⁴⁶ *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati), June 26, 1845.

⁴⁷ Van de Velde ad Roothaan, March 14, 1847. (AA).

In 1849 Father George Carrell, future first Bishop of Covington, was superior of the Chillicothe residence. Father Kalcher attended to the German portion of the congregation while Father Peter Tschieder was charged with the care of the mission-stations in the neighborhood. These included St. Joseph's in Circleville; St. Francis Xavier in Pleasant Valley, eight miles from Chillicothe; Frankfort, Williamsport, New Holland and Piketon, all of which places were visited once a month. Father Carrell, on his arrival in Chillicothe, began to organize the English-speaking Catholics into a separate congregation. About a dozen families of them now returned to the original St. Mary's Church on Walnut Street, which was still in possession of St. Peter's congregation. Among the laymen identified with the building up of the new St. Mary's parish were Marshall Anderson, Jacob Eichenlaub, James Scully, Roger and Charles Cull, Andrew Malone, Dr. T. McNally, Edward, Peter and James Carville, William B. Hanley, John Reily, John Poland and his two sons Patrick and William. "The rapid growth of the Church in Chillicothe," wrote a son of William Poland, "can be justly attributed to the untiring zeal of the Jesuit Fathers. Not content with working within the city, they began to seek for conversions in the country round about. On the Waverly Turnpike, below Massieville, stands St. Xavier's Mission Church, now almost in ruins, which they erected, and to which, while they remained in Chillicothe, a hundred souls went to worship. In Harrison Township, near Londonderry, another mission with a church named St. Mary's was established."⁴⁸

In 1851 the two parishes of St. Mary's and St. Peter's were resigned into Bishop Purcell's hands and the Jesuits withdrew from Chillicothe. They had stipulated for only a temporary administration of the parishes, which were now assigned pastors from the diocesan clergy, Father Thomas Boulger going to St. Mary's and Father Edward Lieb to St. Peter's.⁴⁹

§ 5. TERRE HAUTE IN INDIANA

Although the Jesuits of the Middle West never established what could be properly called a residence in Terre Haute, the single parish of the town was administered by them through a space of three years, during which time negotiations for its permanent acceptance were carried on between the bishop of the diocese and the Jesuit superiors. In June, 1857, Bishop de St. Palais of Vincennes visited St. Louis to offer

⁴⁸ W. Poland, *Che-le-cothe: Glimpses of Yesterday*, p. 220.

⁴⁹ For Father Murphy's letter to Archbishop Purcell on the occasion of the cession of Chillicothe, see *supra*, § 1. "The Bishop's brother [Rev. Edward Purcell], who is also Vicar General, readily agreed to it." Murphy à Roothaan, March 3, 1852. (AA).

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to the vice-provincial the spiritual charge of Terre Haute. The terms of the offer appeared so favorable to the latter and his consultors that at a meeting of the board held on June 24, 1857, they resolved to accept it, provided the Society, in case the mission was subsequently relinquished, should be reimbursed for improvements made out of its private funds. Final arrangements, however, were not to be made before the mind of the Father General had been ascertained. A letter of Father De Smet addressed to Father Beckx enters into the details of the Bishop's offer:

Monsignor St. Palais, Bishop of Vincennes in the State of Indiana, came to spend a few days with us at the University. The object of his visit was his earnest desire to possess a house of the Society of Jesus in his extensive diocese. He offers a flourishing parish in the town of Terre Haute, which has a population of about 12,000, and proposes to give the Society of Jesus exclusive charge of the mission of Terre Haute on the following conditions:

1. As soon as convenient to the Society and as soon as permission shall have been obtained from the Very Rev. Father General, the Society will furnish the priests needed for the mission. In the interim, it will send a Father to take charge of the congregation. The understanding is that the number of priests is to be determined by the Fathers alone and not by the mission or congregation.

2. If the Society accepts the mission, the Bishop will give the Fathers immediate possession of the church and presbytery, free of all debt and with all their appurtenances. The house can easily accommodate two or three Fathers.

3. The Boys' school and the church revenues will be controlled by the Fathers and be subject to their disposition. The Bishop reserves to himself only the amount of two annual collections, one for the diocesan seminary and the other for the support of the orphan asylum, apart from the *cathedraticum* established by the diocesan statutes and saving any other regulation sanctioned by the Holy See.

4. The Bishop does not require the establishment of a college; he merely desires it and only in so far as the Society should judge it proper and useful.

In compliance with the pressing invitation of the Bishop and after mature deliberation on the part of Very Rev. Father Provincial and his Consultors, it was decided to send Father Di Maria to Terre Haute *pro tem*, and pending your Paternity's decision as to accepting or rejecting the terms laid down by the Bishop—in any case, however, the supposition being that the Vice-Province could spare Father Di Maria or some other Father for the needs of this mission. The report made by Father Di Maria to Rev. Father Provincial on present conditions in the mission is highly favorable. He gives assurance that a house of the Society in that quarter would be of the first importance and that the ministry of the Fathers would result in immense good, both for the town and its vicinity. I dare to hope that with the permission of your Paternity, the offer of the Bishop of Indiana will be accepted. I will add that the Bishop

is ready to accede to any proposition the Society may make; he earnestly desires to have Jesuits in his diocese.⁵⁰

Father Beckx's reply, addressed to the vice-provincial, Father Druyts, while not a refusal, emphasized the objections that might be raised to the acceptance of the mission of Terre Haute:

1. In the first place, on looking over the catalogue of the Vice-Province, I notice that there are three times as many small residences as there are houses organized according to the requirements of the Institute. . . .

2. The Vice-Province is so overburdened beyond measure that up to the present it has been unable to give its members the formation which the Institute requires, both in letters and in a solid religious spirit; philosophical and theological studies are not as yet on a proper footing.

3. The Vice-Province can scarcely provide for its houses, now multiplied to excess, including the ones quite recently opened in Milwaukee and Chicago, which in due time shall have to be enlarged. Where, then, is it going to find men for the new residence of which there is question? . . . To one who considers the present state of the Vice-Province, it ought to be clear that the need of the moment is to form our men properly in the first and second probation, in studies, and in the third probation rather than to assume new obligations. At the same time, if your Reverence can without prejudice to the Vice-Province, take in hand the mission offered by the bishop of Vincennes, I shall not, absolutely speaking, withhold my consent.⁵¹

In the end the vice-province did not take over Terre Haute, though in accordance with the stipulation made with the Bishop of Vincennes it supplied a father for the parish pending the final settlement of the question at issue. When the Bishop returned from his visit to St. Louis in June, 1857, he had in his company Father Francis Di Maria, who was to assume charge of St. Joseph's parish in Terre Haute. The Bishop declared himself ready to turn over both church and rectory permanently to the Jesuits, as also an adjoining piece of property which he purchased in their interest at a cost of thirty-five hundred dollars. The parish, the only one in the city, had been served the previous year by Father Simon Lalumiere. In June, 1858, Father De Smet wrote to the Father General: "In view of the lack of subjects in the vice-province, the Consultors are divided in regard to the importance of a Residence in this locality. A residence of the Society would be desirable there, in consideration of the large number of Catholics in Indiana and the favorable disposition of the Bishop towards the Society, together with his great desire to have Jesuits in the diocese—he is disposed to wait one or more years to obtain this, provided that Father Di Maria be per-

⁵⁰ De Smet à Beckx, August 3, 1857. (A).

⁵¹ Beckx ad Druyts, October 3, 1857. (A).

mitted to remain there during the interval. This good Father, however, has need of a companion. He does considerable good in Terre Haute."⁵²

Father Di Maria's stay in Terre Haute continued from June, 1857, to August, 1859. Some necessary improvements on St. Joseph's Church and rectory which he carried through involved an outlay of some four thousand dollars. The German Catholics, organized into a sort of separate parish, also enjoyed his services. Besides attending to these two congregations, he was charged with the spiritual care of the mother-house of the Sisters of Providence situated a few miles outside of Terre Haute. He looked upon the city as a highly promising field of work and in March, 1859, after he had been engaged in it for twenty-one months, wrote to Father Beckx pleading for its definite acceptance:

Terre Haute is a very fine city of some twelve thousand inhabitants and goes on growing from day to day. There are railroads which go E[ast], W[est], N[orth], S[outh]. It is situated on a river called the Wabash, navigable by steamer and on a canal which extends from Lake Michigan to the Ohio River. The surrounding land is pretty rich and well cultivated. It is midway between St. Louis, Louisville and Cincinnati; hence would be a great convenience to Ours who have to pass from one college to another. There are in Terre Haute about three thousand Catholics among the Americans, Irish and Germans. These two congregations give about three thousand dollars a year. You see clearly that with such a sum three Fathers and two Brothers can be easily supported.

A residence of Ours in Terre Haute besides being of the greatest advantage to the city would also prove highly advantageous to the entire diocese of Vincennes. Retreats for priests, occasional missions, visits to the neighboring villages where the people are without assistance, would do considerable good, and certainly result A. M. D. G. . . . Everything here is in readiness to receive our men. I hope God will inspire you to send Jesuits to this city for his greater glory.⁵³

In August, 1859, Father Di Maria was transferred by Father Druyts from Terre Haute to the scholasticate recently opened on the College Farm in North St. Louis, where he lectured on dogmatic theology and canon law, but for a year only, the scholasticate being suspended in 1860 and the Jesuit students sent to continue their studies in Boston. He was thereupon assigned to pastoral duty at the College Church in St. Louis, but after a year in this employment was transferred at his own request from the Missouri Vice-province to the Maryland Province of the Society.⁵⁴ He survived his transfer to the East eight

⁵² De Smet à Beckx, June 1, 1858. (A).

⁵³ Di Maria à Beckx, March 21, 1859. (AA).

⁵⁴ Murphy ad Beckx, August 14, 1861. (AA).

years, dying in 1871 in Philadelphia, where he had been engaged in pastoral duties at old St. Joseph's Church in Willing's Alley.⁵⁵

At Terre Haute Father Di Maria was replaced by Father John Beckwith, who had the assistance of the coadjutor-brother, Clement Bocklage. Father Horstmann had care of the hundred and fifty German families in the parish, many of whom had almost lost the faith. The two fathers had been placed in Terre Haute in a final attempt to determine through their experience on the ground whether the station there should be retained or given up.⁵⁶ A year later Father Druyts with the approval of the Visitor, Father Sopranis, notified Bishop de St. Palais that the two Jesuits in charge of St. Joseph's parish could not remain beyond September 1, 1860. The Bishop still hoped to retain them, but, so Druyts informed the General, "in view of the circumstances in which this Vice-Province finds itself owing to neglect in the education of its young men, etc., it seems that this is scarcely possible."⁵⁷ Sometime before the end of 1860 the Jesuits withdrew definitely from Terre Haute, St. Joseph's parish passing thereupon into the hands of the Benedictine fathers.⁵⁸

§ 6. MINOR RESIDENCES

Here and there at scattered points in the Middle West parishes were taken in hand provisionally in answer to urgent requests from bishops who were unable to provide for them from the ranks of their own clergy. Thus, in the course of 1847 Father Ignatius Maes, S. J., was stationed at Cahokia, St. Clair County, Illinois, as resident pastor of the Church of the Holy Family, Bishop Quarter of Chicago, to whose diocese Cahokia belonged, having asked the Jesuits to assume charge of the parish. The church building, of logs, was an eighteenth-century structure and is still standing; the parish, or rather the mission out of which it grew, was established in 1699 by Seminary priests of Quebec and not by Jesuits, as is sometimes stated. It is the oldest parish in the state of Illinois. In August, 1847, Father Van de Velde decided to allow Father Maes to remain at Cahokia, stipulation being made that in case of his sickness or death, no obligation should exist to supply another priest of the Society and that once a month and on the more important festivals of the Church he was to visit French Village.⁵⁹ This small settlement with its church of St. Philip was distant a few miles from Cahokia. Early in 1848 Father Van de Velde informed Father Elet,

⁵⁵ Cf. *supra*, Chap. XVIII, § 5.

⁵⁶ Druyts à Beckx, August 28, 1859. (AA).

⁵⁷ Druyts à Beckx, August 1, 1860. (AA).

⁵⁸ *Catholic Directory*, 1861.

⁵⁹ *Liber Consultationum*, January 12, 1849. (A).

who was then in Rome attending a congregation of procurators, that his petition to the General for permission to accept Cahokia had elicited no response. "I have not as yet received an answer regarding the congregations or missions of Cahokia and Kaskaskia, which the Bishop of Chicago offers us and which he says rightly belong to us since they were the first of all the missions founded by our Fathers in the western country before the year 1700 and were bedewed with their sweat and blood. Father Maes is now stationed in the former while the latter is 20 leagues distant from the city [St. Louis] and being very poor is frequently left to itself. Many of our ancient Fathers were buried there." ⁶⁰ In 1849 Father Van de Velde, now become Bishop of Chicago, made efforts to have the Jesuits take over Cahokia and Kaskaskia permanently. Father Elet, the vice-provincial, and his consultors hesitated to do so and it was determined to refer the matter to the General. Despite his usual opposition to any expansion of the field of the middlewestern Jesuits, Father Roothaan's attitude was that these new obligations might be assumed provided Elet could spare the men necessary to meet them. But the latter, in view of his meagre personnel, took no definite action in the matter, while his successor, Father Murphy, turned Cahokia back in 1852 to the Bishop of Chicago. Father Maes on being called from the Illinois parish in 1849 to open a mission among the Winnebago of Minnesota had been succeeded there by Father John Schultz, who remained in charge until the parish was vacated by the Jesuits. At the beginning of 1849 Father Busschots was in residence at Nouveau Village, and the following year at Belleville, both places being in St. Clair County, Illinois. These missions were given up simultaneously with Cahokia. "Bishop Van de Velde writes to Father De Smet," so Father Murphy informed the General, "that heaven in taking so many men away from us [by death] wishes to punish us for having withdrawn from Illinois, his diocese, the Fathers he had placed there when Provincial, as though there were no good reasons for our doing so. However, so blind and callous are we that we have neither remorse or apprehension, and should like to do a similar thing in Missouri." ⁶¹

The mission of Marshall, Saline County, Missouri, with neighbor-

⁶⁰ Van de Velde ad Elet, January 26, 1848. (AA). New channels cut by the Mississippi in 1892 and 1899 swept away most of historic Kaskaskia. The fullest and most accurate account of the old Jesuit mission of Kaskaskia is Sister Mary Borgias Palm, S.N.D., *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country, 1673-1763* (Cleveland, 1934). For the beginnings of Cahokia cf. G. J. Garraghan, S.J., "New Light on Old Cahokia" in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (Chicago), 11: 99-146 (October, 1928).

⁶¹ Murphy à Roothaan, November 15, 1852. (AA).

ing stations at Boonville, Middleton, Lexington and other points was served by Jesuit priests during the period 1846-1847. Father Di Maria and after him Father Dennis Kenny were pastors at Marshall, which appears to have been resigned into the hands of the Bishop of St. Louis about August, 1847.⁶² When Father Di Maria arrived in the place, there was no church nor were there quarters anywhere for the proper celebration of Mass. At the earnest solicitations of the Catholics, who with the local Protestants contributed liberally for the purpose according to their means, Father Di Maria succeeded in putting up a little church. In March, 1846, he was begging Father Roothaan for the three hundred dollars necessary for its completion.⁶³

For three years, 1853-1856, Father Di Maria, at the request of Bishop Carrell of Covington, was engaged in various parochial duties in that diocese. For a period he lived with the prelate in Covington and was subsequently resident pastor of St. Peter's Church, Lexington, Kentucky. In December, 1857, when Bishop Carrell was urging the Jesuits to take this Lexington parish in charge again, he was advised by the vice-provincial that no further help could be extended to him in that quarter.

In the fall of 1849 a father was temporarily stationed at Quincy, Illinois. In October of that year Father De Smet informed Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago: "Your request of [*sic*] not removing Father Schultz from Quincy came too late, as Father Provincial, upon his most earnest request, had already written to him to return immediately to St. Louis. It is indeed a great pity that we are so destitute in men. Quincy and Belleville certainly would be desirable places for beautiful missionary Residences. Besides, Rev. Father General insists on consolidating what is begun and in not allowing us to undertake anything without his special permission and approbation."⁶⁴ Notwithstanding the settlement indicated in this letter, there is on record a decision of the vice-provincial, Father Elet, to accept Quincy before the close of 1850, and Alton, also in Illinois, the following year. But the decision was never carried into effect and in March, 1851, Bishop Van de Velde was informed definitely that the Jesuits could not assume charge of Quincy.

The influx of a number of German-speaking priests into the vice-province in 1848 in consequence of disturbed conditions in Europe made it possible for the latter to undertake the care of German congregations at various points in the Middle West. Thus there were for a period Jesuit pastors in residence at St. Peter's, Chillicothe, Ohio, Corpus

⁶² Father Di Maria was recalled from Marshall, his services as professor of theology being required in the scholasticate.

⁶³ Di Maria à Roothaan, March 23, 1846. (AA).

⁶⁴ De Smet to Van de Velde, October 18, 1849. (A).

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Christi, Newport, Ky., St. Joseph's, St. Louis, Mo., St. Peter's, Dardenne, Mo., St. James, White Oak, Hamilton Co., Ohio, St. Francis Borgia's, Washington, Mo., St. Joseph's, Westphalia, Mo., St. Francis Xavier's, Taos, Mo. In Cincinnati Jesuit fathers were assistant-pastors at St. Mary's and St. Philomena's. All these parishes, with the exception of St. Joseph's, St. Louis, were one after another subsequently relinquished into the hands of the diocesan clergy, some of them in consequence of the recall of many of the German Jesuits to Europe. Father De Smet wrote to Father Elet in August, 1850: "Rev. Father Anderledy is about leaving for Europe. I doubt not but several others will soon follow him. The natural consequences of these changes are that we have to abandon missions, entirely settled by Germans, and give up to seculars several churches which we have built. Just now, the Dardennes, containing two German Congregations, have been given up to the Archbishop. By degrees, the hopes we had formed of being assisted in our arduous labors by our European brethren are quickly vanishing. Thousands of German Catholics living in the midst of dangers among the various Protestant sects are to be abandoned and to be left without priests or spiritual consolation and assistance, at least for a good while to come."⁶⁵

An instance of the pressing need which existed at this period all through the West for German priests to minister to their immigrant countrymen is furnished by a letter of 1852 from Bishop Van de Velde to Father Verhaegen, pastor at this time at St. Charles, Mo.:

The object of the present is to ask you a particular favor. There is a whole county [Calhoun], in my Diocese, the boundary of which on the Mississippi is only seven miles from St. Charles, which contains many Catholics, chiefly Germans, with a few Irish and French, and which, till under Father Elet's administration, was regularly attended by one of the German FF [Fathers] of St. Charles, once I think in two months [who] used to spend a week at a time among them. My intention was to procure them a resident priest this year. In the meantime I begged Father Verreydt to visit them occasionally—he has been there but once or twice this year. I entreat your Reverence to have pity on these poor people now quite abandoned and to send a priest among them, either to reside or to visit them regularly from St. Charles or Portage.⁶⁶

The vice-province, always undermanned in every field of endeavor in which it found itself engaged, was doing what it could for the German Catholic immigrants of the Middle West. At times indeed in a spirit of *Cicero pro domo sua* Jesuit pastors in charge of German-

⁶⁵ De Smet to Elet, August 17, 1850. (A).

⁶⁶ Van de Velde to Verhaegen, January 11, 1852. (A).

speaking parishes were moved to protest that these were not receiving an adequate quota of the available staff of workers. And yet, as Father Gleizal pointed out to the General in 1853, practically all the midwestern Jesuits employed in the parochial ministry were attached to the so-called German residences. The ever-recurring and in a measure baffling problem for superiors was to make a satisfactory distribution of the men at their command. In the beginning of 1862 Father Goeldlin of Westphalia was explaining to headquarters how that pivotal parish and its dependent stations were suffering for lack of missionaries in proper number and of proper calibre. At the same time the people "generally well disposed" were putting up with the situation with commendable patience. "If the scarcity of priests in the Vice-province was not a well known fact, these parishes would indeed seem to be neglected by superiors."⁶⁷ Some years earlier Father Goeldlin's predecessor at Westphalia, Father Helias, was lamenting in his perfervid way to Father Beckx what he thought to be the inadequacy of the service rendered to the German parishes of central Missouri. At Jefferson City where two-thirds of the Catholics were Germans, the parish, organized by Father Helias himself, and later passed over by Father Van de Velde to the archdiocese, was now in charge of a priest totally unacquainted with the German language. The fact was that the Archbishop of St. Louis was in dire need at the moment of five German-speaking priests. To Father Helias it seemed that the most competent of the German Jesuits who had affiliated with the vice-province had been diverted from the German parishes to other fields of labor. He instanced Father Schultz among the Indians, Father Tschieder among the "Americans or French," and Fathers Emig, Horstmann and Keller in the colleges. "Speaking for myself and my companions, I can say that we left our Province and all other comforts with this one end in view, i.e., the salvation of souls especially in the most difficult missions." "Not in this manner did our Father Ignatius act when amid the utmost scarcity of men he assigned to the Germans the first priest of the Society—together with one of its first members and, in extreme poverty as he was, founded the German College in Rome. For the conversion of that northern nation he ordered Masses to be said and prayers to be recited throughout the whole Society and, if the great apostle of the Indians had not been impeded by sickness, he would have recalled him from India to make him Superior in Germany."⁶⁸ Of the fathers named by Helias as having been diverted from the German parishes, three were at one time or another set over colleges as rectors. Evidently their

⁶⁷ Goeldlin ad Beckx, January 7, 1862. (AA).

⁶⁸ Helias ad Beckx, June 21, 1855; June 29, 1858. (AA).

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services in the educational field were deemed of more pressing need than the services they might render in the parishes.

To provide the organized German parishes with pastors was only one side of the problem that was thus clamoring for solution; "itinerant" missionaries, as they were called, were also needed to bestir the parishes with occasional "missions" or religious revivals and carry spiritual first aid to rural and backwoods places beyond the reach of the regular parochial service. What was being accomplished in this respect by Father Weninger and for a brief period by Father Patschowski shall presently be told. For the moment it will be enough to cite a passage from a report made in 1853 by Father Patschowski on the religious situation of the German Catholics in the United States. The evils which beset the latter and which, the report declares, existed chiefly in the cities though to some extent in the county-districts also, are enumerated as follows:

1. Most of the German immigrants are of lowly origin and uneducated. Though as yet not even half-accustomed to American liberty and license, immediately on their arrival here they mix up in politics, judge wrongly on affairs of Church and State, etc. Hence the troubles which the Germans cause the bishops in many places. Moreover, many have brought with them from Europe a revolutionary spirit (*esprit révolutionnaire*); not all of them, however, for the greater part of them are still Catholics.
2. In the case of many a great danger is hunger for money, on which account they prefer temporal gain to their soul's salvation.
3. The abuse of "ardent liquors," an abuse indulged in even by many Germans.
4. Mixed marriages.
5. Not a few join secret societies for the sake of advancement.
6. The children are not well instructed in the elements of Christian doctrine.⁶⁹

In the long run the steady persevering fight maintained by the German pastors and the better instructed German laity to preserve the faith of the immigrants in the face of difficulties such as Father Patschowski found to exist in 1853 was crowned with the most gratifying results. The great bulk of the German immigrants, who were loyal and church-going Catholics when they arrived in America, so a well-considered opinion declares, continued such the remainder of their lives.⁷⁰ Some comments of Father Murphy, when Missouri vice-superior, are of interest in this connection. "That the Germans are resolved," he observed in 1855, "to live together, to retain tenaciously their own language and purely domestic institutions and to have their own schools, gives offense to certain Catholics of other nationalities; yet in doing so, they have consulted in excellent fashion, so it would

⁶⁹ Patschowski an Pierling, February 22, 1853. (AA).

⁷⁰ *Central Blatt and Social Justice* (St. Louis), 18: 199. See note 23.

seem, their own interests and those of their posterity." "A general communion of the conferences of St. Vincent de Paul took place on the 8th (December, 1861) among our Germans [of St. Joseph's] with wonderful fruit and to the lessening of that miserable spirit of nationality. The rest of the Germans have societies only for those of their own race. Father Wipperfurth preached in English and with the happiest effect."⁷¹

⁷¹ Murphy ad Beckx, January, 1855, December 15, 1861. Data on the parochial ministry as exercised in churches attached to colleges will find their place in Part V in connection with the various colleges.

CHAPTER XX

THE MINISTRY OF THE EXERCISES

§ I. THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES AND RETREATS

Father John Polanco, secretary-general of the Society of Jesus in the life-time of its founder, recorded it as his opinion that the activity *par excellence* of a Jesuit is the molding of souls by means of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. This epoch-making little book, "very useful," so the papal brief of approbation declares, "for the edification and spiritual progress of the faithful," was published at Rome in 1548, being the first Jesuit book to issue from the press. It is the Jesuit's adequate and comprehensive spiritual guide as far as any human literary product can perform such a service; it embodies the spirituality which he seeks to develop in his own soul as also the spirituality which he seeks to impart to others. "To make a retreat" is the conventional locution for the process of going through the Exercises, the term "retreat" connoting the silence, the seclusion, the withdrawal from secular interests and occupations which provide the proper atmosphere for the performance of the Exercises. Again, one does not properly "preach" a retreat; one "directs" or "gives" it, for a retreat on the Ignatian plan is not a series of sermons but an organized system of meditations on spiritual truths with examinations of conscience and other exercises of a sacred nature, the director merely proposing matter for reflection and not delivering set discourses. At the same time, the so-called popular missions or parochial revivals conducted in churches by Jesuit preachers are in reality a form of the Ignatian Exercises, which suggest the content as well as the development of the more important sermons.¹

¹ The standard critical edition with historical and textual commentaries is *Exercitia Spiritualia Sancti Ignatii de Loyola et eorum Directoria* (Madrid, 1919). There are numerous English translations of the Exercises, e.g., Joseph Rickaby, S.J., *Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola, Spanish and English with a Continuous Commentary* (London, 1923); W. Longridge, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (London, 1919); Elder Mullan, S.J., *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (New York, 1914). Cf. also Joseph Rickaby, S.J., *How I made my Retreat* (London, 1911); H. V. Gill, S.J., *Jesuit Spirituality* (Dublin, 1936); James P. Monaghan, S.J., *Teach me Thy Paths* (Chicago, 1936). "A place in the first rank of all that helps towards this end has been won by those

When Father Roothaan became General in 1829, he found that the *Spiritual Exercises* had fallen into neglect in the Society and that their true nature was sometimes obscured in the minds even of Jesuits themselves. To remedy this state of things he carried on a vigorous campaign of exposition of the true idea of the Exercises, one feature of which was the publication in 1835 of a new edition of the work with a fresh Latin translation of his own from the Spanish text and with accompanying commentaries. The result was that the Exercises began to be restored to their proper place in the life of the Society. The use of them was better understood and the results attending their performance became more substantial. The gradual recovery which the Society thus made of effective use of its official manual of spiritual training made itself felt among the Jesuits of the Middle West. Ignatian retreats, however, had been conducted by them from their first arrival in the field. Mother Duchesne noted in a letter to her superior, St. Madeleine Sophie Barat, that her nuns were greatly pleased with the manner in which Father Van Quickenborne had brought them through the Exercises.² But retreat-giving was withal a ministry of rare occurrence. "The Spiritual Exercises according to the method of our Holy Father," Verhaegen wrote to the General in 1829, "are not given to any outsiders except the Religious of the Sacred Heart."³ Somewhat later a Missouri Jesuit was writing to Father Roothaan in Rome that the fathers and scholastics had as yet received no explicit instruction in the manner of giving the Exercises. But a belated copy of Father Roothaan's new edition found its way to Missouri and Father De Theux promptly made use of it for the enlightenment of his brethren. In 1838 Father Roothaan on forwarding to Verhaegen a copy of his edition stressed the importance even for the scholastics of study of the Exer-

Spiritual Exercises that St. Ignatius, under a divine inspiration, introduced into the Church. For although, in the goodness and pity of God there has never lacked men who should aptly set forth deep thoughts upon heavenly things before the eyes of the Faithful—yet Ignatius was the first to begin to teach a certain system and special method of going through Spiritual Retreats. . . . Accordingly, this little book, so small in bulk yet so wonderful, has from its very first edition been solemnly approved by the Roman Pontiffs; they have loudly extolled it, have furthered it by their Apostolic Authority and have never ceased to lead men to use it, by heaping the gift of holy indulgences upon it and gracing it with ever renewed praises." Encyclical (*Motu Proprio*) of Pius XI, 1922. *Catholic Mind* (New York), Nov. 8, 1922. Pius XI named St. Ignatius Loyola "the heavenly patron of all Spiritual Exercises."

² Duchesne à Barat, September 29, 1823. General Archives of the Society of the Sacred Heart.

³ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, January 12, 1829. (AA). For an account of the General's activities in regard to the Exercises cf. Pietro Pirri, S.J., *P. Giovanni Roothaan XXI Generale della compagnia di Gesù* (Rome, 1930), Chap. XI.

cises: "Both the Fathers and the young men should learn how to give the Exercises properly. These have always been the Society's chief instrument for the salvation as well as of its own members as of others; but their efficacy depends above everything else on the way in which they are handled. I should like to know from your Reverence what is being done in this regard." ⁴

No one entered more eagerly into Father Roothaan's concern for the Exercises or did more to bring their importance home to his confrères than Father Gleizal. As master of novices he had exceptional opportunity to accustom the young Jesuits, as Father Roothaan had desired, to the use of St. Ignatius's classic treatise. In 1856 he attributed the prevailing good spirit among the novices to "the Exercises of our Holy Father," which had "become a paramount object of study here." ⁵ This study was not a recent introduction at Florissant. On assuming charge of the novitiate six years before Gleizal had begun to give the novices a conference every day on the Exercises. "I am convinced," he made known to Father Roothaan, "that by means of the Exercises they [the novices] can procure the greater glory of God much more readily and efficaciously than by any other means, as they can also [by the same means] seize and retain the spirit of the Society. This is a matter which in my opinion has been a little neglected from time to time in this Province. I am even beginning to have them [novices] give the Exercises, e. g., to our coadjutor-brothers, who come here for the purpose [of making them]. I am not at all dissatisfied with the results obtained by those who have given them so far." ⁶

Once the ministry of retreats got under way there was never any lack of opportunity for this outlet of apostolic energy and zeal especially among the Catholic sisterhoods. Here a tradition of devoted and effective service was eventually built up and it has lasted to our own day. Father Gleizal conducted retreats for Mother Guerin's valiant band of pioneer nuns at Saint-Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana, Father Arnould did the same for numerous communities of nuns in and around Cincinnati, and Father Coppens presided in 1869 over the first Chicago retreat of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Retreats for the clergy have always been regarded by the Jesuits as a ministry particularly fruitful of good results. In the early thirties Father Peter Kenney, the Visitor, gave the Exercises to the priests of the Bardstown diocese as did also Father John McElroy of the Maryland Province some years later. The earliest recorded clergy retreat conducted by a western Jesuit was apparently the one which Father

⁴ Roothaan ad Verhaegen, May 19, 1838. (AA).

⁵ Gleizal à Roothaan, February 6, 1856. (AA).

⁶ Gleizal à Roothaan, January 22, 1850. (AA).

Di Maria gave in April, 1847, to the priests of the Chicago diocese.⁷ It took place in the newly opened University of St. Mary of the Lake in Chicago and was the first ever made by the clergy of the northern diocese. "F[ather] Van Hulst," De Smet noted in a letter written to a friend in 1856, "is actually [i.e., at present] giving a retreat to the priests in Kentucky—he has given one in Milwaukee to the clergy and another in Indiana. A good number of FF. [Fathers] have passed their vacation giving retreats in monasteries and to the laity in Illinois and Missouri."⁸ The priests "in Kentucky" mentioned in De Smet's letter were those of the Louisville diocese. Bishop Spalding was keenly appreciative of this retreat as he made known to Archbishop Purcell: "The thirty-three priests of my diocese who made their retreat at Bardstown gave me most satisfaction and consolation by their edifying regularity. The retreat could scarcely have gone on better. Father Van Hulst, the Director, is truly a man of God. I made some good resolutions which I hope God will give me the grace to keep with your good prayers."⁹ A few years later (September, 1860) Bishop Spalding wrote again to the Archbishop of Cincinnati: "By the way, we had a glorious retreat by Father Smarius."¹⁰ Father Damen was also regarded as a skilful director of clerical retreats. The number of retreats conducted on behalf of the clergy and of communities of religious women went on increasing, amounting in one summer-period (c. 1865) to over sixty. As a rule the Exercises were thus given only during the summer months. In 1856 Father Brunner, who was resident for a few years in the vice-province, expressed to the Father General the edification he received on seeing the fathers of St. Louis University, though fatigued with the year's work of the class-room, spend the summer vacations in giving the Exercises with many tokens of success.¹¹

It was only in the first decade of the present century that the mid-western Jesuits began to conduct retreats on behalf of laymen in series and as an organized form of the ministry. But in earlier days such retreats were not unknown. They were given as a rule at the novitiate and to individuals only, rarely to groups. What was probably the first retreat held for a number of laymen in common was one which Father Damen directed at the novitiate on behalf of a small group of St. Louisans.¹²

⁷ Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673-1871* (Chicago, 1921), p. 111.

⁸ De Smet to Duerinck, August 14, 1856. (A).

⁹ Spalding to Purcell, September 9, 1856. (I).

¹⁰ Spalding to Purcell, September 21, 1860. (I).

¹¹ Brunner ad Beckx, October 26, 1856. (AA).

¹² Members of Damen's "Gentleman's Sodality" of St. Francis Xavier Church, St. Louis, made up the group.

The retreats of which there has been question in the foregoing paragraphs are generally described as "closed," the idea being that the participants withdraw entirely from their usual occupations for a period running all the way from two or three to thirty days, spending this time in silence and recollection, generally in some religious institution or in a house particularly designed for the purpose. But there is another type of retreat, though the term is here used with less propriety, one, namely, in which the participants do not forego their customary occupations but merely assemble once or twice a day, generally in the parish church, to listen to a series of sermons or instructions delivered either by a diocesan clergyman or by a priest of some religious order. To this type belongs the popular or parish mission, which has for its object the infusion of new spiritual vigor into a parish or congregation. The method used by Jesuit missionaries to secure this end is that of the Ignatian Exercises as found particularly in the first of the four so-called weeks or groups of exercises that make up the series. The *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius present in their entirety a succession of thoughts or topics for personal reflection admirably selected and combined with a view to stimulate the soul to a faithful observance of the complete Christian rule of life, "do good and avoid evil." The meaning of life, the value of the human soul, sin, judgment, hell, the reception of the sacraments, are topics particularly stressed in the parish-mission. In the pre-suppression Society of Jesus the preaching of missions after the method of the Exercises was carried on extensively; in the restored Society it was resumed gradually in proportion as circumstances permitted the assignment of men to this important ministry.

Evidences of the use of the parochial revival by the regular and sometimes secular clergy of the United States appear in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Already in the twenties Father Francis Patrick Kenrick, later Archbishop of Baltimore, was going up and down the countryside sustaining the faith of the scattered Catholics of Kentucky by means of missionary revivals. The Redemptorists were the first to place regular missionary bands in the field, missions having been conducted by them from the thirties on.¹³ Among the middle-western Jesuits the preaching of missions as a steady and regular employment assigned to certain fathers began in 1848 with the inauguration of Father Francis Xavier Weninger's justly celebrated missionary work in the German-speaking parishes of the United States. Even in the earlier stages of their history they had not failed, when opportunity offered, to conduct parochial missions here and there as the most

¹³ Benjamin J. Webb, *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1884), pp. 95, 378; T. L. Skinner, C.S.S.R., *The Redemptorists in the West* (St. Louis, 1932).

effective means of reviving religious fervor. The missions preached by Father Verhaegen at Portage des Sioux in 1828, by Father Van Lommel at Dardenne in 1831 and by Father Gleizal at Florissant in 1838 were commended at the time for the happy results which attended them. On Palm Sunday night, 1851, Father Verhaegen opened a three-days' course of "spiritual exercises for the people," in St. Mary's Cathedral, Chicago, with an introductory sermon on the Exercises of St. Ignatius. Two years later, in 1853, Father Gleizal preached a week's mission in the same cathedral while his fellow-Jesuit, Father Weninger, was simultaneously conducting in St. Joseph's Church his first mission in the city of Chicago.

§ 2. FRANCIS XAVIER WENINGER

The career of Father Weninger is an episode of importance in the story of the upbuilding of Catholicism in the United States. He was born August 31, 1805, in his father's castle of Wildhaus in Marburg, Province of Styria, Austria. His mother was a member of the nobility, his father a wealthy landowner with connections at the Hapsburg court. As a student at the University of Vienna he enjoyed the personal patronage of the Empress of Austria. Doctor of divinity, fellow of the University of Gratz and professor of dogmatic theology at twenty-five, he became a Jesuit at twenty-seven, entering the Austro-Hungarian Province October 31, 1832. He had a gift for preaching and giving missions and the success he met with in this ministry during his sixteen years of Jesuit life in Austria was noteworthy. But his zeal sought a soil more in need of cultivation than his native land. The United States of America, with its German-speaking population, increasing daily as the tide of immigration rolled in on its shores, seemed to offer the most inviting field for the exercise of his special gifts.

Then the year 1848 drew near, the well-known year of the revolution. I was hearing at the same time about the emigration to America; then, too, the Church in Austria and Germany was being greatly hampered in her movements. Moreover, as was already said, I knew by experience the immeasurable blessings of missions for the people. Accordingly I wrote to the General, Father Roothaan, and informed him that while I was ready to go anywhere in the world if he so willed it, I would still petition him for an appointment to America, there to give missions to the people.¹⁴

Father Weninger had his wish, going to America in 1848 with encouragement from Father Roothaan, the General, to pursue there his

¹⁴ F. X. Weninger, S.J., *Erinnerungen aus Meiner Leben in Europa und Amerika durch achtzig jahre—1805 bis 1885*, 1: 16. (A). Weninger's *Erinnerungen* are unpublished. Sketches of his career are in *Central Blatt and Social Justice* (St. Louis), June-December, 1927, and *WL*, 18: 43-68 (1889).

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career of missionary-preacher. Assigned with his companion on the journey from Europe, Father Christopher Genelli, to the Missouri Vice-province, he was first employed as a professor of dogmatic theology in St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati, where in the intervals of teaching a few scholastics were pursuing their studies in divinity. As early as December, 1848, at Oldenburg in Indiana he gave his first mission in the United States. A glowing notice of it signed by the Oldenburg pastor appeared in the Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund*:

On December 8, on the feast, accordingly, of the "Immaculate Conception," the mission at Oldenburg opened with a solemn procession in the newly built church; it lasted until December 18, ten days and a half. Not a single Catholic who attended the mission failed to go to confession. People came here from a distance of 15, 18 and 20 miles and even farther, some of them starting on the way with horse and wagon at two in the morning so as not to lose anything of the mission. Though the missionary preached three times daily and even four times, including the talk at communion, he all along drew tears of repentance and consolation from the eyes of his hearers. Often there was general sobbing and weeping throughout the church. One of the most telling sermons was at the solemn reparation before the Blessed Sacrament; but even more stirring was the renewal of the baptismal vows and most stirring of all the parting sermon. Oh God, the very thought of it brings tears to my eyes! Parting in the new house of God, parting at the cemetery, parting at the foot of the great mission-cross where from fifteen to sixteen hundred voices cried out together to heaven: "live Jesus!" "live Jesus and Mary!" "long live the Church!" "long live the holy cross!" "Jesus, no more sin!" One must indeed have had a heart of stone not to be moved by such a display of feeling. I close with the wish that every German settlement in North America may share the same happiness of a regular mission, which is the only thing that can effect in a few days a basic and thoroughgoing renewal of spirit in a parish and one that will last for a long time; for such a regular mission so-called retreats are no substitute. In a regular mission the people are instructed and reconciled to God, one class after another, and this produces general and lasting fruit. May the Lord's blessing preserve this fruit and increase it richly in my dear parish of Oldenburg.¹⁵

Similar striking results attended a mission given in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in the fall of 1849. The account of it which follows bears the name of the pastor of the local German congregation, Reverend Edward Faller:

Pursuant to an announcement in your esteemed paper of the previous week, the Catholics of Fort Wayne had the unspeakable happiness of enjoying a regular mission under the sound direction of the Rev. F. X. Weninger.

¹⁵ *Idem*, 1:45. What the writer understands by "retreats" he explains in his account (*infra*) of the method followed by him in conducting missions.

Only one who has attended such a mission can form any idea of the happy results that follow from it. . . .

How consoling, thought I to myself, as I read the account of the mission of Oldenburg. How clean of heart the good people of Oldenburg must be, among whom the holy mission has done such great and almost incredible good. But greater things still have probably taken place in Fort Wayne. Who could have believed that the faithful of the vicinity would get up at midnight so as to be present at the first Mass with Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament at half past six? What an impressive sight to behold the clouds of dust on the roads stirred up by the crowds of people hurrying to church from a distance of eight to ten and even twenty-five miles! Who could remain unmoved to see during the sermons of the distinguished preacher, sometimes four in number, tears of contrition glistening on the faces of the most hard-hearted, persons who perhaps had neglected their religious duties for years. At the instructions given to the various classes [men, women, and others] it became evident for the first time how numerous is the Catholic population of Fort Wayne. At the conclusion of the mission as also on Monday the entire parish went in procession from the old common church, now the English one, to the newly built German church of brick. It was an impressive spectacle as the great throng with the processional cross at its head and with recitation of the rosary and the pealing of the bells of both churches moved towards the newly erected church.¹⁰

Father Weninger was now launched on the full tide of his missionary career. The energy with which he pursued his calling is suggested by a bare recital of the localities in which he preached missions during the three years, 1849, 1850 and 1851. The list includes Cincinnati, O., Louisville, Ky., Munster, Brookville and Fort Wayne, Ind., Wapakoneta, Chillicothe, Massillon, Canton, Portsmouth, Hamilton, White Oak, Lancaster, O., New Westphalia, St. Louis, New Bremen, Mo., Belleville, Ill., Cleveland, O., Chicago, Ill., Milwaukee, Wis., Port Washington, Wis., Sheboygan, Mich., Green Bay, Manitowoc, Burlington, Wis., Quincy, Ill., Washington and Herman, Mo. At the beginning of 1852 he was in New Orleans and on the occasion of this, his first visit to the South, preached a mission to a congregation of slaves recruited from three Louisiana plantations. Before Father Weninger's missionary labors came to an end hardly a town of any size between the Atlantic and Pacific had been left unvisited.

An incident occurring in Buffalo in 1855 points to the reputation enjoyed by Father Weninger at this time when he had been only six years on the American missions. The trustees of St. Louis's Church in Buffalo, having shown themselves recalcitrant to ecclesiastical authority,

¹⁰ *Idem*, 1: 54. It is not improbable that the accounts of the Oldenberg and Fort Wayne missions were from Weninger's own hand; their perfervid tone seems to suggest this.

were excommunicated by the Right Rev. John Timon, bishop of the diocese, while the church itself was placed under an interdict. The trouble grew out of an attempt by the trustees to manage the temporalities of the church independently of the Bishop. In 1854 Bishop Timon was present at the definition in Rome by Pius IX of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. At the very moment that the Holy Father pronounced the words of the decree, he cast his eyes in spirit on the Virgin Mother, so he afterwards informed Father Weninger, and recommended to her his schismatic congregation of St. Louis. Immediately on his return to Buffalo the Bishop invited Father Weninger to conduct a mission for the misguided parishioners in the hope that his zealous intervention might heal the schism. Father Weninger accepted his task, "the hardest in all my missionary experience," but stipulated that the interdict be first removed. Bishop Timon agreed to this, publishing a formal notice to that effect:

Buffalo, May 18, 1855.

The pious, learned and zealous Missionary, Father Weninger (wishing to labor for the salvation of souls in the only German church of this diocese which has not yet heard his noble and truly Christian eloquence), requests me to withdraw the interdict from the church of St. Louis and the excommunication from the trustees. I can refuse nothing to the worthy priest of God; consenting, therefore, to his request, I hereby declare that the excommunication will cease as soon as the holy *Triduan* [triduum] in St. Louis church will begin.

John, Bishop of Buffalo.

The efforts of Father Weninger on this occasion to heal the breach between the schismatic congregation and its ecclesiastical superior appear to have been on the whole successful though the embers of the controversy smouldered for many years after.¹⁷

At first Father Weninger addressed German congregations only; later, he conducted missions also in English. In the case of mixed congregations it was his custom to deliver four sermons daily in the language of each nationality, in English and German, or in English and French. If all three nationalities were before him, he gave the same sermon three times over in the three languages, and this four times a day. The sermons were necessarily short to bring this formidable program within the range of physical possibility. Though his English was notably defective, his intense zeal and enthusiasm made a deep impression on his hearers, who after hearing him preach in the vernacular, came in great numbers to the sacraments. A computation made in 1879, when he was seventy-four years of age and was still possessed of re-

¹⁷ C. G. Deuther, *The Life and Times of Right Rev. John Timon, D.D., First Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Buffalo* (Buffalo, 1870), p. 211.

markable vigor, revealed that he had conducted in thirty-one years over eight hundred missions; preached thirty thousand times; made between two thousand and three thousand converts; and journeyed over two hundred thousand miles. "In all that time he never met with a serious accident; his voice never failed him; and his strength was unimpaired though he never accommodated either his clothing or his manner of life to change of season or climate."¹⁸

Father Weninger left on record the method which he followed in conducting his remarkable missions:¹⁹

¹⁸ *Menology of the Missouri Province* (St. Louis, 1925). (A). "On Sunday March 1st Rev. F. Weninger, the great missionary and writer in German, begins a mission in our church here [St. Xavier's, Cincinnati]. We hope and trust that his English, which is poor, will not prevent the usual results of such missions for he is a saint in appearance and very deed." Swagers à Deynoodt, Feb. 27, 1874. Archives of the North Belgian Province, S.J.

¹⁹ *WL*, 18:60 *et seq.* (1889). "Now since 14 years I continually am giving Missions in the woods as well as in the metropolis going to every chapel, no matter how many families there are. In the course of the year I am preaching over 1000 times every year, because I have to preach in a single week about 50 times. If in German alone about 25 times. There are heard at the Missions about 25-30 thousand general confessions every year and received more or less about 100 Protestants. Consequently I received during these Missions about 1400 protestant families to the church, not comprising the children in that number which are saved for Catholic education in mixed marriages, whose number is incredibly large. Many hundred Mission Crosses design [designate?] those places where I was giving Missions from the shores of the Atlantic and the Mexican Gulf to the height of the Alleghanys and the quarries of Dacotah Territory." Weninger to De Smet, September 15, 1862. (A).

Several appearances of what was reputed to be a miraculous cross took place in connection with Father Weninger's missions, two of them at Guttenburg, Iowa, 1853 and 1856, and one at Alpena, Michigan, 1858. Father Marco, pastor of St. Mary's Church at Grand Rapids, Michigan, made a written statement under date of September 12, 1858, concerning the Alpena apparition. He said in part: "At this solemnity an extraordinary event occurred; for as soon as the holy cross had been dedicated and was about being raised, there appeared on the blue sky, surrounded by a cluster of light clouds, a regularly formed, large, white and well designed cross, which disappeared at the moment the missionary cross was sunk in the ground. The whole crowd present gazed with amazement at this striking appearance and you could hear persons most difficult [slow?] to believe utter these words: 'This is more than natural!'" (A). Father Marco later took oath that he had seen the cross and seventy-one of his parishioners signed a statement under date of December 6, 1861, to the same effect (*Missour.* 6-XXVII, 71). Father Weninger himself drew up for the General an account of seven such apparitions under the caption, *De apparitionibus S. Crucis aliisque extraordinariis signis occasione erectionis Crucis Missionis* (*Missour.* 6-XXVII, 68). (AA). Testimony as to the one at Guttenburg was taken by the local pastor, Reverend Henry Rensen on January 8, 1854 (*Missour.* 6-XXVII, 70). For an informing account of the Guttenburg case, see M. M. Hoffman, "A Miracle in Mid-America?" in *Mid-America* (1931), 14: 57-63.

The principal thing to be noted is that the missions which I conducted are not to be confounded with the [open] retreats. In the latter one simply delivers sermons or gives instructions for three, five or eight days, twice a day, and in the meantime allows the people to prepare for confession, without preparing the different classes of people according to their various states of life. I myself gave such retreats in Europe in the places in which I was teaching. It is true that by these retreats much good is often accomplished, but they do not result in such a thorough regeneration of a congregation that each class of the parishioners may profit. This regeneration consists rather in a thorough instruction of each portion of the congregation: married men and married women, young men and young women, and children. For this purpose, instructions adapted to these particular states, separate confessions for the different classes, and general Communions at stated times, are of immeasurable utility. In the first place, there is in an invitation to a sermon meant for a particular state in life something specially attractive, which induces the members of these respective classes to come willingly to these separate conferences. This is especially so in the case of young men and married men who have neglected the practice of their religion or who have almost given it up. In the second place, you can never in the presence of one class of hearers, recall to their consideration, at least fully and circumstantially and with a view to their fulfilment, any or all of their specific duties, without inviting the criticism of the other classes of the congregation. In the third place, this parcelling out of the congregation provides also for the practicability and certainty of confession. The missionary is enabled, in this way, to place before a whole class the points upon which these particular members of the parish are to examine and accuse themselves, and the confessor will thus perhaps rid himself of much of his otherwise superfluous labor. Besides, with this method, there is much less dissipation of mind and more earnestness displayed by all classes. . . . By it the missionary holds the reins of the whole mission in his own hands. However I do not give this plan as a rule for other missionaries; it will overtax the ordinary strength of most preachers. What surprises me, although it was the holy will of God, is that God gave me the strength necessary to carry out such a plan for thirty-seven years.

As regards the number of times one is to preach, I myself gave ordinarily two set sermons, one of these class-conferences and an address, thus preaching four times a day. When, as was frequently the case, the congregation was a mixed one, of English, German or French, I had to preach eight times a day, or upwards of sixty times in eight days. If it happened that all three nationalities were present in large numbers in a congregation, the leading points had to be put before each nationality. Then, of course, each sermon is considerably shorter, the three taking an hour and a half. Such a mission, in the three languages, is very taxing upon the missionary, but the effect is far greater than when a special mission is given to each nationality.

What relates to the matter of the sermons, the instructions to the various classes of exercitants, the address, the solemnities to be observed, together with the whole conduct of the mission, I have embraced in my three volumes

entitled respectively, *The Mission*, *The Renewal of the Mission*, and *Practical Hints*. The solicitude to be exerted for the continuance of the fruit of the mission after it has closed, and the practical working of its effects, I have minutely dwelt upon in the *Practical Hints*. To this end, the erection of sodalities for the various classes in the parish, the visiting of the mission cross, and, above all, a care to provide fitting books for family reading and in keeping with the mission, books that will prove useful for home reading and self-instruction, help very efficaciously. There is no dearth of good books I know, but I speak here of the spread of those books which suit precisely the chief need of the faithful nowadays and particularly in America.

For, first of all, the faithful everywhere, but especially in America, should clearly understand, and be in a condition to instruct others, that there is but one religion revealed by God and that there is but one church founded by Christ, viz.: the first Christian Church, the Roman Catholic Church, which is the only saving Church. They should know, in this way, that there are not as many kinds of churches as there are Christian denominations that believe in Christ, but that those only are, in the full meaning of the word, Christians, who recognize themselves as children of that church which Christ founded. Furthermore, every Catholic should also be in a condition to give a satisfactory answer and explanation to every objection brought against the teaching of the Church. To aid them in this, I wrote the work entitled, *Catholicity, Protestantism and Infidelity*.

Secondly, all the faithful should be so instructed in the doctrines of the Catholic Church that they can, in turn, teach every one that the doctrine which they, as children of the Catholic Church, are obliged to believe, was taught from the earliest days of Christianity, and is in keeping with the teachings of Holy Writ and the tradition of the Fathers.

Thirdly, every Catholic should be intimately persuaded, that to attain to salvation, it will not alone suffice that our faith be orthodox, but our lives also must be conformed to Christ, and we must constantly advance in his knowledge and love. Now, next to a thorough grounding in the doctrine of the Church, nothing more effectually conduces to this than the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. It was to foster this devotion that I wrote the *Sacred Heart Mission Book*.

Fourthly, Catholics must believe without any admixture of error in their faith; hence they should admit the infallible teaching authority of the head of the Church. In fact, fundamental instruction upon this point has become a matter of paramount importance for Catholics since the definition of the Vatican Council. The young, in particular, need this instruction, that the silly raillery of the enemy may not lead them into error. To supply a copious source of instruction for all upon this doctrine, I published *The Infallibility of the Pope in defining Matters of Faith*.

Fifthly, the whole tendency of Catholic life is directed heavenwards. What is heaven? The answer to this important question I have given in my *Easter in Heaven*.

Sixthly, are there any of the faithful who have already secured for them-

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selves the blessedness of paradise? Yes; the saints have secured the happiness of heaven for all eternity. Who are the saints and what were they? I have answered this question in my *Lives of the Saints*. Here, to a short account of their lives, I have in each instance appended a brief exhortation to their imitation and indicated methods of actually profiting by their example.

In addition to these works I published a series of three catechisms for ordinary and for more advanced students of the Catholic doctrine.

These seven works constitute a small house-library; and, when giving missions, I have exerted myself, as I always do, so far as to prevail upon the families attending the mission exercises to secure all these works. I withdraw from my labors with the reflection: "What more, dear people, can I do for all of you or any one of you, than I have done; what greater solicitude am I capable of exhibiting for the future welfare of any and of all of you?"

The unusual display of religious fervor attending Father Weninger's initial efforts in the missionary field was more or less typical of the long series of parochial revivals associated with his name. All through his career bishops and priests came forward to render spontaneous testimony to the striking results of his ministry. Father James Rolando, a Lazarist, after a mission given by the Jesuit in St. Vincent's Church, St. Louis, wrote of him that he was "an outstanding example of the virtues, especially of humility, meekness, ardent zeal . . . a man beloved of God and men . . . powerful in word and work." Father Murphy, in citing the Lazarist's letter, comments: "Letters to the same effect are sent me from every quarter . . . let that one suffice for the many."²⁰ Said Bishop Loras of Dubuque in 1853: "The good he has done to his compatriots is immense. I hope it will be lasting seeing that he has left wise regulations behind him in every parish. . . . Father Weninger's disinterestedness has been remarked and it has lent not a little force to his words. He has constantly refused all gifts in money offered him by the Germans, adding that he came not to make money but to gain souls." "Not in vain," Father Krautbauer, pastor of St. Peter's Church, Rochester, N. Y., wrote in 1854, "does Father Weninger claim St. Xavier as patron and bear his name; for he is indeed the Xavier of Germany in America."²¹ The missionary's work during the single year, 1853, led Father Gleizal to comment on it in a letter to the General:

From January 1, 1853 up to January 1, 1854, Father Weninger, who works the whole year round without respite, has evangelized 5 dioceses and 27 parishes; has given 32 missions; planted 32 crosses; heard 30,000 con-

²⁰ Murphy ad Roothaan, March 28, 1852. (AA).

²¹ Loras à Murphy, December 22, 1853; Krautbauer ad Murphy, April 4, 1854. (AA).

fessions; preached 900 sermons, converted 50 Protestants; and given a clergy retreat. It must be remarked that the confessions which he has heard are almost all general, half of them being confessions of men. Moreover, most of the men would soon have lost the faith without the aid of the missions. The good, therefore, which he has done is simply incalculable. The unremitting labor to which he gives himself up is in my eyes a prodigy. Never in all my life have I seen so much work achieved in so short a time and by a single man. Judge by this of what could be done in our position if only we had the work of the missions a little more at heart.²²

In 1859 Bishop Odin of Galveston witnessed to Father Weninger's missionary success in Texas:

Last Monday, July the 25th, Rev. Father Weninger closed his missionary labors in the diocese of Galveston. He arrived here on the 10th of March and from that moment until now, his exertions for the salvation of souls have been incessant and most arduous. He has given missions in Galveston, Houston, Victoria, San Antonio, Costro-ville, D'haws, Fredricksburg, New Braunspels, Austin, Ross Prairie, Frelsberg and Bernard. Everywhere his labors have been crowned with the most consoling success. Oh, how many poor sinners have been reconciled to a God whom they had long forgotten, how many have been awakened from their deep lethargy and brought back to a sense of their religious duties! Even our separated brethren have been much edified and benefited by his pious instructions. Several of them through his ministry have had the happiness to know and embrace our holy faith. His fatigues, privations and sufferings have been very great in our poor Texas, but like the Apostle he delights to be deemed worthy to suffer for the sake of his divine master. We may truly say of this indefatigable successor of the apostles, *transiit benefaciendo*. I will never be able to return to God sufficient thanks for all the good he has done in Texas. He carries with him my most sincere gratitude, that of the clergy and of the faithful. May God reward him for the great services he has rendered to the diocese.²³

In Father William Stack Murphy, vice-provincial of Missouri, Father Weninger found a superior of more than ordinary sympathy and insight. In his routine correspondence with the General Father Murphy had occasion at times to comment on the missionary's activi-

²² Gleizal à Beckx, February 20, 1854. (AA). It may have been Gleizal's statistical account that led Father Beckx to bring Weninger's work to the notice of Pius IX. "For the consolation of your Reverence I add that on the 5th of this month I was received in audience by his Holiness and told him various things about your Reverence's work on the Missions, all which his Holiness was delighted to hear. I asked his Holiness at the end to give your Reverence his special blessing, which he did with the greatest cordiality." Beckx ad Weninger, April 8, 1854. (AA).

²³ Odin to Druyts, July 28, 1859. (A).

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ties. The comment was uniformly appreciative, often warmly so, though he was equally frank in setting down whatever strictures were passed on the energetic missionary's methods. Thus, when Father Weninger showed himself somewhat unobservant of certain regulations in regard to the publication of books by members of the Society, Father Murphy wrote to the Father General:

He is not so ready, after the manner of authors, to suffer a check to be put upon his pen. The fourth edition is now being issued of his splendid work, *de Vitis Sanctorum* [Lives of the Saints], originally printed in Germany; it is bought and read with astonishing eagerness. He is extremely popular everywhere as a missionary. The Bishops call for him on all sides. He is of the greatest assistance to the clergy during their retreats; but he seems to displease a bit as he catechizes them and treats them as if they were ignorant. I really don't know whether he is wrong here as many of them are without instruction and without knowledge of essential things that pertain to the priesthood. As to Ours, they complain that he does not take a companion and is unwilling to work with his own brethren; to whom his usual reply is that he does not find any one to work with him harmoniously and steadily in the vineyard of the Lord. A really great man and yet human. It would be more perfect [in him], if I mistake not, were he to act and judge in a different way; and yet I should not wish to restrain or hamper so unusual a worker, who perhaps is not to blame. Moreover, he says it would be difficult to meet the expense if two went together.²⁴

Further comments of Father Murphy on Weninger are met with in letters of 1861 and 1862:

Father Weninger has lately brought out an excellent work in English, a *Manual of Christian Doctrine*, to which Bishop Luers has given the most cordial indorsement in writing. One of the Redemptorists (an Irishman) told me that among them [Germans] he enjoys the highest reputation for labor and piety but that in their opinion he dispatches his missions too quickly, an opinion shared also by our German Fathers. This peculiarity results chiefly from the fact that he is practically alone [on the missions]. Father Damen adds in regard to him that owing to the excessive expenses he incurs for decorations and music, he is a burden on the poorer parishes and for this reason in some places receives no invitation to return and in others is not invited at all. . . . Recently he brought out in Cincinnati a golden book, *Protestantism and Infidelity*. Another edition is being prepared, with improvements here and there by our Cincinnati folk; perhaps at the suggestion of some of the bishops lately assembled there in Council. The style is being given a more English flavor, for it "Germanized" [*Germanizabat*] in places. There is a certain candor and attractiveness about the book with arguments and facts right to the point and all graphically put. He declares that he will

²⁴ Murphy ad Bäckx, April 24, 1856. (AA).

circulate as many as 100,000 copies. A bold thing to say and yet not rash or ridiculous in the mouth of this man.²⁵

Father Weninger was apparently not free from what in the language of religious orders are called "singularities." No caution is more frequently insisted upon in the spiritual training their members undergo than to beware of departures from that normal manner of procedure according to the religious rule which is recognized to be a guarantee of correct and sane behavior. And yet, while the caution is a wise and even necessary one, the fact remains that even canonized saints of the Church have been known to show certain idiosyncrasies or oddities of deportment which are by no means to be made an object of conscious imitation by others. So in the case of Father Weninger; while there could be no question of his genuine personal virtue and tremendous zeal, there were certain mannerisms or peculiarities of his, for instance his inability or reluctance, whatever it was, to share his ministerial labors with a companion, that the Society of Jesus would consider reprehensible in its average type of missionary. "He is accounted a saint," Father Sopranis said of him in 1860; "a veritable model in zeal and union with God." But there was noted in him, the Visitor went on to say, "a certain independence of superiors and several things not according to the rule and spirit of the Society. . . . He publishes [books] without submitting them to censorship." And in replying to the Visitor on this head, Father Beckx himself observed: "He [Weninger] is singularly gifted. . . . The Lord's blessing on his activities is a generous one. But he is a man *sui generis*, for he does not a few things which in him perhaps are harmless or even good, but which ought not to be tolerated in others."²⁶

A practice of Father Weninger which elicited unfavorable comment for a while was that of selling his own books on the missions with a view to providing the faithful with reading-matter of a religious nature which otherwise they could not so easily procure. Father Ehrensberger in 1851 protested against "this good, nay saintly Father's praising of his own books so loudly on the missions. He carries around with him and sells whole boxes of his *Leben der Heiligen* and *Liebesbund*. Certainly he has nothing else in view but to do spiritual good. He himself will get nothing out of it in the way of temporal gain. Still there are everywhere malicious persons . . . who slander him." In February,

²⁵ Murphy ad Beckx, March 24, 1861; Murphy à Beckx, February 21, 1862. (AA).

²⁶ Sopranis à Beckx, November 17, 1860; Beckx ad Sopranis, December 14, 1860. (AA). "*Multa scribit, sed parum castigata in lucem edit*," Beckx ad O'Neil, Oct. 2, 1874. (A).

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1852, Father Weninger explained his conduct to the General in regard to these two seeming counts against him, namely, that he advertised his own books lavishly and laid himself open to suspicion of commercialism. Father Murphy followed shortly with these lines to the General:

Father Weninger renders an account to your Paternity of what concerns his books. Fathers Spicher, Goeldlin, and Wipperm find that what he does in this connection is, so to say, absolutely necessary and that immense and lasting good results therefrom without the inconveniences that might occur in Europe. The Archbishop [of St. Louis] has pleaded with me to give a free hand in everything to a man so eminently apostolic, and esteemed, too, so highly by Bishop Henni of Milwaukee. Ours say that it would be difficult to be his companion, but that the priests and faithful admire everything he does. I except Father Patschowski, who judges of the matter quite otherwise, and perhaps one or two others. I await the decision of your Paternity.²⁷

At a later period Father Weninger was required by the Father General to discontinue the practice of selling his own books on the missions. While there were presumedly circumstances which rendered the practice inadvisable, the missionary no doubt had the right idea as to the importance of good popular literature of a religious nature in the divine warfare of the Church. In his "Relation" of 1862-1863 he undertook to show "how efficacious a means for the salvation of souls is to be found in the circulation of good books." Of the favorable reception given his own books one or other instance has already been given. His *Lives of the Saints* reached its fourth edition in 1856; his *Devotion to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary* went through four editions in nine months; his *Epitome Pastorale* met with the approval of the bishops; his *Protestantism and Infidelity* reached a sale of 30,000 copies by 1862, the fourth German and seventh English edition of the book appearing in 1863. "Although rather superficial in its character," says a contemporary estimate in Italian, probably from Father Sopranis, "it is doing great good among Protestants of ordinary education, a result which must be attributed as much to the sanctity and prayers of its very zealous author as to the intrinsic merits of the book." Whatever income accrued to Father Weninger from the sale of his books was applied by him to some pious or philanthropic cause. Thus, in 1869, he sent Father Beckx six hundred and twenty-nine dollars to be distributed among poor priests.²⁸ Father Weninger's published works as listed in Sommervogel's

²⁷ Murphy à Beckx, March 3, 1852. (AA).

²⁸ Beckx ad Weninger, August 29, 1869. (AA). Father Weninger was active in promoting the canonization (1888) of Peter Claver, "saint of the slave-trade." A series of striking cures which he obtained by applying relics of the holy Jesuit

Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus number forty-seven in German, sixteen in English, either translations or original productions, three in Latin and eight in French, besides several elaborate pieces of sacred music.

Father Weninger's active missionary career was continued up to within a few years of his death, which occurred at Cincinnati, June 29, 1888. He had lived eighty-three years, of which fifty-six were spent in the Society of Jesus. Of the various influences that went to the saving of the faith of the German Catholic immigrant in the United States during the past century, the labors, whether in the pulpit or with the pen, of this Americanized Austrian had a highly important place.

§ 3. GERMAN RURAL MISSIONS

The German Catholic immigrants of the nineteenth century found themselves for years after their arrival in the United States in anything but a satisfactory position as concerned their religious well-being. German-speaking priests were few in number, while many of those actually in the ministry were lacking in energy and zeal or otherwise not of the type which the circumstances required. A letter of Father Ehrensberger to the General, dated from Cincinnati, November 30, 1851, presents a detailed and searching survey of the situation. On the whole the condition of the German Catholic immigrants was a distressing one especially in the rural districts. Those residing in the larger towns, "receive at least sufficient service, . . . pastors, schools, rather nice churches, etc. But a considerable part of them live in the backwoods where, separated for the most part from one another, they cultivate the land. For this particular section of the Lord's vineyard barely one or other priest is available. There is great scarcity of German priests, most of them preferring the more comfortable life of the big cities." Moreover, heretics and perverse men were making efforts to turn the Germans aside from the true faith and as a consequence many

included the two which were accepted by the Congregation of Rites in Rome as truly miraculous and used accordingly for the saint's canonization. The principals in these two miraculous cures (described in the Decree of Canonization) were Barbara Dressen of Milwaukee and Ignatius Strecker of St. Louis. "When called to the witness-stand, I testified that I had imposed the relics and that cures constantly happened." Weninger's own account (dated, Cincinnati, Feb. 26, 1888) of his devotion to Claver and the numerous cures he was instrumental in working through the saint's intercession is in *WL*, 17: 106-9 (1888). The Ludwig-Missionsverein of Munich had the services of Father Weninger for many years as intermediary in the distribution of its alms to needy German parishes and institutions in the United States. His activities in this regard are recorded in Theodore Roemer, O.M.Cap., *The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States, 1838-1918* (Washington, 1934), pp. 92-103.

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of the latter were going over to the sects, especially the Methodists. "Even of those who do not abjure the faith, many die without the sacraments. The children are not instructed in the elements of Christian doctrine. For the most part they attend the 'government schools' to the great detriment and even loss of the faith."²⁹

To meet the spiritual needs of the German Catholics in out-of-town localities, most of whom were engaged in farming, centrally situated residences as those of Washington and New Westphalia in Missouri, with their staff of resident pastors, were, no doubt, an important and even necessary factor and as such were more than justifying themselves. But something more seemed to be required at the moment; and this was a group of "itinerant" missionaries, not burdened with parochial duties, but free to visit the rural congregations and scattered knots of German settlers and do for them what Father Weninger was doing for the regularly organized congregations of cities and towns. This was an idea broached by Father Joseph Patschowski, pastor of St. Joseph's Church in St. Louis, and he enlarged upon it in a communication to Father Roothaan, September 10, 1852. The General readily caught the idea, which appealed to him, and he wrote with his own hand on the margin of the Missourian's letter: "*Utinam! Libenter tentabimus*" ("would we could do it! we shall gladly try"). Then came Father Roothaan's appeal to the superior at St. Louis to carry the plan into effect. "We have been written to concerning the remarkable fruit which missionaries [going out] from a residence set up especially for this purpose could gather in among the settlers, especially the Germans, a fruit more abundant than what is reaped in the stations."³⁰ Father Murphy on his part was sympathetic to the proposal. "You recommend me to begin our little country missions. No one desires the work more than myself; but we need men. I hope that towards the end of the next summer we shall be able to make a little start. Good Father Patschowski has a great desire to be of the party, very likely he will get his wish." Father Patschowski, so Murphy thought, had a weak chest; this, he further stated, was certainly the case with Father Tschieder, whom the General suggested should be given a share in the undertaking.³¹

The plan proposed by Father Patschowski to the General was that of a centrally located residence, St. Joseph's in St. Louis for example, as headquarters for two fathers to be employed steadily in giving so-called country missions. The harvest in prospect was great, especially in the diocese of Chicago. "How many people living more or less at a distance in woods and fields can see a priest scarcely once a year and if they see

²⁹ Ehrensberger ad Roothaan, November 30, 1851. (AA).

³⁰ Roothaan ad Murphy, November 9, 1852. (AA).

³¹ Murphy à Roothaan, April 1, 1853. (AA).

one they cannot understand his language! What a misery! What a dangerous situation especially in America where so many enemies are prowling about on all sides making every effort to pervert the Catholics." ³² The fall of 1853 saw the German rural missions finally set on foot. There were now four fathers attached to St. Joseph's in St. Louis, two for the parish and two for the new venture. Fathers Patschowski and Spicher, so the vice-provincial informed the General, were delighted with the new arrangement. "Fathers Patschowski and Ehrensberger gave their first 'itinerant' mission at Teutopolis, a German settlement in Illinois, where the pastor and the people did not get along. Harmony has been reestablished. It is natural enough for the Germans not to agree with foreign priests who do not understand their language; but it happens only too often that their compatriots also displease them. It is claimed that they wish to rule both pastor and parish, that they treat these last as hired hands who have need to be watched. The pastors find them defiant and exacting. Either the spirit of the country spoils them or the secret societies are working among them. At Buffalo at present there prevails a schism which Monsignor Bedini has not been able to put down. It is the quarrel in miniature of 'the priesthood and the empire.' But the Church will triumph in the long run." ³³

Unhappily the important work which promised so much for the German Catholic immigrants of the Middle West came to an abrupt end with the recall of many of the German-speaking Jesuits to Europe. Father Murphy had foreseen this difficulty even before the rural missions were begun. "According to a letter from Reverend Father Faller [provincial of Upper Germany] there is question of his leaving again to all his subjects the choice of attaching themselves definitely to the Vice-province or of repatriating themselves. I am afraid the majority will decide to leave. In this case what will become of us? Where shall the residences and colleges stand? And as to the German missions which we must begin, they will be adjourned indefinitely. Father Faller promises us 'volunteers,' as he puts it; but time is needed to enable them to replace those who leave and who are more or less at home in the country and consequently very useful." ³⁴ In December, 1853, Fathers Spicher and Ehrensberger were definitely recalled to Europe. "I regret that our little German missions," Father Murphy informed the newly elected General, Peter Beckx, "find themselves, as a consequence, stopped at the very beginning of the work. . . . However the matter may be arranged, it would be bad grace for me to complain in

³² Patschowski ad Roothaan, April 13, 1853. (AA).

³³ Murphy à Beckx, 1853. (AA).

³⁴ Murphy à Roothaan, April 1, 1853. (AA).

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view of all that Germany has done for America and will, so I hope, continue to do in the future.”⁸⁵

In the event the preaching of rural missions, Father Patschowski's own plan for saving the faith of the scattered German settlers, was not resumed by the midwestern Jesuits. He himself died prematurely in 1859 and at the period of his demise does not seem to have been employed in this particular occupation. The problem all along was to find German-speaking priests. The Missouri Vice-province itself counted few such and these or most of them were needed to serve the numerous German parishes organized by the Jesuits in St. Louis and in Osage and Franklin Counties, Missouri. As to the exiled members of the province of Upper Germany domiciled in the West since 1848, they were subject to recall at any time by their superior and could not be counted upon for permanent service. “The men of the Vice-Province,” said Father Murphy in 1853, “find that we are doing a great deal for the Germans.” It is true that he withdrew Fathers Weber and Kalcher from Ohio; but this was a necessary measure.

When I asked the Archbishop of St. Louis to take Washington where the Society would turn over to him a fine piece of property, he answered me that he needed five German priests for places which are entirely abandoned. The residence of New Westphalia, which is Father Ehrensberger's, is merely the center of a batch of little stations, so that Ours are always out in the country. It is the same with Washington and with Father Brunner, who is evangelizing an entire district in Wisconsin, where by this time he has built his seventh church. I say nothing of Father Weninger or of the little Gallo-Germanic mission [Loose Creek] of Father Goeldlin. There are five German parishes in this city [St. Louis]; the one in which piety reigns supreme is St. Joseph's, served by Fathers Patschowski and Seisl. The Archbishop, it is maintained, would readily take it in charge; but we shall always need a German church, if only to occupy some of Ours who would not fit in well elsewhere.⁸⁶

It was perhaps human on the part of the fathers in charge of the German parishes, eager to obtain additional help if it were at all possible, to make complaint at times that the German Catholics were being slighted. The matter has already been touched upon. It suffices here to cite the words of Father Gleizal written in 1858 to Father Beckx:

Catalogue in hand I see in the Vice-Province 3 colleges. Now the Germans are admitted to them just as the Americans and treated in the same way. We have two churches in St. Louis; one for the Americans [English-

⁸⁵ Murphy à Beckx, December 8, 1856. (AA).

⁸⁶ Murphy à Pierling, March 4, 1854. (AA).

speaking Catholics], the other for the Germans. We have 5 out-of-town missions or residences; of these 5, three are German. Of the 12 missionaries employed out of town, 8 are occupied in taking care of the Germans. We have no American missionary, I refer to *operarii excurrentes*, for missions, retreats, etc. We have three for the German population and one of them is occupied all year with these missions.³⁷ In view of these facts it seems to me it is impossible to say that we are neglecting the Germans.³⁸

What concerned the Father General most of all was that nothing resembling even remotely national feeling or prejudice should be allowed to creep into the situation. "Would that Ours at least," he wrote in 1855 to Father De Smet, "might keep far from them the so-called spirit of nationality, a spirit utterly opposed to the spirit of Christ and of the Society."³⁹ Happily there never was any serious problem on this score among the Jesuits of the West, who with all their diversified strains of blood managed to work together with remarkable unity of feeling and suppression of undue national or racial sympathies.

§ 4. ENGLISH PAROCHIAL MISSIONS

The success which Father Weninger was meeting with in his "*Volksmissionen*" among the German parishes of the United States was the occasion that led to a similar ministry on behalf of the English-speaking parishes of the country. As far back as 1843 Father Murphy, then rector of St. Mary's College, Lebanon, Kentucky, was expressing to Father Roothaan the hope that something would eventually be done in this regard: "As to Kentucky I hope to see the day when we shall have two *missionaires ambulants*, who will go from town to town to set forth the dogmas of the faith. One always succeeds in this country when after the manner of St. Francis de Sales nothing more is done than set forth and prove Catholic belief without even mentioning heresy, the more so as this people is less Protestant than Catholic."⁴⁰ One need not acquiesce in Father Murphy's estimate of the religious attitude of the Kentuckians of his day to recognize with him the value of the popular mission as a most effective instrument for the spread of the Gospel. Three years' experience of its use led Father Weninger to urge it upon Father Roothaan as an imperative need of the Church in the United States:

Incredible would be the results if in every ecclesiastical Province of North America two of our Fathers conversant with English were to devote them-

³⁷ This was Father Weninger.

³⁸ Gleizal à Beckx, October 4, 1855. (A).

³⁹ Beckx ad De Smet, July 28, 1855. (AA).

⁴⁰ Murphy à Roothaan, July 11, 1843.

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selves entirely to the giving of missions in all the dioceses. The Bishops everywhere would wish for nothing better, for many thousands of Irish immigrants perish for lack of priests to take care of them. Here and there you find some who have not been to confession for 10, 12 and more years and who labor under the utmost ignorance in religious matters although as far as outward profession goes they cling with the greatest persistence to the Catholic faith.⁴¹

In the correspondence of the day addressed by Missouri Jesuits to general headquarters no point indeed was stressed more persistently than the need of these so-called parish missions. If the General could not supply the need, at least it was to be made clear to him that the need existed. Two letters received by Father Beckx in the opening month of 1854 are characteristic. Father Gleizal, always a keen observer of conditions and a skilful correspondent besides, touches off the situation in these words:

Another point which demands the attention of his Paternity not less than the preceding ones is the work of the *missions ambulants* not only for the Germans but especially for the Americans and the Irish. It is impossible to form an idea of the situation in the United States outside of the cities. The Catholics for want of priests to visit them lose the faith while their children for the most part are borne away by the torrent of infidelity. Even in the cities missions are quite necessary. The Redemptorists have realized this thoroughly; and so besides having a band of missionaries, very small, it is true, they have opened residences in nearly all the big cities. In this way they do an immense amount of good; they make themselves known and stimulate vocations, getting, as a matter of fact, many more subjects than we do. It is my opinion that two Fathers engaged just now on the missions would gain many souls for God and many subjects for the Society. The point I touch on here is often a subject of conversation with a great many of Ours and all express regret that nothing is being done along this line. Only let the work of the colleges be simplified and it will be possible to make a beginning of the work of the missions for the Americans and the Irish. Bishop Miège is of the opinion that I should communicate with your Paternity on this subject; he thinks as I do that the work of the missions is the work of works, the more so as the Archbishop of St. Louis would be delighted to see the inception among us of a ministry which he desires with all his heart.⁴²

A similar appeal was made by Father De Smet:

Father Weninger accomplishes an incalculable amount of good by the many missions he gives in the different states. Sufficient proof of this will be found in the fruits which he gathered single-handed in the course of the past

⁴¹ Weninger, *Relatio*, 1851. (A).

⁴² Gleizal à Roothaan, January 20, 1842. (AA). "*Missions ambulants*," i.e., literally "walking" or better "itinerant" missions.

year, an account of which has perhaps reached your Paternity by this time. Fathers Ehrensberger and Patschowski had scarcely begun to give missions to their countrymen when the first was recalled by superiors to his own Province, a circumstance that must perforce check the good results of their worthy enterprise. It is much to be desired that we have missionary Fathers for the Irish and American Catholics as also for such as are desirous of becoming Catholics, a class very numerous in a large number of localities.⁴³

In July of the same year, 1854, Father De Smet returned to the same theme in a letter to Father Cicaterri of Maryland:

Our German missionaries are doing much good in Missouri and Illinois. Besides the apostolic F. Weninger, so blessed by heaven, there are three Fathers appointed to give missions in German through the country, and as they know English sufficiently, they attend to others [non-Germans] occasionally. Last year F. Gleizal directed the clerical retreat of Milwaukee and he has just finished that of Louisville. Dr. O'Regan [who is] to be consecrated next Tuesday Bishop of Chicago, spent ten days in retreat under the same good Father. We are impatiently looking forward to the time when we shall have a body of Missionaries for American Catholics. . . . This we also recommend to your good prayers.⁴⁴

Ardent Father Weninger on his part kept on urging the matter with increasing vehemence. "And if St. Francis Xavier," he exclaims in a letter of May, 1858, to Father Beckx, "was unable to understand with what conscience the Doctors of the Sorbonne could live in comfort in Paris while so many souls in the Indies were in the meantime going to hell, who, I ask, will understand how it comes about that so many Fathers here in the colleges are teaching boys Algebra and performing chemical experiments for them while at the same time before their very eyes numbers of souls are being driven headlong down the way of perdition? . . . We must indeed do the one thing and not omit the other. Colleges are necessary and most excellent things; but they are not what is chiefly and much less what is exclusively needed in the present condition of things in this country."⁴⁵

In 1858 the long discussed project of missions for the English-speaking parishes finally began to get under way. Among the important matters to which the Second Provincial Council of Cincinnati, held in the spring of that year, gave its attention was that of parochial missions or retreats. On April 7 Bishop Spalding of Louisville wrote to Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati:

⁴³ De Smet à Beckx, February 25, 1854. (AA).

⁴⁴ De Smet to Cicaterri, July 23, 1854. (A).

⁴⁵ Weninger ad Beckx, May 29, 1858. (AA).

By the way our mission at the Cathedral preached by F. [Father] Smarius has succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations. F. Smarius is a most effective and practical preacher and such Retreats do immense good. As the J. [esuits] seem now disposed to employ their Fathers in this good work I think it highly important that, as the Provincial [Druyts] is *impeditus* [on account of deafness] one of his consultors appointed by him should represent the Order at our Council and I have made this suggestion to Fathers Smarius and Converse not doubting that you would ratify it. His advice will be important in the additional question on Missions.

To Father Druyts in St. Louis Bishop Spalding wrote April 8:

As your infirmity of hearing will make it inconvenient or impossible for your Reverence to attend the Provincial Council in *propria persona*, I think it very important that one of your Consultors, *puta*, F. Verdin or F. De Smet should be appointed your proxy to represent the Society at the Council. I have already written to the Archbishop on the subject, and though I have not had time to hear from him I am confident he will be glad to avail himself of the suggestion; in fact, I take it upon myself to say that any Father whom you will so appoint will be more than welcome. The subject of retreats for the people and that of schools and education generally will be under discussion and it is very important that one of yours should be in attendance.⁴⁶

In response to the invitation of the Bishop of Louisville, Father De Smet as representing the Missouri Vice-province was present at the council, which convened in Cincinnati, May 2, 1858, eight dioceses being represented. Among its recommendations was one that a mission be held from time to time in every parish of the ecclesiastical province. It commended the great good resulting from the missions conducted by certain fathers of the Missouri Vice-province and expressed a wish that additional fathers be employed in this promising field of labor. In the name of the council and at its instance, Bishop Rosecrans in a letter of May 8, 1858, officially conveyed to Father Druyts the wishes of the bishops. They were glad to open up the ecclesiastical province of Cincinnati to Jesuit missionary zeal, petitioning him to appoint four or five fathers for the work and forward their names to the metropolitan so that invitations might be received from the parishes. They further desired that Bishop Rosecrans express to Father Druyts the satisfaction of soul they lately felt over the fruits resulting from the missions which Father Smarius had conducted both in Cincinnati and in Louisville as

⁴⁶ Spalding to Purcell, April 7, 1858 (I), Spalding to Druyts, April 8, 1858. (A). "If F. Provincial of Jesuits appoint a proxy, I beg you to welcome him at the Council." Spalding to Purcell, April 14, 1858. (CAA). Fathers Smarius, Converse and others who were giving missions at intervals at this period were not steadily engaged in this work but had other regular occupations.

also the very lively hope they conceived that with his cooperation as well as with their own good will in his regard, such fruits might be multiplied and scattered through the various congregations of the ecclesiastical province entrusted to their care. At St. Louis Father Druyts's consultors were all of the opinion that the invitation from the bishops should be accepted. "We realize indeed," observed Father Druyts in reporting the matter to the General, "that we are not well prepared just now to give these missions, but who can look with indifference and without sorrow on the ruin of so many souls, as is happening according to the testimony of all our missionaries." Then, as a means of relieving the pressure caused by scarcity of men at this critical juncture, he asked the General for the privilege of shortening by some months the period of tertianship in the case of some of the fathers, particularly Damen, Smarius, Driscoll and Goeldlin.⁴⁷

On May 20 Father Druyts signified to Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati his readiness to comply with the wishes expressed by the council:

We all feel grateful to your Grace and to the Rt. Rev. Bishops of the Province for the confidence reposed in our Fathers. For years past many of us have ardently desired to see some of us set apart for preaching retreats or giving missions wherever their services might be lawfully called for; but it has so happened that our small force has got considerably scattered and has been so disposed of as to render it difficult just now to comply with the wishes of your Grace and the Rt. Rev. Bishops of the Province. Our colleges owing to the double course of studies (mercantile and classical) carried on in each of them are a great drawback to these missions. Were it not for them, we could more freely avail ourselves of the gracious and kindly offer of the Council. However, we shall make every effort to bring about a commencement of the missions and set two or three Fathers apart for them.⁴⁸

The readiness with which Father Druyts thus offered to second the wishes of Archbishop Purcell and his fellow-prelates met with instant approval on the part of Father Beckx. "In a matter of such importance belonging as it does to the principal activities of our Institute, your Reverence will endeavor to comply effectually with the highly reasonable wishes of the Bishops. I have several times in the past commended this same ministry to Ours in America, for I believe it to be of exceeding profit for the salvation of souls."⁴⁹

In the summer of 1858 the assurances given by Druyts to Archbishop Purcell were made good by the appointment of Father Ferdinand Coosemans as "itinerant" missionary, with headquarters at St.

⁴⁷ Druyts ad Beckx, May 19, 1858. (AA).

⁴⁸ Druyts to Purcell, May 20, 1858. (A).

⁴⁹ Beckx ad Druyts, 1858. (A).

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Xavier College, Cincinnati. Much as Father Druyts would have liked to supply additional workers for this important ministry, the slender membership of the vice-province forbade. The bishops had asked for five or six fathers and Druyts in his letter to the Archbishop of Cincinnati had held out hopes that at least two or three would be supplied. In the end he found himself in a position to assign only a single missionary to the work in hand. Father Coosemans was accordingly to take up single-handed the task of evangelizing the eight dioceses of the ecclesiastical province of Cincinnati. This young Belgian priest, now only in his thirty-fifth year, who had filled for two years the post of rector of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Kentucky, came to his new duties direct from Florissant, where he had just passed through the exercises of the tertianship. Later, as provincial, he was to win general commendation for the prudence and whole-hearted charity with which he discharged the duties of his office. Mild-mannered, patient, self-effacing, a man of prayer and the interior life, he left everywhere the impression of being what the Constitutions of his order intended a Jesuit to be. In the pulpit he showed ability of no mean order, his preaching being marked by an engaging simplicity and unction that greatly impressed his hearers. A letter of Father Murphy's to the General, November 15, 1852, has this postscript: "I take up the pen again, full as I am of the first sermon of Father Coosemans, a Belgian; excellent matter and form, good delivery, accent and English perfect."⁵⁰ Brief accounts of the success he met with in his new field of labor were penned by Father Coosemans for his superior in St. Louis:

I arrived here [Lexington, Ky.] on Saturday night and opened the Jubilee on the following day during High Mass. I preached three times that day and twice on the succeeding days. The mission was very well attended throughout. The crowd of listeners seemed to increase every night; a good portion of them were protestants. The time intervening between the instructions was spent in the confessional. Rev. Fr. McMahon, the assistant-pastor to Fr. Aelen, told me that he anticipated from three to four hundred communions. The communions given up to this day from Sunday last amount already to 500 and a number are expected to go tomorrow. A great many cases of several years' standing have made their peace with God. I regret that I cannot stay till Monday. Last night a great many scapulars were distributed. A great misery again—not scapulars enough. An excitement of the right kind was created, thanks be to God, and I trust that the effects of it will be lasting A.M.D.G.

You will please, dear Father, excuse this scrawl. I always go on the principle that a line of some sort is better than nothing. A day or two of rest at present would be of benefit . . . but *fiat voluntas Dei*.

⁵⁰ Murphy à Roothaan, November 15, 1852. (AA).

The mission at Frankfort [Kentucky] lasted five days. The Lord be praised for the good done. The three first days were rainy; but this did not prevent the people from coming, although there were no extra inducements. For as there is no choir in the beautiful new little gothic church which has just been completed, we could have no singing and no benedictions. There was nothing but a dry instruction and prayers. Still I was kept busy very nearly all the time in the confessional from the second till the last day included. When I arrived there, Rev. Mr. Lancaster, the pastor of Frankfort, told me that when the Redemptorist F. F. [Fathers] gave the mission three years ago there were 350 or 380 (I forget) communions, but that he did not expect to have anything like that number this time. Yet yesterday morning the number of communicants ran to between 350 and 380; and F. [Father] Lancaster said that he remembers about 20 regulars [regular communicants] who could not come yet on account of the heavy rains we have had. Last Thursday night I gave the scapular to about 200, if not more.

On my return to Cincinnati I had to pass by Lexington and I understand that the number of communicants had risen to about 600. Another good effect of the Jubilee—there was the squashing of a Catholic [?] secret society, which had been in operation for several weeks or months.

Some of the Lexingtonians showed a wish to become acquainted with me—But thank the Lord that I was so much engaged in other business that I had no time to make acquaintances. *En revanche* one wrote for my address to send me a stole, another sent me \$5.00 to help me home, another a couple of handkerchiefs, etc.⁵¹

The work of the first father whom the vice-province of Missouri was able to put into the field for the preaching of English missions was to be of short duration. In January, 1859, Father Coosemans was called to the presidency of St. Louis University. By no one was his retirement from the missionary field more keenly felt than by Father Weninger, who lost no time in voicing a protest to the General. A post-script to a letter of Father Beckx's addressed to Father Druyts reads: "I have just this minute received a letter from Father Weninger, who begs most earnestly that Father Coosemans be allowed to continue the work of giving missions which he has begun. He declares that the salvation of many souls demands it and that this ministry is of far greater importance A.M.D.G. than the office of Rector. You can talk this matter over with good Father Weninger."⁵² In September of the same year, 1859, the General wrote again to the vice-provincial, adverting to the fact that one advantage to result from the proposed closing of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, would be to render certain fathers available for other occupations. "In this way it would be possible to find another

⁵¹ Coosemans to Druyts, 1858. (A).

⁵² Beckx ad Druyts, 1859. (A).

missionary to replace Father Coosemans, and even, a thing I have frequently recommended, to increase the number of workers (*operarii*) appointed, in accordance with the express desire of the Bishops, to go through the various dioceses giving missions and the spiritual exercises. Could not Father Damen, among others, be put at this work? However, I do not insist on this, for I know that he labors with great fruit in Chicago.”⁵³

In February and again in March, 1860, Father Beckx returned to the subject of missions:

Once more, accordingly, I commend to your Reverence these “itinerant” missions, as they are called, for they are highly in keeping with our vocation and fruitful for the salvation of souls, as ought to be abundantly evident to you from the single case of Father Weninger. To open new Residences requires an increased staff and multiplies burdens, while to go up and down the country giving missions is a ministry that can result in the richest of harvests, even though very few workers be engaged in it.

I commend most earnestly to your Reverence the work of the missions. It is a source of great joy and consolation to me to read of the fruits gathered in this ministry, particularly by Fathers Weninger and Damen, and I desire that more Fathers, as far as circumstances permit, be assigned to the missions. In this way much good can be accomplished by Ours in various places. The Vice-Province neither has at present nor can it soon train up a sufficient number of men to manage many colleges or residences. Consequently, after the manner of our Lord and the early Fathers, let us continue to go about over a wide extent of country doing good.⁵⁴

Though the Father General was thus urgent in his appeals that the English missions be immediately set on foot, Father Druyts for all his good-will was at a loss to know how to take the step. In a letter of May 16, 1860, he protested that the missions were not being neglected, but that he had not understood it was expected of him to take the work immediately in hand. That would have been a difficult thing to do at the moment. Father Damen could not absent himself entirely from Chicago where he was building a monumental church and had to collect the funds necessary for this purpose. Father Driscoll of Cincinnati was likewise engaged in building a new church; moreover he could be used only for the smaller missions. Father Smarius was needed in St. Louis, at least from time to time, as a preacher, “the number of which among us is not considerable.” Of all the fathers in the residences of the vice-province Druyts could not recommend a single one for the missions. “Like the Bishops, especially in the West of the

⁵³ Beckx ad Druyts, September, 1859. (A).

⁵⁴ Beckx ad Druyts, February, 1860; March, 1860. (A).

United States, the Vice-Province has been forced in very many cases, I think, to admit second-class subjects in the way of talent, forced to admit doubtful subjects in the way of vocation and this on the one hand because desirable (really good) candidates do not present themselves and on the other hand because one can scarcely abandon activities that were begun many years ago. Your Paternity, so we are hoping, will still have patience with your children of Missouri.”⁵⁵

Father Beckx's comment on Druyts's puzzlement over the situation was reassuring:

From both your letters as also from a letter of Father Weninger, I am glad to acknowledge that the work of the missions has not been neglected by the Vice-Province and it has been a great consolation for me to learn of the fruits which the zeal of the workers, Fathers Weninger and Damen in particular, has gathered in with the blessing of God. Moreover, in view of the circumstances as set forth by your Reverence, I see that it is scarcely possible as yet to have a house of missionaries in the proper sense of the word in the Vice-Province with its small contingent of men or to dispose things in such wise that the missionaries will not have to be applied, now and then, to other occupations; but this does not matter greatly, provided the missions be not neglected and that due care be taken of the health of the missionaries, all the more precious as they are so few in number. Wherefore all the greater pains ought to be taken to give the young men a solid foundation so that in time and by degrees they may become helpers and successors to those strenuous men.⁵⁶

§ 5. ARNOLD DAMEN AND HIS ASSOCIATES

What was unusual in the status of Father Coosemans during the few months he spent on the missions was that this constituted his exclusive occupation. It was the first step taken by the midwestern Jesuits towards assigning men steadily to this important ministry instead of withdrawing them at intervals from other occupations for an occasional foray into the missionary field. But some years were to pass before this arrangement, interrupted by the recall of Coosemans, was restored by the organization of bands of “itinerant” missionaries employed all the year around in this apostolic work. Even Father Arnold Damen, who more than any one else was instrumental in organizing and carrying through the work of Jesuit parish-missions in the Middle United States, was pastor of a great congregation in Chicago and superior of his fellow-religious in that city during fifteen years of his notable career on the missions. When in 1872 Father Beckx relieved him of the Chicago superiorship, it was on the ground that the two occupations, that of

⁵⁵ Druyts ad Beckx, May 16, 1860. (A).

⁵⁶ Beckx ad Druyts, 1860. (A).

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superior of a religious house and that of missionary, were incompatible in the same individual.

Father Damen was of large and impressive physique with energy to match. The most characteristic thing about him was his unflagging zeal in the ministry. As a pulpit-orator he was earnest and effective, hitting the mark no less by the physical appeal of voice and gesture than by the burden of his discourses, which was ever the essential truths of salvation and the peremptory duties of Christian life. A straightforward pursuit of God's glory and deep personal piety marked his labors from the beginning and he was said to have made a vow early in his Jesuit career to decline no task, however unpleasant, tendered him by his superiors. "I can say of this good Father," Father Coosemans wrote of him to the General, "that he is not only a good missionary, but an exemplary religious."⁵⁷

Father Damen's ability as an efficient dispenser of the divine word was not obvious from the first. For some time following his ordination in 1845 he was, if one may credit tradition, considered by his superiors to be incompetent for the office of preacher and as a consequence was seldom or ever assigned to it. But the following year, 1846, while engaged in delivering the instructions after vespers on Sunday afternoons in the Jesuit church of St. Louis he revealed himself as a pulpit orator of unusual power. Some of his hearers on these occasions recalled in after years the deep impression made upon them by his forcible and striking utterances, which they could not help regarding at the time as prophetic of the success that awaited him in the ministry of the spoken word. From this period his gifts as a preacher met with recognition and his sermons during the decade 1847-1857, while he was pastor of the College Church in St. Louis, were eagerly listened to by all classes of persons. Subsequently his success in the pulpit brought him a reputation that was in a measure nation-wide. "His was an eloquence," wrote one who knew him intimately, "that carried the multitude with irresistible force. His stately figure, his powerful yet musical and sympathetic voice and above all, his heart strong in its affections and his soul's convictions with its deep and inspiring piety made him in all the missions the most successful preacher to the masses of the people."⁵⁸ "He is a tall, portly man," so Lesperance portrayed him, "with handsome head and dignified bearing that inspires respect in any assembly."

In the midsummer of 1856 Father Damen, while still retaining his pastorate in St. Louis, made what appears to have been his first appear-

⁵⁷ Coosemans à Beckx, May 18, 1864. (AA). Joseph P. Conroy, S.J., *Arnold Damen, S.J.: a Chapter in the Making of Chicago* (New York, 1930), is an excellent account.

⁵⁸ *WL*, 19: 224.

ance in the missionary field. The occasion was a mission preached in St. Mary's Cathedral, Chicago, with the assistance of Fathers Isidore Boudreaux, Benedict Masselis and Michael Corbett. A published notice under date of August 26, 1856, from the pen, it would appear, of Father Dillon, pastor of the Holy Name Church, Chicago, records the gratifying results that attended the efforts of the preachers:

The spiritual retreat which our Right Rev. Bishop [O'Regan] has provided for the Catholics of this city has just now closed. For the last three weeks the exercises have been conducted by five Jesuit Fathers under the guidance of Father Damen. The fruits of their holy and successful labors are already manifest. Many Protestants have embraced the Catholic religion, and the Catholics—to be counted by thousands—many, very many of whom had for years neglected their spiritual interests, crowded the churches and confessionals.

The zeal, the piety and labors of Father Damen and his associates, and his practical and persuasive eloquence, have won for these eminent servants of God the love and veneration of all our citizens, Protestant and Catholic. From four in the morning until after midnight, these zealous Fathers and the parochial clergymen have been occupied with the duties of religion, yet all this was insufficient, such was the holy importunity of the people whom God moved to profit by their ministry.

It is understood that twelve thousand, at least, have received communion. None of the churches could accommodate the multitude that crowded from all parts of the city. The Cathedral, with its galleries newly put up, being found altogether too small, the mission was transferred to the large enclosure on the North Side known as the church of the Holy Name and here, as if nothing had been previously done, a new harvest is found already mature.

Years of spiritual indolence are atoned for and a new life—the life of grace—is begun by hundreds who for many long years knew not how great a blessing this was. How consoling to the heart of the Right Rev. Bishop and of the Missionaries must not be this fruit of their labors, this fresh evidence of the vitality of the Catholic spirit, which it would seem neither time nor circumstances the most unfavorable to its culture can root out of the soul of the sincere believer.

This is the third retreat with which, within the brief period of five months, the Catholics of Chicago have been blessed, the first being given by the Jesuit Father Weninger, and the second soon after by the Redemptorist, Father Krutil. May we not hope that henceforth the religious progress of our city will keep even in advance of its astonishing material prosperity.

Concedat Deus. Amen.

M. Dillon.⁵⁹

For Father Damen this Chicago mission was the turning-point of his career, leading as it did to his assignment the following spring to the

⁵⁹ St. Louis *Leader*, August 15, 1856.

northern metropolis as the permanent field of his activities. The story of the upbuilding at his hands of a great urban parish is a chapter of interest in the history of the Church in the United States during the period of immigration. It is enough to say here that inaugurating his work in that city in the May of 1857 by the erection of a temporary church, he saw a few months later the foundations laid of what was to become one of the most imposing shrines of Christian worship in the Middle West. As early as the winter of 1857-1858, while the edifice was still in process of construction, he had begun to conduct a series of missionary revivals in Chicago and outside. To Father Beckx he reported in August, 1858, the success that attended his ministry in this connection. His letter is in English, an unusual circumstance in correspondence addressed to the Father General:

I have been engaged giving missions or retreats during the whole winter which have produced an immense amount of fruit. I have given the spiritual exercises in Chicago in two churches, in which we had 9000 confessions. I have also given the exercises in the city of Peoria, where we had two thousand confessions; in Dubuque (Cathedral church) over four thousand confessions; in Galena two thousand confessions; in Rockford eight hundred confessions. In all these places religion had suffered very severely, several Catholics had fallen away from religion, many had become protestants or infidels; all these have been brought to their religion and many protestants have been converted to our holy religion. I have had the consolation of baptizing several protestants, among whom two protestants ministers or preachers. In all these places where retreats have been given the perseverance of the converted sinners and protestants is truly edifying and consoling. I receive from time to time letters of the Bishops or pastors testifying to the consoling effects of the retreats. We have received about eighty protestants and infidels into the church. In the retreats the crowds that attended the instructions were really most extraordinary; we were in the confessionals from early in the morning till 11 or 12 o'clock at night and our great grief was that we could not hear the confessions of all the poor sinners who presented themselves although several nights we did not go to bed at all but remained all night in the confessionals. The secular clergy and Dominicans assisted us in hearing the confessions. I preached three or four times every day . . . in one of the missions or retreats I gave in the winter the church in which I gave the mission was sold for debts while I was giving the exercises. The church was bought by a protestant for \$700, but Divine Providence sent him to listen to the exercises of the retreat; he was moved, convinced, etc. and before the end of the retreat I had the consolation of receiving him into the church and of course the church which he had bought was restored to the pastor or rather to the Bishop of the diocese. This was in Galena, Ill.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Damen to Beckx, August, 1858. (AA).

Part of the winter of 1858-1859 was spent by Father Damen at Florissant, where he went through an abbreviated tertianship, his duties in Chicago not permitting him to spend the normal period of time in this important stage of Jesuit formation. But he managed to continue the preaching of parish missions, though on a reduced scale, as he informed Father Beckx, this time writing in French:

As I was absent during these two months, I was unable to give many missions during this winter. I gave one at Mehan settlement, one at Peoria, one at our church in Milwaukee and another at the Cathedral of the same city. In all these missions I preached two or three times a day, the exercises being followed by the most consoling results. Everywhere the churches were filled and there were crowds around the confessional from early morning until midnight, at which hour we retired for rest to resume the work at half-past five in the morning. We were everywhere in need of more confessors for many poor sinners after having waited whole days before the confessional were forced to give up hope of being able to make their confessions. I was indeed deeply distressed that these poor souls, after having been faithful to the grace that moved them interiorly, their hearts being filled with the compunction that the Holy Spirit had poured into them, were so unfortunate as not to be able to reconcile themselves with God; our Fathers at Milwaukee shared my sentiments. How often have I desired to be employed entirely on the missions, for, as the Bishop of Milwaukee observed to me, I am made to be a missionary. After preaching two or three times a day for two months and being in the confessional from five in the morning to twelve at night, I am only just tired and my voice is as strong and clear as when I started out although I ordinarily preach an hour or an hour and a half and with great vehemence for the more a preacher thunders from the pulpit the more the Irish and the Americans like him. You can form no idea, Very Reverend Father, how much good is done here by these missions or retreats, how many poor sinners are brought back to God after having neglected the sacraments for years, how many sacrilegious confessions are made good, how many vices are rooted out and virtues inculcated. It is for these reasons, Very Reverend Father, that I earnestly pray you to urge Father-Provincial to choose two or three Fathers for the missions exclusively and how happy should I be were I to be of their number. Yes, I would thank God for it with all my heart. Still I do not ask for it for I have always been convinced that it is a very dangerous thing for religious to ask for anything, that is to say, for themselves, for I am not afraid at all to ask for things that concern the general good; and I am going right away to give your Paternity a proof of this. I will ask you, since you cannot help us with money, to make us a present of fourteen paintings of the Way of the Cross for our new church.⁶¹

As though the building of a great-sized house of worship in Chicago with all the financial problems it entailed was not a matter quite suffi-

⁶¹ Damen à Beckx, May 11, 1859. (AA).

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cient to absorb his energies, Father Damen was thus at the same time a preacher of parish-missions up and down the Middle West. This fruitful ministry was largely a personal venture of his own. The work of the English missions had not as yet been systematically taken up by the vice-province. Father Wippern was regretting to the General in August, 1859, that it had been suspended by the call of Father Coosemans to the presidency of St. Louis University with no successor to step into the breach.⁶²

In the winter of 1860-1861 a more or less serious attempt seems to have been made to inaugurate the English missions on a systematic basis. In March, 1861, Father Weninger was expressing himself on the subject to the General with characteristic eagerness:

Thanks be to God and the Blessed Virgin that the English missions have been begun. In the last one, which was given by Father Damen with the help of Father Tschieder at St. Patrick's in St. Louis, 10,000 went to Holy Communion, 200 received the Scapular of the Blessed Virgin Mary and 270 adults were confirmed. Moreover, nineteen American Protestants were received into the Church. I earnestly beg your Paternity to commend Very Reverend Visitor [Sopranis] for having made a start of this ministry at the hands of Ours. He consented reluctantly as he feared the colleges would suffer harm thereby; but let your Paternity be convinced that the missions are the very sort of employment necessary above all others even for the good results of the colleges themselves. Let only your Paternity admonish and encourage Reverend Father Visitor and the Fathers of the Province to persevere with every effort in the beginnings made and develop them and we shall hear of wonders. And if only three Fathers, to be steadily employed on the missions, were available for each archdiocese, more would be accomplished A.M.D.G. for the salvation of souls and the good of the Society in one year than in 100 years through the colleges. Facts speak. These colleges are not so-called "Bobadilla [?] colleges." In every English mission Father Damen receives 14, 16, 20 Protestants; in a certain mission he received as many as 60.⁶³

Though Father Weninger writes as though the preaching of English missions was already a regularly organized activity of the vice-province, some time was yet to elapse before this was actually the case. No one could say that the work was on a satisfactory basis as long as Father Damen was the only one engaged in it with merely the occasional cooperation of one or other of his confrères. A companion-priest regularly appointed to share his labors on the missions was a recognized need but it was one which it seemed impossible for the moment to

⁶² Wippern ad Beckx, August 4, 1859. (AA).

⁶³ Weninger ad Beckx, March 17, 1861. (AA).

supply. Father Beckx in 1861 and again in 1862 was still encouraging Father Damen in his hopes for a better organization of the missions:

Your Reverence is right in considering the work of the missions to be among the primary ones of our Institute and highly deserving of all our solicitude. If at any time this be true, especially is it true now amid the widespread agitation of wars, highly discouraging as this is to college studies. I have already repeatedly recommended the Superiors of the Vice-Province and will recommend them afresh to promote missions of this sort and spiritual exercises for the public. . . . For the rest, it is clear to me also that you cannot be equal for any length of time to so great a weight of labor and that for this reason also companions ought to be assigned you. I have recommended and will continue to recommend to both Father Visitor and Father Provincial that they lend you assistance if by any manner of means it can be done.⁶⁴

Meantime, until a regular staff of missionaries could be provided, Father Damen continued to work the field alone and with excellent results. At Detroit in the spring of 1860 his voice failed him in the very midst of a most trying mission. The appeal for a substitute which he quickly sent to Father Druyts in St. Louis did not lack vehemence:

In the name of God send Father Smarius or at least Father Coosemans. My voice has given out. I am so hoarse I can hardly be heard. I force myself because I see the terrible condition in which religion is. So many have apostatized from the church, so many have abandoned the practice of religious duties that I cannot but exert myself to bring back so many lost souls. At the same time I may lose my voice forever if I continue. Do then for God's sake, send Smarius or Coosemans to help me. You know well that I am the last man to call for assistance when I can do it myself. But I must acknowledge this time that I cannot. I am strong myself and feel myself devoured with zeal, but my voice fails me. The people are attending in crowds and do expect a great deal from this mission. The good of souls, then, the glory of God and of our Society demands that you send some one at once to help me. Oh, think how large a city this is, how many souls bought by the precious blood of Christ. Do then for God's sake, send Father Smarius or Coosemans.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Beckx ad Damen, December 14, 1861; July 12, 1862. (AA).

⁶⁵ Damen to Druyts, March 11, 1860. (AA). "Rev. Father Damen, S.J., was giving an extraordinary mission at the Cathedral, which was continued for three weeks, during which time we (from 10 to 14 and sometimes 16 confessors) were from early in the morning until late at night constantly occupied in the confessional. This mission was indeed extraordinary in its good effects and in the sensation it created throughout the city and we had the consolation of giving the Holy Communion to 7,500 persons and of receiving 67 protestants into the Church." Lefevere to Purcell, April 2, 1860. (I).

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Further illustration of Damen's downright earnestness and eager zeal, as also of the success which attended his efforts even when working alone, is supplied by a letter of his to Father Coosemans:

On the 9th of October I opened the mission in Evansville, Ind. to the English speaking congregation, which is small. The pastor thought I might have 300 communions. The mission was very well attended. All seem to have given up all temporal concerns in order to attend to the one thing necessary, so that the sermons during the day were almost as well attended as the night [ones]. I preached three times per day, was in the confessional from 6 o'clock in the morning until 11 or 12 o'clock at night. The Protestants attended in large crowds and seemed very much delighted with the discourses on the doctrines of the church. Many declared that they were convinced that the Catholic church is the only true church and that they would inform themselves by reading and visits to the pastor and join the church later. Six Protestants were baptized and prepared for 1st communion; others were postponed, not being sufficiently instructed. The six were married persons and of course gaining them we gain the children. We had 600 communions, revalidated several marriages, invested with the scapular some four hundred persons and established the Society of the Sacred Heart; some 200 persons joined it. On the 16th of October the mission was concluded at night with a grand illumination, [and] the consecration of the congregation to the Immaculate Mother. Then 24 young ladies dressed in white with long white veils and crown[s] of flowers on their heads standing around the altar with papers in their hands read the renovation of the baptismal vows in a loud voice. There was a breathless silence in the church, interrupted only by the sobs of the people. Then I made a second appeal to the people (for the ceremony commenced with the sermon on perseverance) and said: "You have heard, my dear people, this solemn renunciation of Satan and his works. But you are able to speak for yourselves. Declare aloud, before God, the blessed Jesus here on the altar, his holy angels around the holy tabernacle, the venerable Bishop and your good Pastor. Speak out, do you renounce the devil?" There was a bursting out like the roaring of the thunder. "I renounce him." "And do you renounce all his works, that is, all sin?" The same answer was given. "Who shall be your leader and guide for the future?" All cried aloud, "Jesus, forever!" All this was done with an abundance of tears and many sobs. It came on them so unexpectedly, not being prepared for it. Then all the congregation arose and made the profession of faith aloud; after which all raised their hands to heaven, promised aloud that they would live and die in the Catholic church, that they would lay down their lives and shed all their blood rather than give up one iota of the Catholic faith; after which I gave the papal benediction. The next morning at 8 o'clock we had a high-mass of thanksgiving. I bade them farewell, let them weep as long as they chose and was off in the cars to Columbus, Ind., a small place where I was four days. All the Catholics went to communion. Some leaders of secret societies abandoned

their societies and returned to the church, two Protestants became Catholics, some apostates returned to the faith and many Protestants acknowledged that the Catholic religion is true. This place is visited but once a month. I was to St. Vincent's church, Shelby Co., where I remained 5 days. This is a small congregation in the woods of Indiana, settled by Kentuckian farmers. They have Mass once a month on Sunday. All the Protestants as well as the Catholics gave up their work to attend the mission; all the Catholics approached the sacraments, two excepted. Many came a distance of 10 or 20 miles, bringing their dinners along and remaining at the church the whole day.

I preached 3 times per day as usual and gave one hour catechism. 5 Protestants were received into the church and some old persons received their 1st communions. I regretted that I could not stay longer, for I had good grounds to believe that all the Protestants would become Catholics, if I had stayed 4 or 5 days longer; but my appointment was for Chicago to preach the novena of the Immaculate Conception. We planted a cross 30 feet high 12 inches square with the inscription (Mission by the Jesuit Fathers, 1862), although I was the only Jesuit there.⁸⁶

The decisive turning-point in the development of the ministry of popular missions, as exercised by the midwestern Jesuits, was the assignment in the summer of 1861 of Father Cornelius Smarius to the Chicago residence. Here his status was to be that of *missionarius excurrens* or "travelling missionary," either as team-mate to Father Damen or on his own account. Later, in 1864, Fathers James Van Goch and James Converse were assigned to Fathers Damen and Smarius respectively as companion missionaries. In 1865 Father Converse was replaced by Father Florentine Boudreaux. Still later, others were put in the field to reenforce the missionary band. In 1874 at St. Gabriel's Church, New York, Father Damen was assisted by Fathers Van Goch, Zealand, Masselis, Niederkorn, Putten and Koopmans. In the mid-seventies Fathers Hillman and Henry Bronsgeest were accessions to the missionary-staff. The significant thing about these preachers of English missions is that they were not American-born, but, almost without exception, men of Dutch birth. The process of the melting-pot had gone on with astonishing swiftness in the case of these sturdy sons of Holland. The instance is of course by no means a unique one in the story of the European immigrant on American soil. The ease with which great numbers of the foreign-born have adjusted themselves to their new environment, the success with which they have come to use the language of their adopted country in spoken and written speech, are common-places in the history of the United States. Of this success no more interesting example can be cited than Smarius.

⁸⁶ Damen to Coosemans, January 29, 1863. (A).

Cornelius Smarius, a native of Tilburg in Holland, where he was born in 1823, was eighteen when he arrived in America to become a Jesuit novice at Florissant. Literary gifts and a talent for public speaking had marked him from boyhood days. At St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, he conducted classes in rhetoric and the humanities through a period of six years, 1843-1849, all the while perfecting himself in English and reading much in history, of which he was to make frequent and effective use in his public lectures and addresses. Then, having gotten up during his teaching days enough of moral theology to qualify for ordination, he received the priesthood at the hands of Bishop Van de Velde, July 31, 1849. Four years, 1852-1856, were devoted to dogmatic theology, under the French Jesuits at Fordham, New York, an exceptional opportunity for systematic study to be enjoyed by a midwestern Jesuit at this early date. Of this opportunity the young priest took every advantage, giving himself especially to study of the great patristic literature of the Church. When he returned to St. Louis in 1856, he at once stepped into prominence as a lecturer and preacher of power. His Sunday evening lectures at the College Church, of which he became pastor on the death of Father Gleizal in 1858, were listened to eagerly by Catholics and non-Catholics alike, and read by others in the columns of the *St. Louis Republican*. "We look for fruit from all this," wrote Father Druyts to the General in 1860; "several Protestants are already receiving private instruction and three have been publicly baptized."⁶⁷ "Went up to Jesuit Church [Chicago] this evening," reads an entry in the diary of William J. Onahan, August 16, 1861. "Heard Father Smarius on Sin and its Enormity. Of course I was pleased beyond measure with his discourse." "When will St. Louis," asked Judge Robert A. Bakewell in 1879, "again have a public speaker that would move an audience as could Father Smarius?"⁶⁸ Of the impression made by this Americanized Hollander on his contemporaries a vivid record survives in lines written by John Lesperance:

His [Smarius's] rhetoric classes for many years were the most brilliant that the University perhaps ever had. For a foreigner, his command of English was a simple wonder. I think that a selection of his poems should be made and published. I have heard many great speakers at home and abroad, but none that more thoroughly realized my ideas of a born orator. He had a splendid presence and a resonant voice, but beyond that was not specially favored by nature. His head, though shapely, was small and almost completely bald; his neck was short and he wore spectacles, a drawback which he frequently regretted, as preventing him from mastering his audience through the

⁶⁷ Druyts à Beckx, January 1, 1860. (AA).

⁶⁸ *St. Louis Republican*, June 25, 1879. (AA). Extracts from Onahan's diary are in *Mid-America*, 14: 64-72 (1931).

eye. Yet his oratorical efforts were irresistible, particularly because they were not due to rhetoric but were the outcome of the deepest learning. The thing which gave his eloquence the character of genius was its intense human sentiment. He would go along for a while in the best academic fashion—he generally wrote his discourses—when suddenly something would strike him either in the sequence of his thoughts or in the attitude of his audience and then he would be transformed. The broad chest would swell, the eye flash, the head toss, the voice peal like a chime of bells and the play of the imagination would be such as to throw off a series of images—in climax or anti-climax—that I can compare to nothing so well as to the fabled mirages of the Magic Mirror. At a commencement day at St. John's College, Fordham, N. Y., in 1864, I remember that somehow everything had gone wrong and a dismal failure was imminent, when Father Smarius, who was then on a visit and had been invited to address some words to the graduates, changed the whole aspect of affairs in a few minutes. He spoke not more than a quarter of an hour, but the effect was electrical and the audience almost beside itself. His first introduction to our people in St. Louis was through his famous lecture on the "Pagan and Christian Families," which he dictated to me, only a little shaver, and read from my manuscript. I was as proud as Punch of that circumstance. I remember that Rev. Henry Giles and the eloquent Uriah Wright were on the platform that night and declared that they had never heard a grander performance. Poor Father Smarius died at an early age, all too soon for the good work that lay in store for him.⁶⁹

Father Smarius's *Points of Controversy*, first published in 1866, is still in demand as an effective manual of Catholic apologetics. His lecture, *The Christian and Pagan Families*, his funeral oration over Governor Bissell of Illinois, who died a Catholic, and his address to the Missouri and Independent Guards in their camp at the St. Louis Fair Grounds, 1860, are examples of an oratory dignified and impressive, if too overwrought for the simpler taste of more recent days. Perhaps one may describe it as Websterian; the sonorous swing of the sentences has something about it to suggest the manner of America's classic orator. But while Smarius spoke and wrote English with an idiomatic propriety and wealth of diction remarkable in one who came by the language not as an inherited gift but as a laborious acquisition, his literary manner shows a pseudo-classicism quite foreign to present-day standards of speech. A passage from his St. Louis Fair Grounds address of 1860 follows:

There are periods in the life of a nation when its dearest interests cannot be protected from open violence neither [*sic*] by the powerful sway of reason nor the soothing influence of persuasive eloquence, when nothing but the dread sound of the tocsin and the deafening roll of the drum can intimidate

⁶⁹ *Idem*, September 13, 1879.

the reckless heart whose blinded passions carry fear and dismay along the deserted streets of a troubled city or death and carnage along the highways of a nation. On occasions like these, not infrequent in the history of republican as well as despotic peoples, we need men whose skill in arms is equal to their courageous determination to defend the weak, to maintain order and to protect the land from universal anarchy or despotism. We need men, who, like the Achilles, the Fabii, the Cincinnati of yore, are ready to exchange the distaff, the ploughshare and the spade, for the musket and the spear; men, who like Dearborn and Brooks will fling away the lancet to grasp the sword; or, like Pierce leave the plough in the furrow to take their stand at the cannon's mouth. Men, who like Green, forsake the anvil to wield the sledge-hammer of destructive war; who like Putnam, turn the hunter's rifle upon the preying wolf in human guise; who, like Whipple, seize the harpoon to strike the pirate in the heart; who, like our great, our immortal hero, George Washington, drop the compass and the chain to direct the doubtful fortunes of the battlefield.

The address to the soldiers at the St. Louis Fair Grounds, while not conceived in any militaristic vein, does not hesitate to award the soldier a place of distinction in the social organism. The peroration is as follows:

Citizen-soldiers, allow me to express my inmost conviction of mind that you have been formed according to this or a similar model. Allow me to cherish the thought that you are as faithful to your God as you are loyal to the Republic, whose interests you are pledged to protect, whose liberties you are sworn to defend. Let posterity recognize in you loyal patriots and faithful Christians. In the hour of danger, the most holy, the most important privileges and guarantees of freedom are in your hands. Should your country call you from the peaceful fireside of your family to the field of battle, remember our altars as well as our houses. . . . Wave the Banner of the Cross wherever you display the flag of Republican Freedom. Screen us from the despotism of religious fanaticism as you would from the tyranny of the ruthless invader. Be warriors, be heroes, be braves, but above all, be Christians.⁷⁰

With Father Smarius devoting his talent for public speaking to the preaching of popular missions, this ministry began to assume proportions in keeping with the importance that attached to it. From his day to our own it has been steadily maintained as a recognized activity among the many that engage the Jesuits of the Middle West. Their zealous labors in this particular field were not confined to their territory proper; they reached out as early as the mid-sixties to the eastern United States. The reputation which the western missionaries acquired in the East

⁷⁰ *Idem*, undated clipping. Deuther, *Life and Times of Bishop Timon*, 308-310, has an appreciation of the Buffalo prelate by Father Smarius.

was due largely, it has been asserted, to Father Smarius's impressive lectures, which were always a feature of the missions in which he was engaged and were generally delivered when the mission proper was over. When Fathers Damen and Smarius cooperated in the same revival, the evening sermons, the most important part of the program, were given as a rule by the latter. A mission conducted at the Cincinnati cathedral in 1863 was described thus by Father John Schultz, rector at the time of St. Xavier College in that city:

The mission at the Cathedral is succeeding marvelously. Every evening church and basement are filled with an immense audience. Father Smarius preaches in the church and Father Damen in the basement at the same time, while two large chapels are filled with persons, some of them from 50 to 60 years old, who are preparing for first communion and confirmation. From 10 to 12 priests, regulars and seculars, are employed in hearing confessions. The Archbishop and the members of his household appear to be in admiration at it. The mission will continue up to next Sunday and then, after Father Damen's departure for Illinois, Father Smarius will give instructions in dogma during a few days longer. Before going to Cincinnati Father Smarius gave missions in two towns of Bishop Miège's Vicariate. At Leavenworth alone, besides the conversion of a great number of Catholics who had not been to the sacraments for many years, 30 Protestants received Baptism either during the mission or a few days later. It is inconceivable, Very Reverend Father, what immense good is wrought in the country by means of missions and to what extent these missions are necessary. Oh! that we only had a larger number of capable subjects who might be employed in this sacred ministry.⁷¹

In the same year, 1863, a two-weeks' mission preached by Fathers Damen and Smarius in St. Francis Xavier Church, St. Louis, met with noteworthy response. There were forty baptisms of converts and twelve thousand confessions. Many who had been away from the sacraments for ten, twenty, fifty years were reconciled to the Church. Not a few baptized Catholics after sixty or seventy years of a life without God made confession of their sins for the first time. Yet, strangely enough, the methods of the two missionaries did not commend themselves to all. Father Joseph Keller, delicate and sensitive of temper and probably for that reason too exacting a critic, ("a rather severe appraiser of men and things," Father Murphy called him,) declared that a cold chill seized him as he listened to Smarius inveighing with unconventional bluntness against the sins of the flesh or indulging in language about Protestants which seemed extreme. Moreover, there was in Father Damen, so Keller felt, too obvious a desire to profit by the mission

⁷¹ Schultz à Beckx, March 15, 1863. (AA).

in a material way by gathering in the offerings which on these occasions the missionary hoped to receive as a means of financing his great building projects in Chicago. At the close of the mission Father Coosemans brought these strictures to the notice of the missionaries. "I will certainly say [of Father Smarius]," comments Keller, "that he is accustomed to receive with willingness the admonitions of Superiors; but it would be difficult for him to amend, seeing that in these things there is in his judgment no defect at all . . . perhaps it is we who are at fault in complaining about these things. Perhaps we are too timid, too cautious. Certainly, if we can here apply the maxim, 'by their fruits you shall know them,' we shall have to confess that these Fathers are dear to God and are led by the spirit of God."⁷²

It was in the East, in the great urban communities of Catholic immigrants that had grown up in that section of the country, that the western missionaries scored their most notable successes. A three-weeks' mission which they conducted at St. Francis Xavier's, New York, in 1863, with twenty-two confessors in attendance and seventy receptions of converts into the Church as one of the results, was considered on all sides to have been, so John Gilmary Shea, the historian, wrote to Father De Smet, the most notable ever preached in the metropolis. In 1865 a mission, preached also in New York by Fathers Damen and Van Goch, resulted in twelve thousand communions, ninety-seven conversions from Protestantism and five hundred first communions of adults. "Father Damen attributes this extraordinary success to the prayers of the little orphans, who implored without ceasing the Lord's clemency on these poor sinners, while the Brothers were engaged in instructing the men, and the Sisters, the women, so as to prepare them to approach the sacraments worthily."⁷³ Later in the same year, 1865, three more New York missions, with Fathers Damen, Smarius and Van Goch officiating, yielded eighteen thousand communions and seventy-two conversions of Protestants. Again, an Albany mission, conducted in the same year by Fathers Damen and Smarius had among other fruits fourteen thousand communions, forty-one conversions of non-Catholics and between four and five hundred first communions of fathers and mothers of families and other adults. Moreover, a number of Catholics who had become masons renounced their membership in the lodges. "May God in His goodness," prayed Father Coosemans in reporting these interesting facts to the General, "preserve Father Damen, for many years to come, and deliver him from the indispositions to which he is subject from time to time."⁷⁴ The striking results attending these large-scale eastern re-

⁷² Keller ad Beckx, April 21, 1863. (AA).

⁷³ Coosemans à Beckx, February 18, 1865. (AA).

⁷⁴ Coosemans à Beckx, August 11, 1865. (AA).

vivals had the effect of causing the services of the western missionaries to be much in demand in other sections of the country. Early in 1865 Bishop Elder was petitioning Father Coosemans in the most pressing manner to send fathers to Natchez and Vicksburg. The petition had to be denied. "Unfortunately the missionaries [themselves] cannot accede to his request and I scarcely have men of sufficient leisure to send there. Oh! that we had a greater number of men so as to respond to all these requests." ⁷⁵

The enthusiasm that marked the eastern missions was due no doubt in part to the circumstance that these religious revivals were a novelty in Catholic parish life in the country. That of 1863 at St. Francis Xavier's, New York, was described in this manner by one of the participating preachers:

Our mission finished yesterday. I scarcely venture to give you a description of it, I have so many things to tell you. The last instruction had to be given in three different places at the same time. Father Smarius preached in the church to men and women, Father Damen in the large college hall to men only, while Father O'Reilly had only women in the basement of the church. Each of the three orators was greeted with the sight of crowds of people thronging with every eagerness to hear him. In order that the student-galleries might be thrown open to the public, the students were given places in the sanctuary. The stage from which the Father preached was crowded with men standing up. At the entrance to the hall, a hundred auditors, unable to find room in the hall, were ranged along the steps of the stairway. Several controversial sermons were given in the church. The Protestants came in good number. Last Sunday after high mass twenty of them were baptized in presence of the whole congregation. The first to approach the baptismal font was a worthy minister. The public was next edified by the abjuration of four perverts from Catholicism. Baptized by Catholic priests, they had allowed themselves to be carried away little by little by the religion that is here predominant. On the preceding day a number were reconciled to the Church while others at the same time were being given religious instruction. As to the Catholics, it is enough to say that the confessions began the second day of the mission and that thereafter there was no falling-off in the crowds around the confessionals. In spite of the number of confessors (fifteen to thirty) every evening thousands had to go home without having had a chance to confess, for people came from every corner of the city and from near-by towns. Last Sunday evening, the street in front of the church was so blocked that it was impossible to make one's way through. "Why haven't these Fathers a bigger church," was what you heard on all sides. I knew of persons from distant quarters of the city who took lodgings in the vicinity so as to be in time for the mission. Today is the close of the triduum in honor of the Japanese martyrs. The confessions continue as numerous as ever; I don't

⁷⁵ Coosemans à Beckx, February 18, 1865. (AA).

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know when they will stop. Let us bless God for all the good that has been done on this occasion.⁷⁶

A notice of the same mission was carried in a local Catholic paper:

From fifteen to thirty priests were occupied without interruption from morning to night in hearing confessions; and with what glorious success their fatiguing labors were crowned! During these days of grace, twenty-thousand persons approached the tribunal of penance. Fifty-seven persons made their abjuration and some others are preparing for the same by receiving instructions. What a rich harvest of souls gathered into the granary of the Lord during the three weeks' work of the mission! In completing this great success we are reminded of the first labors of the Society of Jesus in America when the people came in crowds with contrite hearts to ask of the minister of religion the grace of baptism.⁷⁷

Coming as they did in immediate contact with Catholic immigrant groups in various parts of the country, the missionaries had exceptional opportunities for appreciating their religious needs. Father Smarius's analysis of the situation among them is informing:

The continual immigration of the numerous Catholics coming from almost all the countries of Europe, especially Ireland and Germany, and the lack of apostolic workers in proportion to the increase of this immigration have demonstrated the importance and the necessity of these exercises [missions]. Thousands of Catholics, especially in the most populous of the cities, live in complete negligence of their Christian duties and of the sacraments. To recall them to their obligations requires an extraordinary means. Now the announcement of the mission made and repeated several times before the opening-day excites curiosity and attracts souls that still have any trace of religion left in them. The result is the return of many a prodigal son, as also notable victories over rooted vices and bad habits.

The same need exists at least relatively in the smaller towns and in the villages. The working classes and farmers are often at a considerable distance from the little chapels which the zeal of priests and the generosity of the poor have built in the interior of our States. And these farmers and laborers have only from time to time the spiritual succor necessary to nourish the spirit of religion which, like the lamp, is extinguished for lack of saving oil, to wit, instruction and the sacraments. The missions have the effect of making the spirit of faith revive among them and of reawakening the salutary interest which they ought to have in their own souls and in those of their children. To give you a convincing proof of it, permit me to tell you that in nearly all our missions we find hundreds of men and women, self-styled Catholics, who haven't been to confession for ten, twenty, thirty and forty years. One

⁷⁶ *Précis Historiques* (Brussels), 13:60.

⁷⁷ *Idem*, 13:61.

can state without exaggeration that a fifth part of the Catholics who present themselves in our missions are found to be in this deplorable state.⁷⁸

In the fall of 1869 Father Smarius began his last round of missions with health greatly impaired by the insidious advances of a deep-seated organic malady. But he met his engagements with dogged perseverance. His last public appearance was at Albany, New York, where his physical weakness was so extreme that he had to be carried into the pulpit. Returning to Chicago, he there patiently awaited the end, which the physicians declared would not be long in coming. When news of his condition reached the East, the scene of his most brilliant apostolic triumphs, fervent prayers were offered on all sides that God might spare him to the Church. The *Freeman's Journal* of New York called upon its readers to storm heaven on behalf of this missionary, who was "still in middle age and with so special a gift for touching the hearts of men. . . . In the fewness of Catholic missionaries armed and devoted to their work we Catholics find a reason for asking the Lord not to cut off Father Smarius in the middle of his days." But the sands of the missionary's busy life had run out. He died March 1, 1870, having approached within two days of his forty-seventh year. "During the last weeks of his life," said Father Coosemans in reporting his death to the General, "this good Father was reduced to a very painful state. He could move neither arms nor legs which were in great part paralyzed. It was necessary to feed him like a child. He was perfectly resigned to the will of God; and while during life he was very much afraid of death he was perfectly calm and free from all fear from the moment he learned there was no longer any hope for him. His death is a great loss to the Society and the Church in the United States."⁷⁹

The tributes rendered to the dead missionary by the Catholic press of the United States reveal the place he had filled in the religious life of the land. The *Catholic Tablet* of New York deplored the loss of "this eminent Jesuit and apostolic priest. [His] fame is as wide as the country which owes so much to his zeal and fruitful labors. This news will carry sorrow not only to his brethren of the Company of Jesus among whom he towered by his eloquence and learning like some tall son of Anak, but to thousands of the laity who have been drawn by the fervor of this man of God from the ways of sin or nearer to God."⁸⁰ "He died comparatively young," commented the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph*, "but in a few years he had completed a long term filled and

⁷⁸ *Idem*, 13:66. The *Précis* (Feb. 1, 1864, pp. 61-68) contains two letters of Smarius about his missions. Cf. also *Études* (Paris), Sept.-Oct., 1863.

⁷⁹ Coosemans à Beckx, March 6, 1870. (AA).

⁸⁰ *Catholic Tablet*, March 5, 1870.

crowded with deeds of heroic devotion to the duties of his high calling, the memory of which will not soon pass away. As a controversial writer, as a lecturer, as a giver of missions, he had in this country few equals and no superiors; and amid all the praises which his giant talents won for him from his friends that revered him and religious foes that admired while they feared him, he was ever the humble, faithful disciple of the School of Loyola in which he was trained to heaven."⁸¹

The work of the popular missions, pursued all through the sixties with visible tokens of success, was not interrupted by the death of Father Smarius. In the season 1874-1875 (the work ordinarily ran from the fall to the late spring of the following year), Father Damen had six or seven fathers assisting him with more or less of regularity on the

⁸¹ *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati), March 3, 1870. A Jesuit contemporary of Father Smarius who also achieved distinction in the pulpit was Father James Bouchard. The red man's native gift of eloquence showed itself in this son of Kistalwa, a Delaware chief, and Marie Bouchard, born in the United States of French parents. He was born according to De Smet in Muskagóla, "a small village in the United States"; but according to a Jesuit register, in St. Jacques (parish?), Louisiana. He bore in his early days the Indian name of Watomika or "Swift-footed." He was educated at Marietta College, Ohio, was there ordained a Presbyterian minister and then sent on duty to St. Louis, where passing the Jesuit church one day he entered it in a mood of curiosity at the moment the children were flocking in for their catechetical instruction. It was the beginning of his attraction to the Catholic Church, into which he was received at the age of twenty-three, becoming a Jesuit in 1848. "Last month," Father Van de Velde informed the Father General in June, 1847, "a young man about 24 years old, formerly a minister with the Methodists and afterwards with the Calvinists, was converted to the Catholic faith. His father was an Indian of mixed blood of the Delaware tribe; his mother, who is still living, is of American or European stock. They were married in Indian or pagan fashion, always lived together and begot three children. The young man now asks to be admitted into the Society. He is pious, modest, intelligent and seems to be firm in the faith. He studied Latin and Greek for awhile and wishes to devote himself to the salvation of the Indians. I consulted the Right Reverend Bishop, whose opinion is that nothing stands in the way of his studying philosophy and theology and afterwards being raised to the priesthood. He will remain here in the college until your Paternity decides whether or not he can be admitted." Van de Velde ad Roothaan, June 14, 1847. (AA). In 1861 Father Bouchard at his own request was assigned to the California Mission and in it spent the remaining twenty-eight years of his life. His popularity as a preacher on the Pacific coast was very great and probably no other Catholic clergyman in that section of the country was ever more effective in the ministry of the pulpit, which carried him from California to Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington Territory and British Columbia. There is a sketch of Father Bouchard in De Smet's *Western Missions and Missionaries* based on an autobiographical memoir in the Archives of the North Belgian Province, S.J. The best account is in *Lettere Edificante Torinese della Compagnia di Gesù* (Turin) [April, 1893], pp. 253-260. For Bouchard's autobiography, cf. *Mid-America*, October, 1937.

missions. In the season 1876-1877 the missionaries were organized into two bands, one of six fathers led by Father Damen, the other of two or three under Father John Coghlan. The territory visited this year included Middle West, East and South. The first mission was given at Edina, Missouri. Then followed a large-scale one at All Saints, Chicago, where Father Damen was assisted by Fathers Zealand, Niederkorn, Brongsgeest, Hillman and Masselis. From Chicago the missionaries named, with the exception of Father Niederkorn, who was replaced by Father John Condon, proceeded to Brooklyn, New York, where three missions were preached, all marked with gratifying results. In addition to the regular mission-program, the fathers preached and lectured in various churches in and around Brooklyn. A small mission was given in fashionable Rockaway, Long Island, and on one occasion the entire missionary staff went on board the war-vessels at the Navy Yard and heard the confessions of the marines, sailors, recruits and prisoners. Then followed revivals at the Immaculate Conception, Philadelphia, and at St. Francis de Sales's, Boston, after which the fathers travelled south to begin a mission at St. Patrick's, New Orleans. Here thirty converts were counted, among them General Longstreet. Archbishop Perche and his clergy were gratified with the results obtained and believed that a signal impetus had been given to Catholic life in the metropolis. The missionaries, on the other hand, thought they noted in the people a certain lukewarmness and indifference that stood out in sharp contrast to the piety and fervor they were wont to encounter in the eastern and western states. While in New Orleans two of the priests went on board the United States gunboat *Plymouth* to afford the Catholic sailors an opportunity of complying with their Easter duties. Then followed engagements at Mobile and Pensacola, and later in Chicago, Osage Mission and Parsons, Kansas.

In April, 1877, Father Damen and his companions were back in the East, exercising their missionary zeal in Philadelphia and later in Lynn, Massachusetts. A two-weeks' mission at the Annunciation, Chicago, in June brought the season to a close. The years' work showed the following general results: communions, 71,545; converts, 276; first communions of adults, 906; confirmations, 1,782. Meantime the second missionary group, led by Father Coghlan, had evangelized various points in West and East, including Morris, Illinois, St. Mary's Landing, Missouri; Detroit, Omaha, Denver, Boulder, Georgetown, Central City, Pueblo (the last five in Colorado); Troy (New York), Shamokin (Penn.), Davenport (Iowa), East St. Louis, Bunker Hill, Bethalto, Gillespie, Litchfield (the last five in Illinois); Oliphant, Pa., Pleasant Valley, Pa., Rochelle, Ill. The season's labors yielded these results:

communions, 44,720; converts, 208; first communions of adults, 558; confirmations, 274.⁸²

The missions, it is unnecessary to say, were not conducted in haphazard fashion, but according to a method which was perfected gradually in the light of accumulating experience. The larger missions lasted as a rule two weeks and a half, the order of exercises as followed in the early seventies being this: 5 A.M., Mass. and sermon; 8:30 A.M., Mass and sermon; 3 P.M., Way of the Cross; 7:30 P.M., rosary, sermon and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. The first week was for the women, the second for the men, i.e. those whose week it was were alone admitted to the evening services and had the privilege of going to confession first. The advantages of this arrangement were regarded as three-fold; it gave all a chance to attend the exercises; it made it possible to seat all the men, who, having in most cases worked hard all day, were tired out at night; finally, the women, having already made the mission, were stirred to fervor and as a result were ready to urge their husbands, sons, or brothers to avail themselves of its graces.

The subject matter of the sermons was drawn largely from the Jesuit's official manual of ascetical practice, the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius, the exercises particularly stressed being those which belong to the first week or stage of spiritual training. Father Frederick Garesché, S.J., a western missionary contemporary with Father Damen, though not associated with the latter in his work, sketches in this fashion the sequence of topics dealt with in the course of a mission:

The topics treated in the morning lectures are the integrity and sincerity of confession, and instructions on the proper way of making use of that sacrament, together with catechetical and familiar explanations of the commandments. In the evening discourses we intersperse doctrinal sermons with the matter treated in the first week of the exercises. At the high mass of the first Sunday we speak of the advantages and objects of the mission and the spirit with which the people should enter on it, trying to move the hearts of the people by appeals to the memory of their deceased parents, their own early childhood, their possibly near end. In the afternoon at vespers the same subject is continued with a more direct treatment of the necessity of attending to their salvation. In the evening we dwell upon the creation of man, and the use of creatures. On Monday evening we lecture on the doctrine and use of penance in the Catholic Church, treating the subject catechetically and controversially. On Tuesday evening the subject is the nature and enormity of mortal sin. On Wednesday we treat of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. On

⁸² *Abrégé de l'Oeuvre des Missions données par le Rev. Père Damen, S.J., et ses cinq Compagnons* (ms.). (AA). By "confirmations" are meant persons prepared for the reception of this sacrament.

Thursday we speak on personal sins, making, as it were, a general confession of a sinful life. On Friday the sermon is on Judgment or on Hell, or on both combined. Here also we introduce the different kinds of sin, especially those more enormous crimes of the age which are beginning to corrupt even the Catholic body and to which on less solemn occasions we scarcely dare more than allude. On Saturday we have no evening sermon. On the Second Sunday we treat at high mass of devotion to the B[lessed] Virgin as taught and practised by the Church; in the afternoon on devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and in the evening upon the one, true, visible and infallible Church of Christ. Monday evening sees the close of the mission in a sermon on perseverance and the ordinary means for attaining that final grace, the avoidance of occasion of sin, prayers, weekly mass, monthly or quarterly confession. Then come the Papal Benediction, and Benediction of the B[lessed] Sacrament. We sometimes have little children prepared, nicely dressed in white, one of whom reads in the name of the congregation an act of consecration to the Mother of God. We celebrate a mass of requiem for deceased friends and relatives on Tuesday morning, at which we speak on devotion to the blessed souls in Purgatory, and in the evening give a public Lecture on some of the current Catholic topics of the day, on some doctrinal matter or point of controversy. Every day from 2 to 3 P.M. or after the evening sermons non-Catholics are invited to come and propose their doubts. On Tuesday we commence the confessions by the children who have made their first communion and are under sixteen years of age. On Wednesday and the other days that we remain in the place we are ready from 5 A.M. to 10.30 P.M. to hear confessions. The only intermissions are for meals, a half hour after breakfast, an hour after dinner, and another hour, including supper, before the evening service. When the situation of the confessionals allows it, we continue to receive penitents during the sermons, taking a recess, however, of a quarter of an hour after two hours' work, according to rule. By hard and constant work we find that two missionaries, in a week such as I have described, can, unaided, prepare one thousand for communion. For any number exceeding this they have to appeal to neighboring clergymen. The pastor has always enough to do in superintending everything and in running after delinquent sheep. The Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are spent in resting or travelling to the next mission. Hard work you will say, and yet I have known men who were worn out in College life regain their health and strength in this treadmill of the missions. The only exhausting part of the labor is the time spent in the confessional.⁸⁸

A curious feature of these early parish-missions was the large number of adults who made their first holy communion on such occasions. This delay in receiving the sacrament was due in most cases to neglect on the part of the parents. It was difficult or rather practically impossible for the pastors to get the children to take the necessary instruction. The frequent absence, too, of parish schools, not yet organized on their

⁸⁸ *WL*, 2: 130.

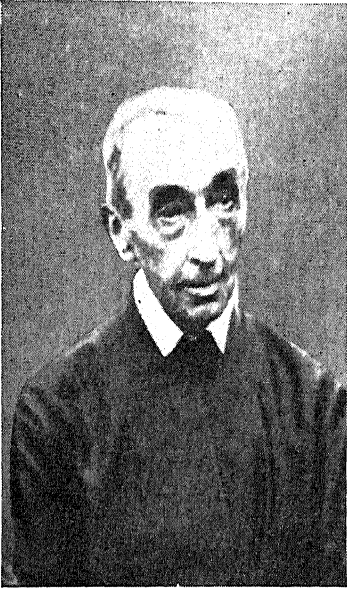
present effective basis, helps to explain the phenomenon. In the 1876-1877 series of missions conducted by Damen and his colleagues there were 1,464 first communions of adults; in the 1877-78 series, 1,980. The manner of dealing with these belated first communicants is explained by Father Garesche:

During this sermon, in accordance with an invitation extended for weeks together before the mission and enforced by an announcement at every one of the exercises, the assistant missionary receives in the school-room, the parlor of the pastoral residence or some other suitable place, those persons over sixteen years of age who have never made their first communion. I regard this as one of the greatest fruits of the mission, and decidedly the most difficult and trying of all the exercises. The average of such classes is perhaps greater than you would suppose. In one mission where there were 1100 communicants and where the pastor was noted for his zealous care for his flock, knowing almost every one by name, and where, too, there was little or no floating population, we unearthed about 20 such cases. I should think that the general average would prove to be about 40 to every thousand communicants.⁸⁴

Another remarkable thing about these missions was the number of non-Catholics received into the Church. Conversions, however, did not seem to be confined merely to the period of parochial revivals. At the end of the Civil War receptions of converts at the Jesuit church in Washington were averaging five or six a week. Accessions to the church were said to be particularly frequent among the soldiers then being mustered out of service. But it was during the missions that the bulk of the harvest was gathered in. Some casual statistics in the matter have already been given. A series of parochial revivals preached by Fathers Damen and Smarius in the early sixties averaged twenty conversions to a mission. For the season 1876-1877 the total number recorded by the western missionaries in their activities throughout the country was 484; for the season 1877-1878, it was 451. In 1879, after their missionary excursions from Chicago had been in progress twenty-two years, it was reckoned that Father Damen and his associates had made twelve thousand conversions to the Faith. Great importance was attached by them to the public reception into the Church of non-Catholics during, but especially, at the close of the mission. As one of the missionaries wrote: "If, moreover, Almighty God gives the grace of conversion to a number of Protestants, the ceremony of their baptism or reception into the Church creates great enthusiasm amongst the Catholics, who glory with a laudable pride that so many are gathered into the fold."⁸⁵ The

⁸⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁸⁵ *Idem*, 7: 164.



Francis X. Weninger, S.J. (1805-1888)



Arnold Damen, S.J. (1815-1890)



Cornelius Smarius, S.J. (1823-1870)



John Coghlan, S.J. (1829-1897)

practice of present-day Jesuit missionaries in America in this regard is different, inasmuch as they generally prefer to require from converts a longer period of instruction and to leave their actual reception into the Church to the pastors, a thing which ordinarily takes place only several weeks after the mission is over.

The conversions that ensued as one of the many happy results of the missions were largely due under God, there is reason to believe, to the controversial sermons delivered by Father Damen and his confrères. It was customary for him to give two discourses of this type during each week of a mission. Three of these discourses or lectures, the *Catholic Church and the Bible*, *Confession*, and *Transubstantiation*, were circulated in printed form, reaching a sale of one hundred thousand copies. They are marked by a simple, straightforward, practical air calculated to impress the average person where a more pretentious presentation of Catholic teaching might fail of its purpose. The fact that these lectures are still in frequent demand as likely to appeal to the non-Catholic mind indicates that they possess permanent value in the literature of Catholic apologetics. A passage from one of them will bring home their practical character:

But here is your misfortune; you are a one-sided people; you never examine both sides of the question. Tell me candidly, now, did you ever read a Catholic book in your life? "No, Sir. I would not take up a Catholic book!" "But you have read a great many books against Catholicity?" "Yes, I have and that is the very reason I do not want to read any more about it." Well, that shows you are a one-sided people. How can you give an impartial judgment, when you have examined but one side of the question? What would you say of a judge who sits in the criminal court when a policeman brings in a poor fellow, and says to the judge: "Judge, this man is guilty of such a crime." "Well, then, hang him," says the judge. "But," says the poor man, "judge, I am innocent, and I am able to prove my innocence. I am able to bring you evidence and witnesses to prove that I am innocent." But the policeman insists that he is guilty. "Well, then," says the judge, "hang him anyhow." (Laughter.) What would you say of such a judge? "Ah!" you would say, "unjust, cruel, bloodthirsty man—you are guilty of shedding innocent blood. Why do you not hear the man? Why do you not hear his evidence, and his witnesses, and his proofs? You are guilty of the blood of an innocent man, and you have condemned him without examination." Well, now, my dear Protestant friends, allow me to tell you, (and I hope you will not be offended, for no man of sense can be offended by the truth), that is the way you have been treating the Catholics all the time. "Hang them, anyhow," you say. "Did you ever read a Catholic book." Never in your life—and then you condemn us, condemn us without knowing what we are. Is that the part of a sensible man? Is that just, I ask you? It is very hard to tell you that you have been acting so unjustly to us Catholics; but, certainly,

none of you can be offended, for you know it is a fact. You have been condemning us; you have been turning us into ridicule; you have been holding us up to the odium of the people, without knowing what the Catholic religion is at all. That is the way Jesus Christ was treated, and that is the way you are treating the followers of Jesus Christ. Oh! my dear Protestant friends, do become more just, more fair, more honest and charitable towards your fellow man. Condemn him not without knowing that he really deserves to be condemned. Do not examine one side of the question, but give a fair hearing to both sides. Do I ask anything unreasonable? Is that not fair and just? I would therefore recommend to you to procure yourselves Catholic books. You have read a great many books against us; now examine the other side of the question. Procure yourselves Catholic books, in which our doctrines are thoroughly stated and thoroughly defended. I recommend to you the three following books: "Protestantism and Catholicity"; second book, "Points of Controversy"; and the third book, "The Manual of Instruction." You can get these three books during the Mission, at the door of the Church. If you do not remember the titles of the books, only mention the three books recommended, and the young man will hand them to you.⁸⁶

In 1875 certain features of Father Damen's missions were called into question by one or other of his fellow-Jesuits as being open to objection. These features were the sale of books and other objects of piety in the course of the mission and the paid lecture, which usually followed by a day or so the close of the mission. At a conference in Chicago presided over by the Father Provincial, Thomas O'Neil, Father Damen was called upon to justify his practice in this regard, which he did to the satisfaction of all present, being directed thereupon to write at once to the Father General in explanation of his missionary methods. He said in his letter to Father Beckx:

As regards the sale of books, we have nothing to do with that. It is the pastor of the parish who chooses some one to sell pious books, rosaries, medals, and other objects of piety and the profit from the sale is applied by the pastor to his church or school or to the poor. We have nothing to do with it—it's the affair of the pastor of the church and not our affair at all. The same thing is done in all the missions which are given by missionaries of other religious orders, the Redemptorists, Lazarists, Passionists, Dominicans and all others. The only profit we derive from it is the copyrights [royalties] on books written by our Fathers [Weninger and Smarius] and that amounts to very little. Still it gives us means of bestowing a little alms from time to time and giving gratis books of instruction to Protestants. The pastors and bishops want it absolutely and they take charge of it for the benefit of their churches and schools. To forbid it is to forbid the missions to our Fathers. Father Weninger will tell you the same thing.

⁸⁶ "Lecture on Confession" in *Life and Lectures of the Great Jesuit Missionary Rev. Arnold Damen, S.J.* (Chicago, 1896), p. 52.

It is customary in the United States and the Canadas to invite orators or popular lecturers of some reputation to give lectures, controversial, dogmatic or historical. An admission-fee of 50 cents for the lecture is charged and the receipts go towards the building of churches or schools, to the aid of hospitals, asylums, orphans, the poor, etc. It is a method of procuring means and alms for works of piety, religion, mercy and charity which is approved by Archbishops and Bishops, Catholics and Protestants. Everybody does it.

All churches, schools, religious institutions are very much embarrassed by debts and the Bishops and Reverend pastors generally ask me to give a lecture after the mission to help them in the difficulties they meet with in keeping up the parish schools or paying the church-debts or supporting the orphans or doing some other thing of the sort. I never refuse them and they give me half the receipts of the lecture to help me pay off the debts on our establishment in Chicago.

I never give lectures of this sort unless the Bishops and pastors so desire it. If the Bishops do not desire it, it isn't done.

It has been written to you that the Bishops and Vicar-Generals have condemned lectures of this kind. This is untrue. For the same Bishop about whom they wrote to you asked me very urgently at the time I was giving a mission in his Cathedral to continue to give these lectures in his diocese and to begin in his episcopal city after the mission so as to help his schools, which he could not support without such means.⁸⁷

In 1875, when Father Damen was penning this explanation, applications were already coming in for missions to be given two years later.

If I could double myself and give four missions at one and the same time, I could not satisfy all the requests with which they press me to come to their assistance. Is not this a refutation of the charge that my manner of giving missions with a lecture hurts the good name of the Society? For 18 years I have been giving missions in the United States and Canada, always in the principal churches and Cathedrals, and everywhere the Bishops and pastors beg me to come back. There was a Bishop [McQuaid of Rochester] much opposed to the Society who would not allow the Jesuits to enter his diocese, especially after the Vatican Council. Well, at the urgent petition of two of the most respected pastors of his diocese, he allowed me to give two missions, which produced such an amount of fruit that this same Bishop invited me to preach the Jubilee in his Cathedral and is now our greatest friend. He wants us whenever we pass through his episcopal city to put up at his palace and he makes us ride in his own carriage.⁸⁸

In acknowledging Father Damen's presentation of his case, Father Beckx was warm in his commendation of the devoted missionary's work. "There was never any doubt in me or others as to your zeal and energetic labor. What is more, your eagerness for the divine glory and for

⁸⁷ Damen à Beckx, August 17, 1875. (AA).

⁸⁸ *Idem.*

souls has always, as far as I know, been a source of edification." At the same time, however, Father Beckx was insistent that the practices that had given rise to complaint, if continued at all, should be carried on under definite restrictions.⁸⁹

Father Damen continued his apostolate of the spoken word with undiminished zeal up to within a brief period of his death. While conducting a mission in Wyoming at the advanced age of seventy-five, he was stricken with paralysis and died in Omaha six months later, January 1, 1890. The work of the Jesuit popular missions in the United States was largely a creation of his energy and zeal. "For ten years," he affirmed in 1868, "I have been Superior of the missions in the United States. To speak the truth, it was I who began these missions or spiritual exercises to the [English-speaking] people. Eleven years ago such exercises were given but rarely."⁹⁰ Seven years later, in 1875, the eastern Jesuits entered for the first time in a large way into this absorbing ministry, putting a band of six energetic workers into the field. In the West the tradition of systematic service to the parishes through the preaching of popular missions set up by Father Damen and his Jesuit cooperators has remained unbroken. Today a group of middlewestern Jesuits are regularly employed in giving parish-missions. As to the memorable parochial revivals conducted in the sixties and seventies with palpable, one might almost say, spectacular results, it is an interesting speculation just what was the contribution made by them to the process by which the immigrant in the United States has been enabled in large measure to keep the Faith.⁹¹ The zealous diligence of pastors, parish schools, Catholic papers and books and Catholic societies, to say nothing of the sacraments of the Church, have all no doubt made their influence felt; but no inconsiderable measure of the spiritual forces that were at work to maintain the Faith in the Catholic population of the country must have been supplied by the "travelling missionaries" of the Society of Jesus and other religious orders. When the pioneer middlewestern Jesuits with their Generals behind them set themselves to the ministry of the popular mission as the most crying need of the hour for the Catholic Church in the United States, they undertook a work that justified itself in its results.

⁸⁹ Beckx ad Damen, October 20, 1875. (AA).

⁹⁰ Damen à Beckx, June 25, 1868. (AA). Father Damen must be speaking here only of Jesuit missions in the English language. Popular missions were being preached by the Redemptorists as early as the thirties. Cf. *supra*, § 1.

⁹¹ Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith? A Study of Immigration and Catholic Growth in the United States* (New York, 1925). The author's conclusion, "no great loss to Catholicity [through leakage] has occurred in the United States" (p. 255), while apparently supported by scholarly research, has not met with general acceptance.

CHAPTER XXI

LITERARY WORK—RELATIONS WITH HIERARCHY AND SISTERHOODS

§ I. THE MINISTRY OF THE PEN

The Society of Jesus has always set great store by writing as a means of advancing the interests of religion. To realize its great literary productivity one has only to glance at Sommervogel's voluminous bibliography of writers of the Society, of whom some twenty thousand are listed therein, many of them with scores of titles after their names.¹ But authorship is not an activity that one associates with frontier or pioneer conditions; where energies are absorbed in the bare struggle for existence there will be scant opportunity for the making of books. And this was precisely the condition that beset the middlewestern Jesuits for at least the first half-century of their career. Where a mere handful of men were engaged in the rather desperate enterprise of staffing parishes, colleges and Indian missions that required for their adequate management a personnel two or three times as large, one would not expect to find much literary productivity if any at all. Nor was such, in fact, to be found. One names De Smet's *Letters*, Weninger's volumes, Arnouldt's *Imitation of the Sacred Heart*, Smarius's *Points of Controversy*, a few sermons and addresses in pamphlet form, and the literary output of middlewestern Jesuits down to 1870 is practically covered. Whatever they wrote, and this is true particularly of Fathers Weninger and De Smet, was the by-product of unusually busy careers, which were by no means literary. A Jesuit writer in the sense of one detached from other occupations and calling his time his own for labors of the pen was unknown among them.

The earliest printed matter bearing the name of a western Jesuit would seem to belong to 1841. In that year a report by Father Verhaegen, *The Indian Missions in the United States of America under the care of the Missouri Province, Soc. Jesu*, was published at Philadelphia in pamphlet form. It contained two letters of De Smet, the first of his to be issued in print. In the same year, 1841, there appeared in St. Louis in printed form a sermon delivered by Father Van de Velde in

¹ Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 9 v. (Brussels, Paris, 1890-1900).

the St. Louis cathedral in commemoration of the sixty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The pamphlet was issued at the instance and under the auspices of the Hibernian Benevolent Society of the city. Father Van de Velde's subject was "True Liberty" and he took for his text the words of St. Paul in Second Corinthians: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."² The discourse, highly charged with patriotic fervor as suited the occasion, is in the flamboyant manner in vogue at the period. Yet literary quality is not wanting and one can appreciate its merits all the more when account is taken of the circumstance that the author was using a language other than his native Flemish. When Van de Velde died as incumbent of the see of Natchez, he left behind him a collection of sermons with the request that they be published for the benefit of the clergy.³

The first book by a midwestern Jesuit to appear was Father De Smet's *Letters and Sketches with a narration of a years residence among the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountains*, published at Philadelphia in 1843. The *Oregon Missions* was published in 1847, *Western Missions and Missionaries* in 1863, and *New Indian Sketches* in 1865. These books of De Smet were widely circulated in the United States and Europe and attracted national and even international notice. No other writer of the western Jesuit group achieved as high a degree of literary popularity.⁴

The Potawatomi and Osage missionaries left behind them manuscript dictionaries and grammars in the native Indian languages, none of which material has seen publication. However, Father Christian Hoecken brought out at Cincinnati in 1844 a Potawatomi catechism and at Baltimore in 1846 a prayer-book (*Livre d'enfant*) in the same language. Two Potawatomi prayer-books by Father Maurice Gailland were also printed, one at St. Louis in 1866 and the other at Cincinnati in 1868.⁵

Father Cornelius Smarius, eminent chiefly as a pulpit-orator, was also a finished writer in the vernacular.⁶ An address, "The Pagan and Christian Families," which he delivered before the members of the Mercantile Library Association of St. Louis, was issued as a pamphlet in 1857. His *Points of Controversy*, published in New York in 1863

² The only copy extant, as far as known, of this address of Van de Velde's is in the St. Louis University Library.

³ (A).

⁴ For a bibliography of De Smet's writings, cf. the Chittenden-Richardson edition of his letters, I: 144-146; also Sommervogel, *op. cit.*

⁵ J. C. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquin Language* (Washington, 1891), pp. 198, 232.

⁶ For Smarius's career as a preacher, cf. *supra*, Chap. XX, § 4.

and still in esteem as an effective presentation of the Catholic doctrinal position, was one of the first books of this type to appear in the United States. The success it met with induced Father Smarius to prepare a second volume of similar design, which was left unfinished at the time of his premature demise.

Two lectures, "The Progress of the Age," and "The Danger of the Age," delivered by Father Louis Heylen at St. Louis University before the St. Xavier Conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul met with high commendation for their literary and other qualities. They were published at Cincinnati in 1865. Father Heylen is a striking example, among others, of the Belgian immigrant achieving a more than ordinary mastery of the language of his adopted country. John Lesperance portrays him in his series of pen-pictures of St. Louis University professors:

Perhaps the greatest loss which the University sustained within my recollection was that of Father Heylen, who died at the age of thirty-eight. He was that rare bird, an original genius, pure and simple. Eccentric, absent-minded, untidy and not particularly handsome except for a massive forehead, he was the man to dominate any circle by sheer force of intellect. He learned everything by intuition and retained everything by prodigious strength of memory while his faculty of assimilation and communication to others in the most beautiful language was peculiar to himself. His sermons and lectures always reminded me of Bossuet in grasp of thought, swiftness of analysis and grandeur of expression. Had Father Heylen lived he would have achieved a name over the whole country. But he was content to die.⁷

Father Heylen preached on Trinity Sunday on the great Christian dogma of the day and the following Friday, June 5, 1863, rendered up his soul peacefully to the Lord. During his short illness he was a subject of edification to all about him. Father Coosemans reported his death to the General: "'Oh, what a happiness to die in the Society,' he said, 'I did not know it would bring me so much consolation.' He persevered to the end in sentiments of the tenderest piety. He was a good religious, a good theologian, an excellent professor of poetry, rhetoric and philosophy, all of which he had taught with much success."⁸

Probably the most significant book produced by a western Jesuit was Father Peter Arnoudt's *The Imitation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus*. In the field of Catholic ascetical literature it is an acknowledged classic and continues to this day to sound its appealing message of ardent personal love for the Savior. The work was composed in Latin under the

⁷ St. Louis *Republican*, September 13, 1879.

⁸ Coosemans à Beckx, June 11, 1863. (AA).

title, *De Imitatione Sacri Cordis Jesu Libri Quatuor*, and was patterned after the immortal treatise generally credited to Thomas à Kempis. As the epilogue informs the reader, the book was written in fulfillment of a vow, the author having pledged himself to this token of gratitude in the event of his recovering from a critical illness. The manuscript was sent to Father Roothaan in 1849 with an accompanying dedicatory epistle addressed to him as General. The idea of the epistle did not find favor with the latter, but he apparently anticipated no difficulty in the publication of the manuscript. This he put in the hands of a Belgian father in whose knowledge of Latin and theology he reposed great confidence. "I am hoping that with his aid your Reverence's work will be published in Belgium to the edification and advantage of the faithful." Not hearing further about the matter for a considerable time, Father Arnoudt expressed his anxiety to the General, who answered him, 1852, that his work had not been overlooked.

As I was pleased with the plan of the work and such parts of it as I was able to read cursorily in those trying days, I had the manuscript turned over according to the Society's custom to the censors. But their judgment is that the book, product though it be of the most pious labor, does not appear to be of such a nature as to make its publication worth while, and this chiefly for the reason that its contents seem to be hardly anything more than what is found in the *Imitation of Christ* but adapted to devotion to the Sacred Heart. Moreover, the altered style makes less for edification than the ingenuous though uncorrected simplicity [of the *Imitation of Christ*]. Let your Reverence, accordingly, after the offering you have made of your zeal and labor, make this new offering of humility to Jesus meek and humble of heart and not take it amiss that the little work in question is laid on the shelf. For both offerings your Reverence will receive a rich reward from Him who is Himself our reward exceeding great. I shall have the manuscript returned to you when opportunity offers.⁹

What happened to Father Arnoudt's manuscript subsequently is not clear. According to the biographical sketch published in the *Précis Historiques* by Father De Smet, it was, after being sent to Rome in 1846, mislaid for fifteen years, the author being in the meantime quite indifferent about its fate and making no inquiry whatever in regard to it. As a matter of fact, the manuscript, as already stated, was rejected by the censors to whom Father Roothaan had submitted it, and this information the General communicated to Arnoudt on inquiry made by the latter as to what had become of it. Under Father Beckx it was examined anew and with favorable outcome as it appeared in print in Cincinnati in 1863. This first edition, the original Latin text, reproduced

⁹ Roothaan ad Arnoudt, January 20, 1852. (AA).

a passage from Father Roothaan's above cited letter of 1852 to the author, as also the commendations of the four American censors together with a statement that the book had also received the indorsement of European censors. In 1865 an English version appeared from the pen of the Belgian father, Joseph Fastré, of Cincinnati. Father Arnoudt's book soon achieved a wide vogue among readers of devotional literature both in the United States and Europe and within a few years translations followed in German, Spanish, Flemish, Hungarian and Portuguese. He died in Cincinnati, July 29, 1865, leaving behind him a reputation among his religious associates as also among the sisterhoods and laity of the city for holiness of life. On August 16 following his death Archbishop Purcell addressed these lines to Father De Smet:

The Catholic Telegraph contains two brief obituaries of your late brother in the Society of Jesus, the saintly Father Arnoudt. I bless God that I had the occasion of becoming acquainted with a priest so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of our Divine Master and so zealous and capable to excite in the souls he directed the love of our Lord, the special object of his devotion and subject of his instructions being the Sacred Heart of Jesus. His work in four books after the plan of the Imitation of Christ by Thomas À Kempis will continue to attest his profound knowledge of the mysteries of grace and love contained in that Divine Heart and the immense benefits conferred on its faithful and fervent adorers. The religious communities of this Diocese, though so highly favored by and so grateful to the other Fathers of the Society who preach for them the annual retreats, will greatly regret the death of Father Arnoudt; for it is impossible for them to forget the admirable instructions he so often gave them on the interior life, the duties and obligations of their holy state, the necessity of tending continually to render their own hearts faithful copies of the Heart of Our Lord and of His Blessed Mother and the immense treasures which they would accumulate in heaven by fidelity to their holy vows. In my remarks at his funeral I represented the Heart of Jesus saying to Father Arnoudt, as God said to St. Thomas—"Thomas, you have written well of me; what reward will you have?" and Father Arnoudt—"none other than thyself, Oh Heart of Jesus."¹⁰

How close Father Arnoudt lived to God did not altogether appear until after his death when a cross which he had worn on his person for many years was found to contain a written vow never to commit a deliberate venial sin. It contained also a vow to propagate devotion to the Sacred Heart and a copy of the simple vows of the Society of Jesus.¹¹

Father Florentine Boudreaux's two books, *The Happiness of Heaven* and *God Our Father* have long held a high place in the litera-

¹⁰ Purcell to De Smet, August 16, 1865. (A).

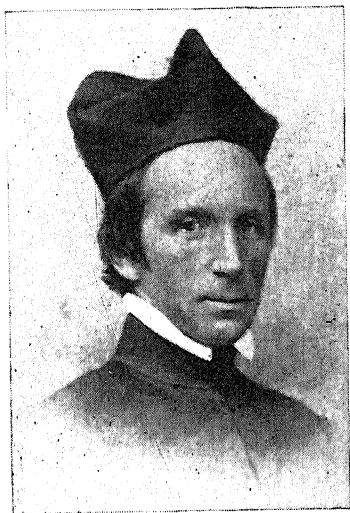
¹¹ *Précis Historiques* (Brussels), 15: 128-132.

ture of Christian piety. The author wrote them out of the abundance of his own heart, putting into them his own spiritual experience for the enlightenment and comfort of others. Florentine Boudreaux's brother, Isidore, was for twenty-three years master of novices at Florissant. Florentine together with his brothers Arsene, Eustache and Isidore, four of nine orphans of Terre Bonne parish in the Louisiana lowlands, were sent by friends to St. Louis University to be educated. Florentine, no great hand at books, left the University to become a farmer and then a tin-smith, in which latter capacity he was employed for a while in the roofing of the state house at Jefferson City, Missouri. While still an apprentice in his trade he quite suddenly, on January 25, 1841, feast of the conversion of St. Paul, received what he felt to be an unmistakable interior summons to become a Jesuit. Twelve days later Father Verhaegen, vice-provincial, personally conducted him to the novitiate, where Father De Vos was novice-master.

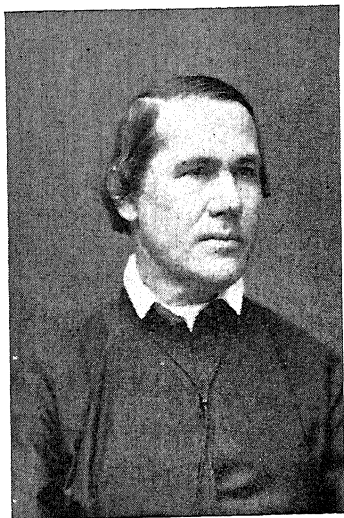
Father Boudreaux later did service in the colleges as professor of chemistry. He was an original, forceful and thoroughly honest type of man and loyal to the core. Like most earnest characters who venture along the difficult ways of Christian perfection, he was not spared prolonged interior trials. For five years a cloud of depression and desolation completely enveloped him. When it lifted and he realized how his unwavering confidence in Divine Providence was amply justified by the event, he determined to pass on the message to others. The outcome was *God our Father*, an elaboration of the theme that God's relation to the soul is that of a loving father to his child, with the resulting lesson of trust in His Providence.¹² Though without pretense to literary form, the book is engagingly simple and straightforward in manner and realizes some of the best qualities of ideal prose. For some reason the publication of *God our Father* was delayed. Meantime a second book by Father Boudreaux, *Happiness of Heaven*, was published anonymously at Baltimore in 1871. It achieved instant success and translations subsequently appeared in French, German, Italian, Spanish, Danish, Dutch and Flemish. *God our Father* was then (for the second time) submitted to censorship and with success, the faculty of Woodstock College in Maryland supplying the censors.¹³ It appeared in 1878 and translations followed in German and Italian. Father Boudreaux's two books are interesting examples of how native talent without special technical preparation or the usual aids of authorship will sometimes find its

¹² Henry Churchill Semple, S.J., *Heaven opened to Souls, etc.* (New York, 1916), pp. 76-85.

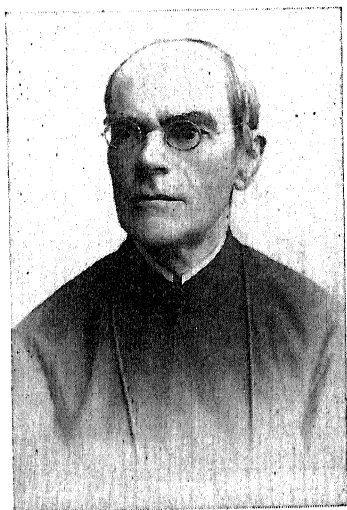
¹³ Semple, *op. cit.*, p. 81. It is stated by Semple that *God Our Father* was rejected by the Missouri censors, which probably is true, though no verification of the statement is at hand.



Peter Arnoudt, S.J. (1811-1865). Author of the spiritual classic, *The Imitation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus*.



Florentine Boudreaux, S.J. (1821-1894). Author of the devotional books, *God Our Father* and *The Happiness of Heaven*.



Charles Coppens, S.J. (1835-1920). Author of text-books and organizer of normal school studies at Florissant, Mo.

way to noteworthy literary results. What is more, they appear to have been the outcome of some or other design on the part of Divine Providence, so at least Father Boudreaux felt when he tried his hand at a third book and failed.

For sheer volume of literary output probably no Jesuit in America has equalled Father Francis Xavier Weninger. Sommervogel lists fifty-six titles under his name, some of these being works in several volumes. Some twenty of the titles antedated his arrival in America in 1847, the earliest of them belonging to 1828, in which year, already a priest, he graduated from the University of Vienna. "Every one of my writings," he says in his *Errinerungen*, "was occasioned by some particular happening of the day, which challenged me to employ the lever of the press for the advancement of the good cause." Some of Father Weninger's books had a remarkable vogue. His *Catholicism, Protestantism and Infidelity: An Appeal to American Catholics*, published in 1863, ran into seven editions in a year and there was a fifth German edition before 1869. The work appeared also in French, Italian and Hungarian. At least eight of his books found their way into French. The range of his writings was immense: controversy, pastoral theology, catechism, prayer-books, devotional treatises, lives of the saints, sermons, a translation of the Roman Martyrology. This prolific literary activity in behalf of the Church did not go without commendation from the Holy See. "I have had the consolation to receive several rescripts from Popes Gregory XVI and Pius IX, who expressed their thanks to me for the publication of some of these books and gave me their blessing. Thus Gregory XVI honored the book *Summa Doctrinae Christianae* with the words, '*purissimis fidei Catholicae principiis juventutem erudire satagis*' ['your endeavor is to instruct youth in the purest principles of Catholic faith']. Pius IX wrote to me on the occasion of the appearance of the book *Catholicism, etc.*: 'To the end that you may proceed with all the greater eagerness to convert the people there by all your various plans and efforts, we bestow on you the Apostolic Benediction.'"¹⁴ It was gratifying to Father Weninger to have his Catechism commended by the same Holy Father who expressed a wish that it be circulated, especially in the United States. The American edition of the text carried testimonials from the prelates of the dioceses of Milwaukee, Covington and Fort Wayne, with the recommendation that it be used in the schools.

How it was possible for Father Weninger to combine this literary fecundity with his equally astonishing work in the pulpits of the country was a puzzle which he himself was frequently called upon to explain.

¹⁴ F. X. Weninger, S.J., *Errinerungen aus Meiner Leben in Europe und America durch Achtzig Jahre—1805 bis 1885*. (A). Other data on Weninger's publications are given *supra*, Chap. XX, § 2.

I am often asked the question: "Father, where do you find time for all these books and compositions, as you are constantly engaged in giving missions?" My answer, at once jesting and serious, to this question was and is as follows: "I write when you gossip and when others are trying to while away the time I am trying to save it; I count the minutes and so have hours to myself." It is especially the *successiva temporis momenta*, the particles of time during the day, which procure us far more time than one would think, provided only they are faithfully made use of. I often recall what [Dr.] Job, my God-given spiritual director, told me when I was a young man. He said he knew a theologian who spent in reading books of St. Augustine the time which the professors spent in their assembly-room before going to their lectures and which on each occasion amounted to some ten or twelve minutes. He carried about with him a handy edition of the works in question and thus during his theological course read them through in these fragments of time. *Fili, conserva tempora*. Of this exhortation of the Holy Ghost I have always taken heed.¹⁵

Father Weninger was of the opinion that as it was by "a grace of vocation" that he was able to preach with such frequency and ease, so it was by a similar "grace of vocation" that he wielded such a facile pen.

The career of John Lesperance, fifteen years a Jesuit, was enveloped in sadness and an air of failure. He was born in St. Louis, October 3, 1835, studied at St. Louis University, became a novice at Florissant in 1851, and spent five years as instructor in St. Louis and Bardstown. He had begun his immediate preparation for the priesthood as a student of theology at Georgetown University, when, on his health beginning to fail, he sought permission from his superior to travel. "This good brother," wrote Father Keller to the Father General, February 24, 1865, "is ill no doubt in body but not less so in soul, harrassed as he is by temptation and so deserving pity. He is a man of distinguished talent, who, were he to persevere in the Society, would harm the devil not a little. I fear there is already an end in great part to that fervor and love of the religious life which we all once admired in this young man. The world has the upper hand as also worldly thoughts and reasonings under the semblance of a greater good. Further, he is somewhat melancholic by nature as is the way of poets (for a poet he is and one of no mean merit)."

Mr. Lesperance was given permission, it would appear, to take a trip to Canada; but he continued restive under the restrictions placed upon him by the superior in the matter of travelling and finally at his own request was allowed by the Father General to withdraw from the

¹⁵ Weninger, *op. cit.*, p. 678. "Fili, conserva tempus." *Ecclesiasticus*, IV, 23.

Society. The date of his release is February 24, 1865, and the reason assigned for it in the official record is "poor health."

"Although he continues," Father Coosemans informed the General, "to profess a sincere attachment to his vocation, he has relied not less on his own ideas about travel as a thing necessary to his health. As a consequence he asked for his release, which I did not think it right to refuse him after receiving your Paternity's answer."¹⁶ Lesperance after ceasing to be a Jesuit settled in Canada, where he achieved distinction as a *littérateur* and writer on the Canadian press. He married and became the father of several children; but the old-time melancholia gripped him more as the years went by until his mind became impaired and he was confined in an asylum where he died in the destruction of the building by fire, March 10, 1891.

John Lesperance had literary gifts of a high order as appears from his published work in prose and verse. These include two novels, *The Bostonnais* and *Old Creole Days*, the latter of which, dealing with the French social life of pioneer Missouri, ran as a serial in the *St. Louis Republican*, 1879. A sentimentality touching at times on the morbid characterizes his literary product. As a youthful Jesuit he had made metrical ventures, among them the frankly hypochondriac lines, "A sigh o'er the days of my childhood, etc.," which many hundreds of students were to become familiar with as they read them in school-days in Father Coppens's *Rhetoric*. But the mature Lesperance was capable of authentic verse as in his exquisite poem, "The Little Lord," with its opening stanza:

"Within the chapter of a cloister old,
Torre d'Amalfi is its name so fair,
A curious tapestry on the wall unrolled,
Related in devices quaint and rare
How that the Savior in the manger lay
Naked and lorn upon wisps of hay."

Lesperance always retained the kindest feeling for the religious order of which he was one time a member. The signed article, "The Jesuits in North America," contributed to the American Supplement of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, ninth edition, was from his pen. Perhaps the most typical thing he ever wrote was a communication addressed by him to the *St. Louis Republican*, September 13, 1879, on the occasion of his receiving a copy of Father Walter Hill's *History of St. Louis University*. The reading of this volume recaptured for him the memory of the days when he was a student and later on an instructor in that in-

¹⁶ Coosemans à Beckx, March 9, 1865. (AA).

stitution and he proceeded to pen delightfully intimate and discerning sketches of some of his old-time Jesuit associates. What one catches above all in this excellent piece of prose is the recurrent note of pathos and wistful regret over a vanished past. After quoting the couplet from *Il Trovatore*,

“Ai nostri Monti ritorneremo
L’Antica pace ivi godremo,”

he concludes:

“‘Back to our mountains our steps retracing, we shall enjoy there the peace of yore.’ Somehow, everytime I hear these words I am reminded of the old college walls again. But alas! time and distance are terrible barriers and the ancient peace of happier years may not be had for the asking. The Gypsy’s prayer is unheard, the troubadour dies in sight of the blessed hills, and exiles, like myself and others, glide on into the lotos land with only dreams to remind us of the youthful bliss that shall return again no more forever.”¹⁷

§ 2. RELATIONS WITH THE HIERARCHY

The Society of Jesus belongs to what are known as the exempt religious orders of the Church, so named because within certain limits now clearly defined in canon law they are withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the local Ordinary. On the other hand, in certain matters, as in the exercise of the parochial ministry and, in general, in the administration of the sacraments to the laity they are subjected by the same canon law to episcopal control or vigilance. It is the desire of the Church that the relations between the religious orders and the bishops should be those of harmony and mutual cooperation with a view to that zealous and disinterested ministry on behalf of souls which is the common pursuit of regular and secular clergy alike. Deference to the bishops and loyal submission to all their legitimate demands were accordingly demanded of his followers by the founder of the Jesuits, as might be expected of one who in all things reflected the mind of the Church as happily as did he. If individual Jesuits have failed on occasion in this regard, it has only been by ignoring, consciously or otherwise, the high ideal set up by Ignatius Loyola and continued as an uninterrupted tradition in his Society down to our own day. It will not be surprising, therefore, to find Jesuit Generals often inculcating on the members of the Society due regard and reverence for the bishops and a spirit towards them of spontaneous and generous service. Father Roothaan touched on

¹⁷ James J. Daly, S.J., “Lesperance ’52,” in St. Louis University *Fleur de Lis* (St. Louis University), 3: 174-183. St. Louis *Republican*, September 13, 1879.

the matter more than once in his letters to American superiors. To Father Kenney, the Visitor, he wrote in 1830:

What I have more than once recommended to the American Fathers, Your Reverence will now have to insist on with the utmost earnestness; to wit, that Ours make every possible effort to gain the good will of the Right Reverend Bishops. Setting aside every other human consideration, let them have before their eyes the example of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, let them do nothing on behalf of their neighbor unless with the authority and good pleasure of the bishops. As to faculties granted us by the Holy See, let them not even make use of them if by doing so they see they are going to displease them even in the least. So acted St. Francis Xavier, apostolic legate though he was; so *a fortiori* must we act who in the exercise of the sacred ministry are dependent on the Ordinary.¹⁸

The General's words were not without practical bearing on the situation in Missouri where Father Van Quickenborne had given umbrage to Bishop Rosati by not lending that prelate the measure of Jesuit aid for his cathedral services to which he felt himself entitled or which at any rate he expected to receive. It would probably be unfair to that pious and well-intentioned but very literal-minded superior to say that he was altogether at fault in the matter at issue between him and the Bishop of St. Louis, but Father Roothaan at all events thought that he should have gone farther than he did in meeting the wishes of the devoted and hard-pressed prelate.¹⁹ Father De Theux, second superior of the Missouri Mission, seemed to share his predecessor's attitude in standing on the literal rights and privileges of the Society. Bishop Rosati had asked, perhaps instructed him, to have some of the Jesuit pastors in attendance at the cathedral on Holy Thursday for the blessing of the holy oils. De Theux demurred, alleging that the pastors were busily engaged on that day and could not be spared from their congregations; but he proposed to send some novice-priests in their place. His action in the affair, so he explained to the General, was dictated by the consideration that he did not wish to acknowledge a right which perhaps the Bishop did not possess. On the other hand, Father Verhaegen, as rector of St. Louis University, was ready to accommodate the Bishop of St. Louis in every possible way; but he found his hands tied by Father De Theux, much to the General's dissatisfaction, which he expressed directly to De Theux himself. "I have urged Ours to show themselves more deferential to the Bishop. Your Reverence seems to have prevented the Rector of St. Louis from doing anything over and above what you yourself prescribed as though in matters of this kind

¹⁸ Roothaan ad Kenney, July 3, 1830. (AA).

¹⁹ Cf. *infra*, Chap. XXXIV, § 2.

one had to proceed with scales and balance. Would Xavier ever have thought of such a thing?"²⁰

Under Father Verhaegen as superior in the West relations between Jesuits and bishops, notably Rosati and Purcell, were of the pleasantest. Father Van de Velde, his successor in office, was on excellent terms with Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, whose esteem for him took the direction of having him promoted to the see of Chicago. On taking up the duties of vice-provincial Father Elet was instructed by Father Roothaan to cultivate "a good understanding with the bishops and the secular clergy." But he was not uniformly successful in this regard. He had a passing difficulty, apparently of his own making, with Archbishop Kenrick over the contemplated transfer of St. Louis University to a new site.²¹ Moreover, as rector of St. Xavier's in Cincinnati, he had witnessed a break, which proved however to be only temporary, in the previous cordial relations between Archbishop Purcell and the Society.²² At the Baltimore Council of 1849 Elet met with manifest sympathy and goodwill from the hierarchy. "I think I can assure your Paternity that of the 25 bishops assembled at the Council not one gave vent to even a single word against the Society."²³

The administration of Father Murphy, more so than that of any of his predecessors, Verhaegen's perhaps excepted, was marked by a uniform reciprocity of friendliness and good will between the hierarchy and the Society of Jesus in the West. "Be persuaded," so he assured the General not many months after he had entered on his office, "that prudence and faith without speaking of your orders will prevail upon me to respect and satisfy the bishops. Archbishop Purcell has shown me many tokens of kindness and has not made the least allusion to the departure of the German Fathers."²⁴ I see he is drawing near us. His Grace of St. Louis is always very fatherly. I hope my old friend the Bishop of Louisville [Spalding], whom I shall see next week, will be favorable to the Society despite the petty unpleasantness of the past. But, thanks be to God, we are not alarmed."²⁵

Beginning, then, at least with the early fifties, which period was coincident with Father Murphy's arrival at St. Louis, relations between

²⁰ Roothaan ad De Theux, April 7, 1832. (AA).

²¹ Cf. *supra*, Chap. XVI, § 3.

²² Cf. *infra*, Chap. XXXIII, § 3.

²³ Elet à Roothaan, June 13, 1849. (AA).

²⁴ Father Murphy had just withdrawn some of the fathers who were temporarily administering German parishes in the archdiocese of Cincinnati.

²⁵ Murphy à Roothaan, March 3, 1852. (AA). Murphy's allusions to the "unpleasantness of the past" seem to regard certain disagreements which had developed between the authorities of the Bardstown diocese and the French Jesuits of Kentucky.

the middlewestern Jesuits and the bishops were clearly sympathetic and no notable difference or controversy of later date between them is on record if one excepts the rather friendly dispute that arose in connection with the Bardstown college. In the case of Purcell at least, Isidore Boudreaux thought he saw an explanation in the attitude of the vice-provincial. "I think one can attribute this change in great part to the very wise conduct of Reverend Father Murphy, who is full of regard for the bishops and who knows at the same time how to command respect."²⁶ Father Weninger on his part thought that credit for the change was due, among other circumstances, to the parish-missions which he had shortly before begun to preach. "There is no better way than this," he contended, "of conciliating the hierarchy; colleges provoke jealousies, but parochial or popular missions please all alike, bishops, priests and laity."²⁷

As a result of Leo XIII's decree *Romanos Pontifices* and especially of Pius X's new code of Canon Law the respective rights and duties of bishops and regulars have been clearly and accurately determined and danger of controversy or friction between these two groups in the ecclesiastical body is thus reduced to a minimum.²⁸ But before the *Romanos Pontifices* much haziness existed even in otherwise well-informed quarters on the one hand as to how far the bishops could lawfully claim jurisdiction over the exempt religious orders and on the other as to just how far the exemption of the orders extended. There was a natural tendency for the bishops, where no definite and clean-cut church legislation stood in the way, to extend their claims until the orders seemed to differ little if at all from the diocesan clergy in the matter of subjection to episcopal control.²⁹ Again, the orders, when invested

²⁶ Boudreaux à Beckx, February 7, 1856. (AA).

²⁷ Weninger ad Roothaan, May 24, 1850. (AA).

²⁸ Cf. Charles Augustin Bachofen, O.S.B., *A Commentary on the New Code of Canon Law*, 8 v. (St. Louis, 1918-1922), for an exposition of the respective rights and duties of bishops and religious orders and congregations.

²⁹ According to canon law the superiors of religious orders enjoy the free disposition of their own subjects, whom they employ in the tasks and activities specific to their respective orders. This altogether reasonable provision may at times accidentally work a hardship on bishops, who might prefer to command the religious for special needs of their own. An instance in point is recorded in the life of Cardinal Wiseman (Wilfrid Ward, *Life and Times of Card. Wiseman* [London, 1897], 2:116), who complained that the religious orders in his diocese were out of reach for pressing work in which he sought to have them employed. The more correct attitude in face of such a situation is indicated in a letter of Bishop Rosati's: "It is very depressing to have to struggle against continual difficulties. The Gentlemen of St. Lazare [Vincentians] send subjects of their Congregation, who would prove most useful to me and whom they drew originally from my own diocese, whither it suits them. The Jesuits have sent

with the care of parishes, might be tempted to administer them without due dependence on the bishop with the result that the latter would be embarrassed in the management of his diocese.³⁰

As to the general attitude of the hierarchy toward the religious orders, Father De Smet thus expressed himself in 1850: "It is evident that the American bishops, a few excepted and these form a minority, aim at the partial secularization of the regular priests."³¹ In fine, the opinion, whether warranted in fact or not, that the American hierarchy was out of sympathy with the religious orders, was not uncommon in the middle decades of the last century. "Most of the American bishops," Father Gleizal commented in 1854, "are scarcely on the side of the regulars."³² A similar opinion was expressed some years later by Father Sopranis.³³ It may be pointed out that whatever differences showed themselves at this period between bishops and the religious orders arose in most cases over matters of jurisdiction. There was no disposition on the part of the bishops to call into question the reality of the services which the orders were rendering to the Church. This was freely acknowledged on all hands. In particular, the few bishops

some very distinguished subjects to Louisiana. I do not protest against this right; only it continues to be true that, perfectly ready though they be to help me, they cannot do the impossible. Father Verhaegen must often absent himself in order to visit the establishments of the Society, etc." Rosati à Blanc, March 16, 1840. (I).

³⁰ How far well-meaning prelates could misapprehend the real position of the religious orders in the Church is revealed in a communication from Bishop Kenrick of St. Louis to Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati: "I do not think that the end of the world is at hand, but I do think and hope that the time is not far distant when the Religious orders will be placed in immediate subjection to the Bishops and those privileges and exceptions be removed which make men who have vowed obedience the born antagonists of those whom the Holy Ghost has placed to govern the Church of God." P. R. Kenrick to Purcell, February 17, 1844. (I). In 1846 Archbishop Blanchet of Oregon City issued and had circulated a memoir in which he touched on canonical relations between bishops and regulars to the prejudice, so it was thought in some quarters, of the latter. However, in sending a copy of the memoir to Archbishop Blanc in 1854 he disclaims any intention thereby "of exciting unfriendly dispositions against the Regulars, whose importance and necessity in the Church I am aware of: but only to let you know the chief and primary cause of the accusations made in the National Council of Baltimore against my venerable brother, the Bishop of Nesqually and myself etc." Blanchet à Blanc, April 24, 1854. (I). The allusion is to differences between Blanchet and the Oblates of his diocese which were brought before the Baltimore council. Blanchet said of his memoir of 1846 that it led to his "being regarded thenceforth as the enemy of the Regulars."

³¹ De Smet à Roothaan, April 22, 1850. (AA).

³² Gleizal à Beckx, November 10, 1854. (AA).

³³ Sopranis ad Beckx, September 15, 1862. (AA).

with whom the Jesuits found themselves in temporary disagreement were not thereby drawn into any subsequent attitude of unfriendliness towards the Society. This was especially true of Bishops Purcell of Cincinnati and Kenrick of St. Louis. Father Elet's passing disagreements with these two prelates are noted elsewhere in this history. The fact is that his apprehensions in their regard were by no means as well-founded as he conceived to be the case. Purcell later expressed to the Jesuit vice-provincial his sincere satisfaction with the work carried on in his diocese by the men of the Society while Kenrick conveyed to Father Roothaan a similar sentiment in regard to the Jesuits of his own diocese. Today, thanks to the legislation of Leo XIII and Pius X, there is little occasion for misunderstanding between the hierarchy and the religious orders.

§ 3. JESUIT NOMINATIONS TO THE EPISCOPACY

A chapter in the history of the Society of Jesus in the United States, long since closed as a result of the mature development of the diocesan clergy and its ability to provide for its own needs, may be written around the attempts repeatedly made to recruit members of the Society for the vacant sees of the country. Under normal conditions the Catholic hierarchy is recruited from the ranks of the secular clergy; but conditions in the Church in the United States during the pioneer period were anything but normal and this was especially true of the secular clergy as regarded both adequate numbers and education. Embarrassed as they generally were by a lack of properly trained diocesan priests, the bishops naturally looked at times to the religious orders for candidates to fill vacancies in their own ranks or occupy newly erected sees. Such action on the part of the hierarchy, however complimentary to the religious orders it might appear, often worked a hardship on the orders themselves by depriving them of the services of highly desirable members and by interfering with their domestic traditions and rules. This was particularly true of the Jesuits. Their founder had been at pains to provide as far as possible for their exclusion from all ecclesiastical dignities. The professed fathers of the Society bind themselves by a special vow to refuse all such dignities and preferments unless imposed on them in strict obedience by the Holy See. Not only the professed but the body of the Society generally has at all times shared this attitude of renunciation as regards ecclesiastical honors. For an understanding of the facts to be set forth presently, it must be borne in mind that this attitude is not a mere Jesuit idiosyncrasy, carrying with it, one might suspect, a subtle depreciation of church honors in themselves, but

is an attitude which enjoys the full approval of the Holy See itself, as being embodied in the very text of the Jesuit Constitutions. Hence it is not surprising to find Jesuit Generals respectfully protesting to the Holy See against the nomination of their subjects to prelacies on the ground that such nominations ran counter to the Constitutions which the Holy See had itself approved. Obviously, such protests may not be urged beyond due limits, which are set by a clear-cut and explicit declaration on the part of the Holy See that this or that prelacy must be accepted.⁸⁴

The number of Jesuits in the United States actually raised to the episcopate during the course of the last century is a small one. It includes Bishop Fenwick of Boston, 1825, Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago, 1849, Bishop Miége, Vicar-apostolic of the Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains, 1851, and Bishop Carrell of Covington, 1853. But numerous other members of the Society were also named for American sees though their nominations were subsequently cancelled, in most cases on representations made to the Holy See by the Father General of the Society. The attempts made to secure Father Peter Kenney for the see of Philadelphia and later for that of Cincinnati have already found mention. Bishop Bruté of Vincennes made repeated efforts to obtain a Jesuit for his coadjutor, having proposed to Rome in this connection the name of Father Nicholas Petit of St. Mary's College, Kentucky. "I give up," he wrote to Father Roothaan, "my prolonged and useless efforts to obtain a coadjutor from your Society."⁸⁵ In 1841 Father

⁸⁴ Writing to Bishop Blanc of New Orleans in 1838 Father Roothaan expressed himself on the subject in these terms: "What shall I say to you, Monseigneur, of the postscript your Grace has put to the letter of Bishop Bruté, who has since written to me to try to convert me on the subject of conferring bishoprics on members of the Society. I have conferred on this important point with Bishop Loras [of Dubuque] and this worthy bishop could not help agreeing with me that I was right and that in my place he would offer the same resistance. Moreover, my hands are tied by the very stringent regulations of St. Ignatius. The Sovereign Pontiff himself is fully persuaded of the harm that would result therefrom to the Society, especially in America where it might subsequently be much less in a position to lend aid to the bishops of the United States." Roothaan à Blanc, June, 1838. (AA).

⁸⁵ Bruté à Roothaan, May 28, 1839. (AA). Bishop Rosati, in seconding Bruté's petition to have Father Petit for his coadjutor, had written as follows to Propaganda: "Reverend Father Louis [Nicholas] Petit, who is mentioned first, I consider worthiest to be chosen in preference to the others for the office of coadjutor-bishop of the Bishop of Vincennes; for he excels in piety, learning, eloquence, knowledge of the English and French languages, as also in administrative ability. To all the faithful of that same diocese, to whom he is by no means unknown, having conducted missions among them, he would beyond doubt be highly acceptable. Besides, that

Verhaegen was first on a *terna* of names of Bishop Rosati's choice for a coadjutor and successor in the see of St. Louis though it is not clear that the *terna* was ever formally submitted to the Holy See. In 1843 the three Jesuits, De Smet, Point and Verheyden were proposed by the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore for the new Vicariate-apostolic of Oregon. In 1847 Bishop Flaget was seeking to have Father John McElroy named his coadjutor and successor.³⁶ In 1848 Father John

he has professed the religious life in the Society of Jesus, that he is of the utmost utility and even necessity to the Kentucky Mission of the Society of Jesus, in which he is now living, that the rules of the Society do not allow of the promotion of its members to the episcopate, these circumstances, so your Eminence will judge, do not in any manner stand in the way of his election. . . . Is it such a mighty task to keep intact [ms.?] the Society of Jesus that, lest one or other of its members be raised to the episcopal dignity, the American churches must pine away for lack of pastors and grow old in their very youth? Are not the Religious Orders and Societies members of the Universal Church? Ought they not on occasion make a sacrifice of their private advantage for the common good of the Church? In fine, have they anything to fear from the promotion of their priests to American churches, which have nothing to offer to the cupidity of man? Not wealth, not honors, not leisure. Not even Ignatius himself, who as long as he lived was aflame with the most ardent zeal for the salvation of souls, the glory of God and the expansion of the Church, would in the condition of things that besets us today be opposed to his followers not merely lending but even spontaneously offering themselves to meet the needs of our churches. If there were available other priests of the secular clergy fitted for a burden that is formidable even for angelic shoulders, the worthy sons of Ignatius would indeed be left in peace." Rosati ad Franzoni, November 25, 1837. Kenrick Seminary Archives. Cf. also Sister Mary Salesia Godecker, O.S.B., *Simon Bruté de Rémur, First Bishop of Vincennes* (St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1931), p. 336 *et seq.*

Bishop Rosati, having first indorsed Bruté's nomination to the see of Vincennes, later withdrew the indorsement on the ground of Bruté's lack of administrative and business capacity, proposing in his place Father George Fenwick of Georgetown University. "Now in his [Bruté's] place we venture to propose to your Eminence Father George Fenwick, a priest of the Society of Jesus, of American nationality, an adept in the languages, and highly commendable for learning, piety and other gifts. . . . Without doubt Father Fenwick, were he to be promoted to the episcopal dignity, would be most acceptable to all persons and like his brother [uncle], the Bishop of Boston, would be an honor and an ornament to religion and the Church." As an alternative Rosati recommended Fenwick for Cincinnati in case Peter Kenney, the Jesuit, were not available for that see. Rosati ad Pedicini, January 4, 1833. (C).

³⁶ "I have just written to the Cardinal [Prefect of the Propaganda] to ask for his [McElroy's] appointment and I have set forth in my letter that I believe him very worthy of being raised to the episcopate and particularly qualified to do good in my diocese, that he would not fail to be very well received by my [ms. clergy?], to whom he is known and by whom he is deeply venerated and that I personally should be very happy to have him for my coadjutor. I do not know of any ecclesiastic who could succeed as well in my diocese as the one I

Larkin, who some years before had been prominent in Louisville, Kentucky, as a preacher and educator, was appointed to the see of Toronto, the appointment being later cancelled. In 1849 the names of Fathers Accolti and Mengarini were reported as being under consideration by the Holy See for dioceses in the Rocky Mountain region. About the same time Father Thomas Mulledy, sometime rector of Georgetown, was designated Coadjutor-bishop of Hartford, Connecticut, but was not actually advanced to the dignity.

By the time the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore assembled, May, 1849, the American bishops had become more or less accustomed to the idea of looking to the Society of Jesus for episcopal recruits. At least three Jesuits were on the list of candidates who came under consideration by the council. Bishop Van de Velde proved himself their rescuer. He made known to the bishops Father Roothaan's great trials (the Roman revolution had some time previously driven him from Rome), and read them a letter from the General in which he described these nominations of Jesuits to prelacies as a "really serious persecution waged against the Society under the semblance of good."³⁷ Van de Velde seemingly made an impression and the three Jesuit names were withdrawn. But the council did not suspend its sessions before it had selected the Jesuit father, John Baptist Miège, for the newly erected vicariate-apostolic east of the Rocky Mountains, a selection which was eventually carried into effect.

ask for, circumstances being as they are at present, and it seems to me that my declining days would flow by in perfect happiness if I could have this worthy coadjutor at the head of administration." Flaget à Purcell, October 16, 1847. (I).

³⁷ As a matter of fact the readiness of the hierarchy to multiply Jesuit bishops was an implicit compliment paid to the Society. Thus Archbishop Signay of Quebec to Archbishop Eccleston of Baltimore, 1847: "In the state of perplexity in which the bishops of this ecclesiastical province find themselves, that of presenting to the Holy See the names of three priests of whom one may be chosen to fill the vacant see [of Toronto], I have recourse with confidence to your Lordship. In your diocese and in other dioceses of the United States there are priests eminent for virtue and ability who could be proposed to the Holy See; especially are there Jesuits who, having received a thoroughly apostolic training, would probably be the best fitted to make religion advance with rapid strides in this new diocese which consists for the most part of missions." *RACHS*, 18:466. Again, Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia to Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, May 24, 1848 (tr. from Latin in *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence* [Philadelphia, 1920], p. 277): "I consider James Van de Velde as worthy of the first choice on account of the natural gifts and qualities of the man, and I think that his promotion is to be urged, even by the Pope's instruction, at this time particularly, in order to give this testimonial of the American Bishops in favor of the Society of Jesus so much vexed and harassed."

Whatever impression Bishop Van de Velde had made upon the hierarchy by his protest at Baltimore in 1849 against the creation of Jesuit bishops had evidently quite faded away when the hierarchy assembled again in the same city for the First Plenary Council of 1852. This time four members of the Society were named for bishoprics or vicariates-apostolic. Father Murphy, superior at St. Louis, was also reported to be under consideration for an American see. A letter of Bishop Miége written from the council to Father Roothaan gives some particulars about these episcopal nominations:

My object in writing to your Paternity is to acquaint you with some of the measures adopted by the Bishops in public session, measures, the letter and spirit of which seem to me to be in direct opposition to the Constitutions of the Society.

The erection of 12 bishoprics or vicariates-apostolic has been proposed, accepted by the majority [of the bishops] and is going to be submitted to the approbation of the Holy See. To find 12 men capable of filling so many posts has proved an embarrassment. As the secular clergy could not supply this number, they have turned to the religious orders and to the Society in particular, four members of which have been proposed. Here are their names and the places assigned them:

Father Carrell, Rector of Cincinnati, is first on the list for Covington in Kentucky. Father Speiker [Spicher] is named in the second place for Quincy, which is to be detached with the half of Illinois from the diocese of Chicago.³⁸ Father Nobili is named 3rd for Monterey, the present Bishop of which would be transferred to San Francisco with the title of Archbishop.³⁹ Father Kohler is named second for the Vicariate-apostolic of Sault Ste Marie in northern Michigan. The only one of all these Fathers for whom there is reason to fear, so it seems to me, is Father Carrell; the others will not be reached, so I hope. Still, Very Reverend Father, the fact shows well enough the ideas and intentions of the American episcopate with regard to the religious orders and the Society in particular. In my conversations with some of these Bishops and after representations made to them I have come to learn that they need as many bishoprics as possible and as many religious as possible to occupy them without caring in the least for the harm they do the religious orders under pretext that what the Holy See approves ought to turn out to the advantage of Religion. Your Paternity knows better than myself the remedy for all these miseries. The only reflection I permit myself on the subject is that there is nothing to hope from the majority of the bishops here. Their attachment to the Society, if they have it to any extent, will rarely go so far as to respect its Constitutions if any reason whatever demands their

³⁸ Father Peter Spicher, born at Fribourg in Switzerland, December 19, 1811; became a Jesuit (Province of Upper Germany), October 1, 1832; died at Buffalo, New York, March 29, 1874.

³⁹ Father John Nobili, born in Rome, April 8, 1812; became a Jesuit (Roman Province) November 14, 1828; died at Santa Clara, California, March 5, 1856.

violation. With some it is, I believe, less bad will than lack of information about the religious orders.⁴⁰

Writing to the General a month later than Bishop Miége, Father Murphy expressed his own views on the situation:

No doubt Your Paternity knows that the Holy Father was unwilling to listen to the prayers of the Redemptorist Fathers and that he ordered Father Neuman[n] to accept the archbishopric of Philadelphia. "You Regulars," he exclaimed, "you always want to have things your own way." I foresee that the Society will have to make a steady fight in America on this head; only let a Bishop be pleased ever so little with a Father for one reason or another and he will push him forward. Not the least of Father Carrell's recommendations is that he is an American. *Ceteris paribus* there is a disposition to prefer ecclesiastics of the country. There is a good deal to say for and against this tendency. I hope it will work in favor of the candidates against Fathers Spicher, Kohler, Nobili. Bishop Reynolds of South Carolina asked me whether there was any possibility of getting one of Ours for North Carolina, which they are going to make into a see against his advice. I begged him to spare the Society. It would be a fifth Father on the list. What will become of us! St. Ignatius must come to our assistance. An Archbishop told me that the opposition we make is a veritable selfishness, a preferring of a particular good to the general good. I might have answered him that it will be with others as with Father Van de Velde; I have still to find out in what respect his episcopal status was necessary for the general good. How many good measures, how many salutary reforms have been ill received and ill judged by the clergy of the diocese, which persists in attributing them to the Jesuit rather than to the bishop.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Miége à Roothaan, May 14, 1852. (AA).

⁴¹ Murphy à Roothaan, June 8, 1852. (AA). Other religious orders besides the Jesuits were loath to see their subjects advanced to the episcopate. Thus the case of the saintly Redemptorist, Father Neumann. Father Queloz, the Redemptorist procurator-general, wrote to the provincial at Vienna: "The news of Father Neumann's nomination to a Bishopric will doubtless cause you pain. All our efforts were fruitless. His Eminence Cardinal Altieri with the papers in his hands, defended our cause before the Congregation of the Propaganda. He had four of the Cardinals on his side, but the majority voted for Father Neumann, whom the American bishops had placed second on the list. Monsignore Barnabo, Secretary of the Congregation, communicated to his Holiness the result of the election and made use of the occasion to say a word in our behalf. But Pius IX replied, 'I bear the Redemptorist Fathers in my heart. They have done in this matter what God willed they should do. I am confident that He will not refuse me the light to discern what the good of the Church in general and the Congregation in particular demands of me. Therefore I sanction the choice of the Cardinals and I command Father Neumann under formal obedience (*sub obedientia formali*) to accept the diocese of Philadelphia without further appeal.'" Berger, *Life of Right Rev. John N. Neumann, D.D., of the Most Holy Redeemer, Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia* (New York, 1884), p. 315. Cf. also the attitude of the Dominican

In the event none of the Jesuits named by the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, Father Carrell excepted, was designated a bishop by the Holy See. Father Spicher, proposed for the see of Quincy, was one of the Swiss exiles domiciled in the West in 1848 and at the moment was discharging the duties of spiritual father to the community of St. Louis University. Archbishop Kenrick esteemed him greatly and was apparently the one who brought his name forward at Baltimore. Father Minoux, the Swiss provincial, was eager for his return to Europe and pleaded with Father Murphy to this effect. "I should be very sorry," wrote the latter, "to make this sacrifice. But let the mitre come ever so near, and I shall have him leave on the instant. Bishop Miége declared, but to no purpose, that the good Father according to all appearances is not made to be a bishop."

Meantime, the nomination of Jesuits to American sees continued at intervals despite the efforts made by the authorities of the Society to put a stop to the unwelcome practice. Early in 1855 the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore proposed Father Charles de Luynes of the Canada-New York Mission for the see of Charleston and Father Bernard Maguire of the Maryland Province for that of Richmond. In a letter to Pius IX, of date June 24, 1855, Father Beckx pleaded earnestly with the Holy Father for the rejection of these nominations, representing to him what an aversion St. Ignatius had "for the acceptance of episcopal dignities" and what serious harm in this connection threatened the Society, especially the provinces in North America. In August, 1855, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda communicated to Father Beckx the high commendation passed by the Baltimore Council on Fathers De Luynes and Maguire as candidates for the sees in question, whereupon the General again protested their nominations, making use in his answer of August 26 to the congregation of the same line of argument which he had employed in his letter to the Pope. "So long as the Vicar of Jesus Christ has not clearly made manifest the divine will, the Society is fully persuaded that the greater glory of God, the greater advantage of the Church and of souls and its own greater good impose upon it the definite obligation of holding aloof as

father, Richard Pius Miles, on receiving his appointment to the see of Nashville. "The loss of any efficient member of the Order at this time will be severely felt; and I do not see how I can in conscience accept without compulsion. The Archbishop has informed me officially of my nomination and I have requested him to send on the Bulls and other documents which he says are in his hands. If these contain a formal precept, I then have no choice, but if left free, I shall certainly remain so." Letter of November 9, 1837, in Victor O'Daniel, O.P., *The Father of the Church in Tennessee or the Life, Times and Character of the Right Reverend Richard Pius Miles, O.P., The First Bishop of Nashville* (Washington, 1926), p. 251.

far as possible from every dignity and prelacy.”⁴² Father Beckx’s defense of the Jesuit position in regard to episcopal appointments within the Society met with success and neither De Luynes nor Maguire was made bishop.

The movement to make the Society of Jesus a sort of recruiting-ground for the American hierarchy may be said to have reached its climax, as far as the midwestern Jesuits were concerned, in the Second Provincial Council of St. Louis, which convened in October, 1855. This council, under the presidency of Archbishop Kenrick, petitioned the Holy See for the erection of a number of new dioceses, all or most of which were to be assigned to Jesuits. In particular, the southern section of Bishop Miége’s vicariate-apostolic was to be made into a diocese, with Miége himself as bishop-in-ordinary. Moreover, the northern section was to be established as the Vicariate-apostolic of Nebraska with Father De Smet named first as vicar-apostolic with episcopal rank. Further, Father Patchowski, the efficient pastor of St. Joseph’s Church in St. Louis, was named first for the proposed new diocese of Quincy, while Father Arnold Damen was assigned third place on the *terna* for a coadjutor to the Archbishop of St. Louis. These nominations were approved by Propaganda and made known by the same to Father Beckx, December 12, 1855.⁴³ Besides the recommendations thus made by the Provincial Council of St. Louis other American Jesuits were being considered at this time for episcopal honors. The name of Father John De Blicke was third in order on a list providing for a successor to the recently deceased Bishop Van de Velde of Natchez and on February 13, 1856, information about him was solicited from Father Beckx by Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda. Father Charles Van den Driessche or Driscoll, as he chose to be known, the zealous pastor of St. Xavier’s Church in Cincinnati, was reported to be second on the list for Fort Wayne in Indiana. Finally, Father Clarke, superior of the residence of St. Joseph in Baltimore, and Father Murphy, Missouri vice-provincial, were reported to be also slated for episcopal honors, while Father Dupeyron, it was likewise rumored, was to be created Bishop of Jamaica.

Here was an imposing line of representative Jesuits whose services,

⁴² Beckx ad Propaganda, August 26, 1855. (AA).

⁴³ Immediately on receiving this “*infausta notizia*,” Father Beckx wrote to Father Murphy directing him to send on information about the three nominees “calculated to free them from the burden.” Father Gleizal wrote to the General February 6, 1856: “Three of the candidates certainly have not the theological knowledge which a prelacy demands. These are Fathers De Smet, Damen and Driscoll. What I say here is the judgment of almost all with whom I have conferred. The secular candidates are better than the Jesuits as regards administration.” (AA).

if the designs of the bishops upon them were to find favor at Rome, would be lost to the Society of Jesus in America. Naturally the Jesuit superiors were alarmed. Father Murphy wrote April 24, 1856, to the General:

I hear that Father De Blicke was one of those proposed for the see of Natchez by the Archbishop of New Orleans before the Provincial Council, but that after the Council his name was not found among the nominees. One or other Redemptorist was substituted for him. So this indeed is what is going to happen; the religious orders one after the other will be deprived of all their best men. I speak a human thing; embarrassments of serious import will be the result. We are waiting in this Vice-Province with fear and trembling to see what will finally become of so many of Ours proposed for the episcopacy.⁴⁴

Father Murphy had not been slow in acquainting the General of the action of the bishops at St. Louis in recommending four Jesuits of the Missouri Vice-province for episcopal sees. Father Beckx on his part took up the case for the Society with promptness and vigor. After consultation with his assistants he addressed on March 10, 1856, a communication of grave tenor to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda. Four bishops had been taken from the ranks of the Society within a comparatively recent period of time, Miége, Carrell, Canoz and Planchet, while vicar-apostolics were presently to be created in China and Poona. The appointments now proposed threatened the Society with losses and perils of the utmost gravity. The General then recalled what he wrote in 1855 touching the laws and spirit of the Society and especially the mind of St. Ignatius as revealed in his words to the Emperor Ferdinand I: "If anything could be imagined capable of bringing about the ruin of the Society, it would be the acceptance of episcopal positions." As to the impoverished condition of the vice-province of Missouri Father Murphy's words were quoted: "I do not here press the point of how many grievous wounds the promotion of even a single Father would inflict on this Vice-Province. Even now we are falling beneath the burden; what will happen if this one or that is taken away? Indeed our entire organization will be shaken and perhaps will presently lie in ruin." Nor was there any reasonable expectation that Missouri would receive reenforcements from the European provinces, since these were scarcely in a position to carry their own burdens and promote their own missions. Moreover, "the same reason which induced some of the

⁴⁴ Murphy ad Beckx, April 24, 1856. (AA). "Bp. O'Regan arrived here two days ago going over to Europe and [will] proceed as far as Rome—he will, I should suppose, never return again to his Diocese after all the trials and troubles he has been in—he would have liked to appoint F. Damen administrator, which was prudently vetoed." De Smet to ?, July 8, 1857. (A).

religious in those poor Provinces of ours [in America] to ask to be transferred to other missions, namely, the fear of a mitre, will restrain others of the European Provinces from asking for or readily accepting the missions of America. From the time that Fathers Van de Velde, Miège and Carrell were promoted, vocations for those Missions have become very rare." Moreover, "ambition for prelacies has hitherto been unknown in the Society," but in America they already begin "to make a distinction between those who fly from ecclesiastical dignities and those who show themselves indifferent towards them." Again, it was very dubious whether the advancement of Jesuits to the proposed sees would really be of benefit to the Church; in the particular case of Bishop Miège's vicariate reasons of moment militated against its transformation into a diocese.⁴⁵

Now the Vice-Province which we have in Missouri counts at present only 52 priests, of whom 22 have made their last vows, while the rest must wait as best they may for a chance to complete their course of studies and the various tests prescribed by the Institute. I said as best they may, for in spite of such a scarcity of formed priests the Vice-Province in question, in order to provide for the ever new and extremely urgent needs of those immense regions, has little by little been charged with activities and ministries above its capacity. In order to keep these up it is necessary to employ in them even the majority of the young men who are still engaged in study or have not as yet completed the customary probations prescribed by our Institute. As a matter of fact the Vice-Province is not confined to Missouri alone in the exercise of its ministries but extends to three other States, since besides the University and the well attended Boarding-school of St. Louis there is a large College in Cincinnati (Ohio) and a Boarding-college in Bardstown (Kentucky), while at Louisville there was commenced still another college which had lately to be given up owing to an utter lack of subjects, however much it was felt to be useful in the highest degree and even necessary to the people of that city. The Vice-Province has to provide workers for the missions already established in Bishop Miège's Vicariate. It must furnish priests to certain residences and parishes in Florissant, St. Louis County, St. Charles, St. Charles County, Cole County, Washington, Franklin County, New Westphalia, Osage County, Louisville, etc. It has the spiritual care of a number of congregations and of various establishments scattered in villages and rural districts and places often far distant one from the other. And all this without being able to [carry on] the highly important religious education of the young novices in the House of Probation and the very necessary literary and scientific instruction of our scholastics in their respective schools.

To continue so many activities making for the glory of God and to carry so heavy a load with such paltry and feeble resources, many great sacrifices had to be made. Some of Ours have had to cut short their course of studies,

⁴⁵ Father Beckx's letter of March 10, 1856, to Propaganda is in Italian. (AA).

others have had to finish it up in summary fashion and others have impaired their strength and lost their health. Only too truly did the result follow which was to be expected; the Vice-Province was reduced to such a state as to render it necessary either to abandon for a while at least a great part of the work that had been taken in hand or to suppress altogether the Vice-Province itself, a matter taken under consideration by my predecessor. The vicissitudes of 1848 having brought some Fathers of other Provinces to that part of the world, the Superiors then took courage and hope was entertained of being able to preserve the Vice-Province and put it little by little in good order without suspending so many activities exceedingly useful for the good of souls; there was hope even of being able to organize there a Seminary of missionaries for those far-reaching lands. And although some of the Fathers, especially the Italian ones, had to return to their Provinces, even with the few who were able to remain the Vice-Province began to breathe and to justify the Superiors' hopes for a better future. But if now on the very crest of these fine hopes and with the limited number of trained subjects that obtains, 4 or 5 of the most efficient workers are taken away, the very backbone of that body of men, the foundation and support of that edifice, what must inevitably be the result? Not only will the Province return to the miserable condition in which it was a few years ago, but it will notably deteriorate and quickly fall to pieces like a body from which the nerves have been cut away or a building from which the foundation has been removed.⁴⁶

Such was Father Beckx's vigorous protest to the Congregation of the Propaganda against the proposed appointment of Jesuits to American sees. If these appointments were to become effective, the ecclesiastical province of St. Louis would alone have six Jesuit bishops and the entire United States, nine. The protest had its effect, none of the recommendations made by the St. Louis council in favor of midwestern Jesuits being sustained at Rome. Father Beckx wrote to Father Weninger in April, 1858: "The representations I made two years ago appear to have made a profound impression."⁴⁷ And Father Druyts wrote in the same year: "In the recent Provincial Council of St. Louis [1858] no Jesuit is said to have been nominated for the episcopacy. *Deo Gratias.*"

Now and then after the passing of the fifties there were isolated cases of American Jesuits being considered for promotion, but no such wholesale naming of members of the Society as had been witnessed at the First Plenary Council of Baltimore and the Second Provincial

⁴⁶ Beckx ad Propaganda, March 10, 1856.

⁴⁷ Beckx ad Weninger, April 24, 1858. (AA). Father Weninger himself appears to have been threatened with a bishopric. "There is a rumor afloat which appears pretty probable that Father Weninger has been appointed Bishop of St. Paul's, Minnesota. In a recent letter to Rd. F. Provincial he begged for leave of absconding [*sic*]." De Smet to Miège, April 14, 1858. (A).

Council of St. Louis ever occurred again. In 1863 Father Coosemans was on a *terna* submitted to the Holy See for a successor to Bishop Spalding in the see of Louisville, while in 1869 Father Damen was proposed for Chicago, which see had become vacant by the retirement of Bishop Duggan.⁴⁸ Father Damen was also according to current report considered for Detroit after Bishop Lefevere's death in 1869. For the same vacant see of Detroit the name of Father Frederick Garesché was under advisement at a meeting in Cincinnati of the suffragan bishops of the archdiocese. Moreover, in 1866 Fathers De Smet, Giorda and Grassi, all Jesuits, were recommended by Archbishop Kenrick for the newly erected Vicariate-apostolic of Idaho.⁴⁹ But these instances, coming at intervals, were not of a nature to cause serious alarm to the Jesuit authorities, always eager to preserve intact the spirit and traditions of the Society. Meanwhile the diocesan clergy had been growing at a rapid rate in numbers and efficiency and its ranks soon showed no scarcity of priests of distinguished parts and manifest episcopal calibre. This obviously removed whatever excuse may have one time existed

⁴⁸ The vicar-general of St. Louis informed Father De Smet that Damen was second on the *terna* of names proposed for a successor to Bishop Duggan of Chicago. Coosemans à Beckx, August 5, 1869. (AA). Father Coosemans wrote to Father Beckx, August 18, 1869, to ask him to intervene with the Roman authorities against Damen's appointment, alleging that his services were imperatively needed to complete the new college he had begun and that he was not *persona grata* to the majority of the Chicago clergy. Bishop Miége also protested his appointment to Propaganda and erased his name from the *terna* submitted by him. The names of other American Jesuits occur in the *Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence* as having been mentioned for bishoprics; thus Fathers Stonestreet, William Clarke, Cambiaso and Gautrelet.

⁴⁹ Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis in a letter to Archbishop Odin of New Orleans, February 10, 1866 (I), informed him that he has asked the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda to erect the territories of Idaho and Montana into a vicariate-apostolic. He submitted the names of Fathers De Smet, Giorda and Grassi as suitable incumbents of the proposed vicariate and requested Odin to communicate his opinion in the matter to Cardinal Barnabo. "The two last [Giorda and Grassi] are known to me only through Father De Smet. They are already engaged in the Indian Mission of these territories." In the event the Jesuit candidates were passed over and the Rev. Louis Lootens was chosen head of the new Vicariate of Idaho which was erected March 3, 1868. Father De Smet, on learning that his name was on the *terna*, wrote to the General: "If my name appear in the list of Monseigneur of St. Louis, as the Reverend Father Provincial assures me it does, I take it that it is done with the idea of filling up the list, on which ordinarily three names are entered. In sincere conviction of my lack of virtue and talents for such a task and believing that your paternity will be consulted in so important an affair, I consider myself perfectly safe against such a danger. Nothing in the world with God's favor, could part me from my vocation and from obedience to my Superiors, in which my only desire is to live and die." De Smet à Beckx, March 18, 1866. (AA). CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1526.

for calling upon the religious orders in the United States to supply what seemed to be an unduly large proportion of members of the hierarchy.

§ 4. BISHOP VAN DE VELDE

The circumstances attending Father Van de Velde's appointment to the see of Chicago have already been told. They may be briefly recalled as set forth in a letter which he addressed, January 10, 1849, to Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati:

After an unsuccessful struggle I have at last been constrained to bend my neck to the yoke—to accept the appointment to the see of Chicago. Last Friday I yielded to the opinion of others.

The earnest entreaties of Cardinal Franson, urged by the pressing solicitations of the Abp. of Baltimore to submit to the decree of his Holiness, supported by the opinion of our own Archbishop [Kenrick], made me distrust my own judgment, biased, as I felt conscious it was, by my excited feelings and by my attachment to the Society whose blessings and trials I have shared for more than thirty years,—amongst whose members around me are others whom from their childhood I have aided to train to Science and virtue and for whom I feel the affection of a parent; to a society, which is now, in the day of its affliction and tribulation more than ever dear to my heart.

Unable and unwilling to decide for myself or to oppose the judgment of those for whose opinion I deemed it my duty to have the greatest deference, I finally concluded to refer the whole matter to two eminent and impartial divines with whose opinion on the subject I was still unacquainted and finally determined, if they coincided in opinion whether affirmatively or negatively, to abide by their decision and to regard it as the manifestation of the will of God in my regard. They both decided that considering all the circumstances I would resist the will of God by refusing to accept the appointment. I submit myself without further opposition.⁵⁰

Energy and capacity for affairs had always characterized Van de Velde and these traits were to reveal themselves also in his career as bishop. To realize how crowded with activities were the four years he spent as head of the diocese of Chicago one has only to peruse the diary, which, after the example of his regretted predecessor, Bishop Quarter, he perseveringly kept during that period. However consoling from an apostolic standpoint were these visitations of the diocese, which he made in such thoroughgoing fashion, they were by no means pleasant experiences from the standpoint of personal convenience and comfort. By river-packet, stage, carriage, "mud-wagon," and towards the end, occasionally by railroad, he made his way to the knots of Catholic settlers scattered throughout Illinois often in out-of-the-way and almost

⁵⁰ Van de Velde to Purcell, January 10, 1849. (I).

inaccessible localities. Numerous entries in his diary disclose the strenuous, uncomfortable side of these apostolic visitations.

(1849) June 7th. The Bishop of Chicago arrived at Galena, having performed the whole journey from the Auxplaines [Desplaines] river in a mud-wagon, in which he spent two days and nearly two nights.

September 25th. Passed through immense prairies; dined at Middleport, County seat of Iroquois County; thence through Milford and slept at Bartholomews tavern.

(1850) June 16th. Fourth Sunday after Pentecost. Said Mass in the unfinished church of Mt. Sterling; immense crowd of people, chiefly Protestants. Confirmation to thirty-five persons; could find no dinner in town. In the evening left for Mr. Doyle's (on the way to Quincy) where we spent the night.

(1851) November 10th. Left McHenry for Marengo, and there took the stage for Galena; overset and was near being killed.

(1853) July 15th. During the night landed amid thunder, rain and vivid lightning, at Lejarlier thoroughly wet and covered with mud; staid till noon and set out for Mr. McDonald's in a rough wagon without springs, over stones and gullies; after dinner (16th) left McDonald's for the church in a rough wagon. Found Father Verreydt at the church, slept about four miles from it on the road.⁵¹

Between the Easter of 1849 and his departure from Chicago for Natchez in the November of 1853 Bishop Van de Velde visited nearly every Catholic congregation and settlement in Illinois, travelling during this period over six thousand miles and administering confirmation to nearly thirty-six hundred persons in fifty-eight different places. While he occupied the see of Chicago, seventy churches were commenced in different localities of the diocese, of which number sixty were either entirely finished or so far finished as to be in use for divine service. Fifty-three were built in places where before there had been no church at all and seventeen in places where pioneer, small-sized chapels were replaced by more pretentious structures. Of the eighteen churches in course of erection in the fall of 1853, thirteen were being built of brick, all of the edifices being of very respectable size and some of them one hundred and fifty feet long and sixty feet wide. Besides these churches, all begun under Bishop Van de Velde, eleven others that had been begun before his arrival in the diocese were brought to completion under him and by his exertions. The entire number of churches left by him in Illinois was one hundred and nineteen. Besides church-building, the founding of institutions necessary for the welfare of the diocese en-

⁵¹ McGovern, *The Catholic Church in Chicago* (Chicago, 1891), pp. 108, 114, 121, 159, 180.

gaged his attention. He gave Chicago its first Catholic orphan asylum and was largely instrumental in providing it with its first Catholic hospital.⁵²

Though the impression became widespread that Bishop Van de Velde's eventual resignation from the see of Chicago was due to unpleasant relations that developed between him and certain members of his clergy, the main reason that led him to take this step was the unsatisfactory condition of his health. Having lived almost twenty years in the milder climate of St. Louis, he was apparently unable to adjust himself to climatic conditions in the northern city. He wrote February 24, 1853, to Archbishop Blanc of New Orleans, who had invited him to spend the winter season in the South:

My health has grown considerably better the last few days. I scarcely suffer any longer from the serious dyspepsia which distressed, [in fact] pretty near killed me since my arrival here. Scarcely anything is now left with me except my old companion, the Rheumatism, which makes of old Father One Devel (as Father Lekeu, the Walloons, and some French pronounce the name) a poor lame devil indeed. It was only with difficulty that I was able to say Mass this morning in the church and I could not assist at the High Mass; the draughts pierce right through me. The weather, too, is very dismal; ice, snow, fog. Father Verhaegen, who spent some weeks here in 1851 in the good part of the spring, would not care to come back; he said everywhere that the climate of Chicago and the land about here, swampy and full of stagnant green water, are fit only for rats and frogs. The human species pines away and even the hogs do not seem to get used to it. And still Chicago is developing into an immense town (there are 40,000 inhabitants already); but one makes money here and that explains everything.⁵³

In May of the same year, 1853, the Bishop had similar experiences to tell Reverend Stephen Rousellon, vicar-general of New Orleans:

More than two months ago I obtained permission from Rome to take up my residence in the southern part of my diocese. It came too late for the winter, which this year nearly brought me to the grave. A month ago everything was green and blooming around St. Louis; along the lake here just now there is neither leaf nor blossom and we cannot do without a fire. What a climate for a victim of Rheumatism.⁵⁴

The story of Bishop Van de Velde's efforts to be relieved of the see of Chicago has been told by himself in the autobiographical memoir which he drew up after his transfer to Natchez:

⁵² *Idem*, pp. 158-160. Cf. also Richard A. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the United States* (New York, 1872-1888), 2: 372-390.

⁵³ Van de Velde à Blanc, February 24, 1853. (I).

⁵⁴ Van de Velde à Rousellon, May 18, 1853. (I).

The new Bishop spent nearly a whole month in visiting a considerable portion of his Diocese in the neighborhood of St. Louis, arrived at Chicago on Friday of Passion Week and took charge of his See on Palm Sunday. When, some time after order had been restored in the Pontifical States, and the Sovereign Pontiff and the General of the Society had returned to Rome, he wrote in strong terms to beg the Holy Father to accept his resignation and to permit him to retire among his former brethren of the Vice-Province of Missouri, alleging as reasons the manner in which he had been compelled to accept at a time when Rome was in the power of the rebels, his advanced age, and the severity of the climate which undermined his constitution. For several years he had been afflicted with rheumatism, which induced him to spend almost yearly the severest winter months in the more genial climate of Louisiana. He received an answer from Cardinal Franson, encouraging him to bear the burden with patience and resignation. Not long after this he became involved in difficulties with some of the clergy of the Diocese, who, on his arrival, held nearly all the ecclesiastical property and still held a considerable portion of it in their own names, and who, by false reports and insidious manoeuvres, had excited much groundless prejudice among the people against him. He wrote a second time to Rome, tendering his unqualified resignation, and adding this as an accessory reason to those formerly alleged. He was answered that his petition would be referred to the first National Council, which was to assemble in Baltimore the following Spring. The Fathers of the National Council were almost unanimous in refusing to accept his resignation. When the question came up it was agreed to divide the State of Illinois into two Dioceses and to make Quincy the See of the Southern portion. Bishop Van de Velde claimed the privilege to take his choice between the two Dioceses and offered his name for Quincy. This, too, was refused, and it was determined that he remain Bishop of Chicago, and should exert his authority and have recourse to ecclesiastical censures to bring into submission the few refractory clergymen that annoyed him. They seemed to consider this annoyance as the principal reason why he wished to resign and to be removed from Chicago and they felt reluctant to establish a precedent that might be appealed to when difficulties should occur in other Dioceses. It was then that Bishop Van de Velde, who intended to visit France and Belgium after the Council, determined to extend his journey to Rome and to lay his case before the Holy Father in person. The Fathers availed themselves of the opportunity to make him bearer of the Decrees of the Council. He left New York for Liverpool on the twenty-ninth of May and arrived at Rome on the twenty-second of the following month. The Holy Father, Pius IX, received and treated him with the greatest of kindness and at the first audience he gave him seemed inclined to grant his petition, and either to accept his resignation, or at least to make him coadjutor or Auxiliary Bishop to some other Prelate, that thus he might be restored to the Society of Jesus, which refused to acknowledge as members of its body such as should be compelled to become *titular* Bishops. Towards the close of the interview the kind Pontiff remarked that he would reflect on the matter and

consult the Propaganda. It was finally decided that the resignation should not be accepted. At the second audience the affectionate Pontiff told him: "You belong to the regular army of the Church, and I do not wish to give you up. You must continue to fight the battles of Christ. As, however, your principal reasons for wishing to resign are your desire to be a member of the Society of Jesus and the state of your health, which suffers from the cold and damp climate of Chicago, I will make arrangements with the good Father General to have you restored to the Society, and I may transfer you to another See in a more genial climate. Next Sunday night I will give my final answer to Monsignor Barnabo (the Secretary of the Propaganda)." On the following Monday Monsignor Barnabo informed the Bishop that his Holiness had decided not to accept his resignation, but that he would insist upon his being a member of the Society even as a *titular* Bishop and would transfer him to another See. He stated that this decision was final and might be depended upon, and he advised the Bishop to take his choice of any of the new Dioceses that were to be erected. He added, also, that the Archbishops of Baltimore and St. Louis would be requested to send in names for supplying his place in the See of Chicago. About this time a document was received by the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, signed by four young priests of Chicago containing a number of accusations against their Bishop and petitioning to have him removed. The Secretary informed the Bishop of it and told him not to be uneasy about it, as he was too well known in Rome to be injured by accusations that were evidently groundless, and he added that a letter of reprimand should be sent as an answer to the accusers. . . . Bishop Van de Velde reached Chicago the week before Christmas.

Several months elapsed after his arrival from Europe, and as he knew that before he reached the United States positive directions had been sent from Rome to have names forwarded for Chicago and perceived that no measures were being taken for his removal from that See and was informed that strong opposition would be made to it, he deemed it proper to write to the Holy Father to remind him of his promise, and lest his nomination to one of the new Sees might become a cause of dissatisfaction, he suggested his desire to be transferred to the See of Natchez which had become vacant by the death of its first Bishop, the Right Rev. J. J. Chanche. His petition was granted, and whilst engaged in laying the cornerstone of a church in Carlyle, he received information that the Brief appointing him to the See of Natchez had arrived at St. Louis. By the same mail the Very Rev. Joseph Melcher, Vicar General of St. Louis, received the Briefs by which the City of Quincy was erected into an Episcopal See and he appointed its first Bishop, and, at the same time, Administrator of the Diocese of Chicago, till a Bishop should be nominated for the latter See. As the Very Rev. Gentleman refused to accept the nomination and sent back the Briefs of erection and appointment to Rome, Bishop Van de Velde was requested by the Archbishop of St. Louis to act as Administrator of the two Dioceses. Not long after the cold season having already set in and he feeling desirous to repair to his new See, the Administration of the Northern Diocese (Chicago) was committed

to the Right Rev. Dr. Henni of Milwaukee, whilst the Archbishop took upon himself that of the Diocese of Quincy. Bishop Van de Velde left Chicago on November 3, and after having visited Quincy and bought an eligible lot on which to erect a Cathedral, he set out for Natchez where he arrived on the twenty-third of the same month. He left it on the twenty-fifth to assist at the consecration of the Right Rev. A. Martin, first Bishop of Natchitoches, which took place on the feast of St. Andrew in the Cathedral of New Orleans. Thence, he repaired to Mobile to make a spiritual Retreat before entering upon his duties in his new Diocese, after which he visited some of the Congregations along the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, and took formal possession of his See on Sunday, December 18, 1853.⁵⁵

Early in 1853 Bishop Van de Velde had submitted to his metropolitan, Archbishop Kenrick, a *terna* from which the expected vacancy in the see of Chicago might be filled. The names were: Reverend Patrick O'Reilly, of the diocese of Philadelphia, president of St. Mary's College, Wilmington, Maryland; Reverend Oliver Jenkins, president of St. Mary's College, Baltimore; Reverend William Elder, D.D., of the archdiocese of Baltimore. Commenting on the *terna*, Kenrick wrote to Archbishop Blanc of New Orleans, January 27, 1853: "I have had occasion to fear lest the adjustment of that very important affair may be for a long time delayed by reason of none of those commended being willing to accept if even free to choose. Rev. P. Reilly is perhaps unable under any circumstances to separate himself from the college which he has established and Rev. W. Elder may in all probability be nominated for another see, etc. Much as I regret the determination of the Right Rev. Prelate [Van de Velde], I do not deem it advisable to offer any opposition to the proposed measure because delay and uncertainty would only serve to prolong a state of things most painful to himself and most injurious to religion."⁵⁶ Bishop Van de Velde subsequently proposed the name of Reverend Anthony O'Regan, president of the St. Louis diocesan seminary at Carondelet, who was consecrated Bishop of Chicago July 25, 1854.⁵⁷

Archbishop Kenrick had it in mind at one time to recommend to the Holy See the appointment of Van de Velde as his coadjutor *cum jure successionis*; but the latter, when the Archbishop intimated to him such intention, objected strongly on the ground that he would be thus debarred from reentering the Society of Jesus.⁵⁸ The Bishop in his autographical memoir declares that the brief appointing him to the see of

⁵⁵ *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 9: 67 ff.

⁵⁶ Kenrick to Purcell, January 27, 1853. (I).

⁵⁷ Van de Velde à Blanc, March 5, 1854. (I).

⁵⁸ Bishop Van de Velde was here under a misapprehension. Cardinal Barnabo wrote to Father Roothaan, September 7, 1852, inquiring what was the basis of

Chicago was accompanied by a letter "freeing him from all allegiance to the Society of Jesus," and his desire to be reinstated in the Society was one of the reasons which induced him to tender his resignation. He apparently believed that on becoming Bishop of Chicago he had ceased to be a Jesuit.⁵⁹

In regard to Van de Velde's surrender of the see of Chicago, Archbishop Kenrick wrote to Archbishop Purcell: "I regret very much the resolution taken by the Bishop of Chicago, but believe that it would be more than useless to force him to remain there. I had not thought right to seek him for a coadjutor, because he had great repugnance to be such *cum jure successionis* and I had reason to fear that he would be as willing to abandon St. Louis as he is to leave Chicago, should circumstances give him what he appears most to dread—the character of a titular Bishop. Love for the Society appears in this instance to have been more powerful than charity for the church."⁶⁰ It is clear that Kenrick did not realize to what extent reasons of health had influenced Van de Velde to petition Rome for his transfer from Chicago.

At Natchez Bishop Van de Velde found himself in harmony with clergy and laity alike. "I am happy . . . poor but contented . . . possessing the affection and confidence of all my clergy." In April, 1854, he wrote to Archbishop Blanc, apropos of his unfinished cathedral:

It will give you much pleasure to learn that I have the hope, not to say the assurance of meeting with no difficulty whatever in finding here the sum

Van de Velde's assertion that members of the Society of Jesus on becoming *titular* bishops automatically ceased to be Jesuits. Roothaan replied that he himself had assured the Bishop to this effect, being under the impression that such was the existing discipline in the Church. But now, in view of Van de Velde's great desire to remain a Jesuit and especially of "the known wish of His holiness that the poor Father be considered as such," he had changed his opinion on the matter in question and had already written to Van de Velde that "he was all along and continued to be a member of the Society and would be regarded as such." Roothaan à Barnabo, September 28, 1852. *Cur. Rom.*, 1837-1855. (AA). The term "titular" as used at this period was equivalent to "residential" and therefore had a meaning entirely the opposite of that which it has in present-day canon law, in which it describes a bishop assigned a see in some schismatic or infidel country where he does not actually reside and exercise jurisdiction.

⁵⁹ From his appointment as bishop up to 1853 Van de Velde's name was omitted in the catalogue or official register of the Missouri Vice-province. It reappeared in the catalogue for the year named, with the original date of his admission into the Society, Aug. 23, 1817. It would appear from letters addressed by Bishop Francis Peter Kenrick of Philadelphia to his brother Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis (*The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, edited by F. E. T[ourscher], Philadelphia, 1920) that Bishop Van de Velde had offered himself as coadjutor or auxiliary to the Archbishop of St. Louis without the right of succession.

⁶⁰ Kenrick to Purcell, February 15, 1853. (I).

necessary for its completion without having recourse abroad. Mgr. [?] Elliot, (the brave man with his one foot in the grave came to see me last week), Fr.[ancis] Surget, Jr., Henry Chotard, father and son, (the former abjured Protestantism and was baptised with General Long and several others during Easter week), are all very well disposed and will come to my aid. All our Catholics will make an effort to contribute their mite. They have never been in better disposition. They are proud and happy over all we have done for them since the arrival of Father Damen, who left yesterday. [Rev.] Mr. Guillon must have given you an account of the fine ceremonies, instructions, sermons, etc., which we had from Palm Sunday to Easter Tuesday; but last Sunday was the crowning of all. Four times the church was, to use the expression of confrère Maenhaut, "packed" both at High Mass and in the evening, "packed like an egg." At the first mass on Easter day we had 196 communions. Last Sunday almost as many communions; High Mass with deacon, sub-deacon etc., sermon and confirmation by the Bishop in mitre and cope. In the afternoon renovation of baptismal vows, sermon by Father Damen and consecration of the congregation to Mary. In the evening, together with illumination of the Sanctuary, a lecture by Father Damen and farewell remarks. Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament by the Bishop. Never with the exception perhaps of the day of my first communion and that of my solemn profession have I felt so much happiness.⁶¹

At Chicago Bishop Van de Velde had endeavored, but without result, to secure the services of Jesuits of the dispersed province of Upper Germany on behalf of the numerous German immigrants in his diocese. Further, in 1850 he had petitioned the St. Louis Jesuits, again without success, to take over the college founded by his predecessor in Chicago under the name "University of St. Mary of the Lake." At Natchez he made repeated efforts to have the vice-province of Missouri open a residence in that city, of which he himself would be superior, soliciting for this purpose the services of three fathers, preferably Damen, Spicher, Wippern or Coosemans. "[There are] thousands of my flock deprived of all religious succor and dying without the Sacraments." Father Damen after his visit to Natchez in April, 1854, where he had done much good by his sermons and made eight adult converts, communicated to the General an opinion favoring the establishment of a local Jesuit residence. But at St. Louis no disposition was shown to take on this additional burden. The vice-province still groaned under an excessive load of petty residences and parochial stations and Father Murphy, following out instructions from headquarters, was pursuing a policy of retrenching rather than of extending the activities of his men. Bishop Van de Velde planned not only a residence but also a college in Natchez and went so far as to buy ground for the purpose. Unable to accomplish

⁶¹ Van de Velde à Blanc, April 25, 1854. (I).

his designs through St. Louis, he had hopes of having them realized through the English or even the Belgian Jesuits. The Jesuits of New Orleans were also considered. "They would willingly charge themselves with Natchez," wrote Van de Velde, "if they had enough subjects conversant with English, which is the only language spoken here." Mississippi, including Natchez, was indeed taken by the New Orleans Jesuits to be within their territory; but, comments the Bishop, "Natchez is neutral terrain situated between Missouri and Louisiana and can be attached to the one or other Province." Father Beckx, however, while unable to further the zealous prelate's plans for a Jesuit residence and college in Natchez, did insist with St. Louis that it accede to his request for a Jesuit father to reside with him as a member of his household. Accordingly Father Peter Tschieder, for whose services Bishop Van de Velde had expressly asked, arrived in Natchez in October or November, 1854. Shortly before he appeared on the scene the Bishop had met with an accident resulting in a broken leg and while in this crippled condition contracted yellow fever, which was epidemic at that time. He died of the disease November 13, 1854.⁶² The circumstances of his last moments were reported by Father Tschieder to Father Murphy in St. Louis:

November 13, 1855. Bishop Van de Velde is dead. He expired this morning at 7. Two gentlemen watched and attended on him. At 2 o'clock in the night I was called—I said some prayers with the Bishop which he repeated—but his mind was wandering—he perceived it himself. At 2½ violent spasms took him, probably the effect of a very strong medicine which he had taken. Immediately he lost his senses and I gave him the last absolution and plenary indulgence. I began the recommendation of the soul. He was enabled to receive the viaticum which I could not give him yesterday. It was evidently a favor obtained through the intercession of St. Stanislaus. He had made a novena to the Saint—had several times expressed the wish to die on his feast. Whilst I was saying Mass at 5 for him, all the Sisters and orphan girls, who had also made a Novena for him, received communion. Father Grignon gave him the Viaticum. He remained suffering till 7 when he expired. All that time the good Catholics were flocking to receive his last blessing; he gave it with full consciousness—he spoke even, though very indistinctly. The people appeared very much attached to him and the Catholic gentlemen showed great attention, day and night—they all regret the loss of their good Bishop.⁶³

⁶² Garraghan, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁶³ Tschieder to Murphy, November 13, 1855. (A). "Right Revd. Bp. Van de Velde was endowed with a very retentive memory and an eminently practical turn of mind. He possessed several languages (Latin, Greek, English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Flemish) and, what is rare, used them correctly without confusion of words and idioms. He was considered a very good mathema-

Bishop Van de Velde was of an ardent, exuberant temper, and a vivacity of manner that one is not accustomed to associate with the even-tempered and rather stolid sons of Belgium. To some of his Jesuit brethren he seemed to fail at times in that tactful prudence which the skilful executive must bring to his dealings with men and things.⁶⁴ At the same time to his credit is the fact that so discerning a judge as Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis regretted his departure from Chicago, being evidently of the opinion that there was nothing in his conduct of affairs in the northern city that made his transfer to another see necessary or desirable. All in all, Bishop Van de Velde's services to the Church in Illinois and later in Mississippi were of a high order and bespoke an apostolic zeal that was as far-reaching as it was sincere.

§ 5. BISHOP CARRELL

Father George Carrell, a native Philadelphian, named by the Holy See first Bishop of Covington, Kentucky, June 23, 1853, was consecrated on November 1 of the same year. Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore would have had him appointed to the see of Philadelphia; that he was given Covington was probably at the instance of his intimate friend, Bishop Spalding of Louisville, from whose territory the new diocese was detached. For some years previous to his becoming bishop he had been ill at ease as a Jesuit and on his own admission was not leading a happy life in the Society. This circumstance was due, if one of his confrères was correctly informed in the matter, to a rather exaggerated Americanism which made it difficult for him to adjust himself to the racial idiosyncracies of the large alien element to be found among the midwestern Jesuits. More than once he requested the Father General to be allowed to pass to the Maryland Province of the order where

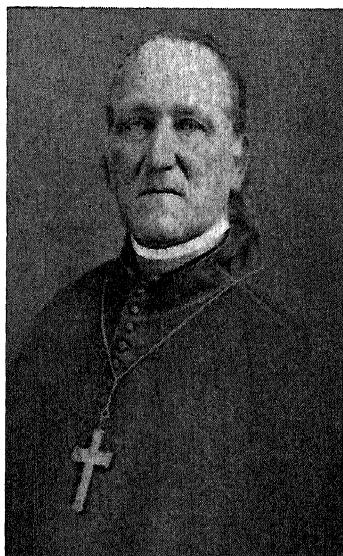
tician and a very good poet. As to composition, he combined ease, accuracy and remarkable clearness. His ecclesiastical and historical acquirements were of no ordinary extent—it may be said that there was in him what we would call, somewhat strangely perhaps, an unconscious consciousness of talents and acquirements. Hence he was always ready with the pen, always prepared for performance, as if instinctively, without suspecting that he was displaying great power and great resources. Both were exhibited in his occasional controversial writings and in a full course of sermons." De Smet to John Gilmary Shea, May 28, 1856. (A).

⁶⁴ Murphy ad Beckx, December 8, 1853. (AA). Cf. also Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia (letter of Nov. 18, 1852) on Van de Velde: "I think the Bishop of Chicago should be transferred to the see of Natchez or to Natchitoches. But by no means to be made Coadjutor [of St. Louis]. He lacks good judgment." *Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, p. 340. At Chicago Bishop Van de Velde gave umbrage to the Sisters of Mercy by claiming for the diocese property which had been conveyed to them by Reverend Walter Quarter when administrator of the diocese. *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 3:350 (1930).



James Oliver Van de Velde, S.J. (1795-1855),
second Bishop of Chicago (1849-1853) and
second Bishop of Natchez (1853-1855).

George Aloysius Carrell, S.J. (1803-1868),
first Bishop of Covington, Ky. (1853-1868).



he hoped to find a more congenial environment and a petition of his to this effect was pending at the time of his nomination to the see of Covington.

From Covington Bishop Carrell solicited the services of Father Di Maria, who from about February, 1854, to September, 1856, did effective parochial work in the diocese, building churches at Independence, Florence and Verona and achieving a particular success at Lexington, where he resided for some time. On Father Di Maria's return to St. Louis Bishop Carrell replaced him by Father Aelen, a one-time Missouri Jesuit, who had done zealous missionary work among the Sugar Creek Indians but had later on separated from the order. At the Bishop's request he came out again from his native Belgium. In April, 1857, Carrell urged the Jesuit General by letter to call upon the Missouri Vice-province to come to his aid. His diocese embraced forty-three counties, with a population of 314,277 whites and 73,241 negro slaves and with a clergy numbering only ten priests, all except one, resident pastors. He offered the Society the parish of Lexington, the most considerable in the diocese after the cathedral parish of Covington. Here was a handsome brick church, a school-house and a capacious rectory capable of lodging ten or more fathers. To Lexington were attached some ten or twenty stations, where souls were to be found that had not been visited by a priest for nearly a decade. "Besides the spiritual benefits which I wish the people committed to my care to derive from the presence and labors of the Fathers," pleaded Bishop Carrell, "I am desirous of having some of my former brethren near me that I too may share the benefit of their presence. Including the years of my residence at Georgetown College as a student I have spent twenty-five years of my life under the care of the Society. In an evil hour persuaded by *American* friends, I left the best of mothers [the Society of Jesus] to accept the greatest of crosses—the mitre—which has truly been to me a cross of thorns."⁶⁵ At a time when, as Father Gleizal wrote, every member of the vice-province was carrying a treble burden of labor, it is difficult to see how any aid could have been extended to the Bishop of Covington from this quarter nor was it.

In August, 1862, the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda put before Father Beckx the deplorable condition of the Covington diocese, which lay under a heavy weight of debt contracted in the building of the cathedral and of parish schools. The Prefect was calling upon the other bishops of the ecclesiastical province to come to Carrell's aid; moreover, as the hard-pressed prelate had declared his intention to resign his see, Father Beckx was asked to plead with him

⁶⁵ Carrell to Beckx, April 9, 1857. (AA).

to forego any such intention.⁶⁶ In December of the same year, 1862, Father Beckx was informed by the Propaganda of an unsuccessful effort made by Archbishop Purcell at the instance of the Congregation to induce Carrell to abandon his idea of resigning. As matters turned out the first Bishop of Covington was never relieved of his charge though he persisted to the end in his efforts in this direction. He died September 25, 1868. Just about a year before Father Beckx was notified by Propaganda that Carrell, who is called in the document a "religious of the Society of Jesus," had again tendered his resignation and the General was asked to submit an opinion as to what action should be taken by the Congregation.⁶⁷

It does not appear that Carrell on becoming a bishop ceased to be a Jesuit. Certain of his above quoted words do indeed seem to imply that he no longer regarded himself as a member of the Society. On the other hand, as has been seen, Propaganda, in reference to his plea to be allowed to resign, referred to him as a "religious of the Society of Jesus" and it negotiated the affair all along through Father Beckx on the apparent understanding that the latter could still appeal to him as a Jesuit. Moreover, Carrell was listed in the *Annuario Pontificio*, the official papal register, as Bishop of Covington with the S.J. following his name. Finally, Father Beckx made known to Father Murphy in June, 1855, that Carrell had requested that his name be reentered in the register of the Missouri Vice-province, from which it had been dropped when he became bishop, and this request, so the General thought, should be favorably received, though he left the vice-provincial free to act in the matter.⁶⁸ The request was not granted, the last issue of the vice-provincial register to include Bishop Carrell's name being dated 1853. But at the latter's death in 1868, fifteen years later, Father Beckx wrote to Father Coosemans, Missouri provincial: "Your Reverence should give orders that the customary suffrages be offered [for Bishop Carrell] since he never ceased to belong to the Society and in what concerns charity it is best to be generous."⁶⁹

Both as Jesuit and prelate George Carrell was ever an excellent example of the priestly virtues; but the cares of administration bore heavily on him and difficult situations easily depressed him.

⁶⁶ Barnabo ad Beckx, August 4, 1862. (AA).

⁶⁷ Barnabo ad Beckx, November 26, 1867. (AA).

⁶⁸ Beckx ad Murphy, June, 1855. (A).

⁶⁹ Beckx ad Coosemans, December 20, 1868. (A).

§ 6. RELATIONS WITH SISTERHOODS

The Jesuits on arriving in Missouri in 1823 found Mother Duchesne and her associates of the Society of the Sacred Heart already lending their zealous services to the newly born Church in the West. At Florissant as at St. Charles, Sugar Creek, St. Mary's and in some of the cities of the Middle West, either in the conduct of Indian schools or in the exercise of the ministry, they were subsequently brought into relations with the spiritual daughters of St. Sophie Madeleine Barat. Particulars of these contacts are to be found chronicled at various stages of this history.

The Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross entered Missouri the same year as did the Jesuits, whose acquaintance they first made at Florissant. Here, in 1847, they took in hand the educational work that had been carried on by the Society of the Sacred Heart during the period 1819-1846. Later, at the Jesuit Osage Mission, they entered the field of Indian education, achieving a noteworthy success with the girls and adding thereby in no small measure to the prestige which that mission enjoyed for years on the Kansas frontier.⁷⁰

To the same discerning and high-minded Jesuit, Father Louis Varin, both St. Madeleine Sophie Barat and Blessed Julie Billiart were indebted for the aid he lent them in the founding of their respective sisterhoods. Blessed Julie's spiritual offspring, the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, made their first appearance in America in Cincinnati, where on Christmas Day, 1840, they occupied the Spencer Mansion on the south side of Sixth Street between Sycamore and Broadway, purchased by them from the owner, a Protestant clergyman, at a cost of twenty-four thousand dollars. Here some weeks later, January 18, 1841, they opened a "Young Ladies Literary Institute and Boarding School." The summer of the preceding year had seen the arrival in Cincinnati of the Jesuits, who took over Bishop Fenwick's Athenaeum and the adjoining St. Xavier Church, which buildings were but a stone's throw from the home of the Sisters of Notre Dame. The latter stands today on its original site and is still popularly referred to as the Sixth Street Convent. Only a few months had elapsed since the coming of the sisters when they received from their superior in Namur, Sister Ignatius, a letter under date of March 1, 1841, in which she wrote: "Express my gratitude to the good Jesuit Fathers who have shown you so much kindness;

⁷⁰ Margaret B. Downing, *Chronicles of Loretto* (Chicago, 1897). Relations between Father Nerinckx's Sisters of Loretto and the midwestern Jesuits are treated at length in Sister Mary Lillian Owens, S.L., *The History of the Sisters of Loretto in the Trans-Mississippi West* (doctoral dissertation, St. Louis University, 1935).

tell them of the very great affection we have for their Society.”⁷¹ Soon news of the adventurous Indian mission recently opened by De Smet in the Pacific Northwest was to reach Cincinnati. Appeal had been made to the sisters to lend their services to this promising field. Sister Louise de Gonzague, the Cincinnati superior, wrote with enthusiasm to Namur: “They really desire us a little farther than Cincinnati; they await us at the Rocky Mountains. A house seventy feet long is ready to receive us if the reverend mother of Namur is willing to allow us to depart. Can you refuse to let your children go to make our good Saviour known and loved by these little savages?”⁷² In the sequel, not Cincinnati, but Belgium itself was to furnish the first contingent of Notre Dame Sisters to what was then rather vaguely described as the Oregon Country. Father De Smet brought them out in 1844, settling them at St. Paul’s on the Willamette, not many miles above the site of the future Portland. Here they labored against discouraging odds on behalf of white and Indian children alike, going thence in the fifties to California, where they have since achieved a noble work in the cause of Christian education.

The Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth owe their presence in Kansas to Bishop Miège, who wrote in 1873 to one of his priests, Father Heimann: “When you see our good Sisters of Charity, give them as great a blessing as your hand and your heart can afford; it will not be more than I wish for them. When I received them I did one of the very few good things that I did for Kansas.” The first group of these sisters to reach Kansas arrived in 1858 in Leavenworth from Nashville in Tennessee. Circumstances had made it desirable in their eyes to seek a new field wherein to continue the work they felt called upon to do. At St. Louis, the superior, Sister Concordia, met Father De Smet and managed to engage the sympathies of that open-hearted man for her community and its plans. By a providential juncture of events the summons to a provincial council of the archdiocese had just then brought Bishop Miège to St. Louis. Father De Smet interested the prelate in Sister Concordia’s petition that she be permitted to settle her sisters in Kansas with the result that they were given a cordial invitation to establish themselves in Leavenworth. In 1868, ten years after their arrival in Kansas, Father Joseph Keller in Bishop Miège’s name personally solicited and obtained from Pius IX a blessing on the Leavenworth community and their work.⁷³

⁷¹ *RACHS*, 11: 332. Cf. also John H. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921* (New York, 1921), p. 254; Sister Helen Louise, S.N.D., *Sister Louise (Josephine Van der Schrieck), American Foundress of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur* (Washington, 1931), pp. 74, 75, 79.

⁷² *RACHS*, 11: 329.

⁷³ *History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth* (Kansas City, 1898).

On June 27, 1856, six Sisters of Mercy from New York arrived in St. Louis at Archbishop Kenrick's invitation. They immediately occupied a house at Tenth and Morgan Streets and here Father Damen, the Jesuit pastor of St. Francis Xavier's Church, offered Mass for them on the day of their arrival. On July 2 they began their works of mercy, visiting the jail and the poor, and in August they took in charge St. Francis Xavier's parochial school for girls. Before long they had opened a House of Mercy as a "home for respectable women out of employment." Funds for this institution were collected by Father Damen, who showed himself all along an energetic supporter of the various charitable activities of the sisters. Later a foundation in New Orleans was started from the St. Louis house. Father Coosemans encouraged the venture and used what influence he could command in seeing it through. When the nuns destined for the new foundation were leaving St. Louis for the Louisiana metropolis in 1869, Father Michael Corbett, confessor to the Sisters of Mercy, said to them: "You will have many tribulations, but do not look for them till they come. You will do much good and convert many souls. Never draw back." The sisters effected a permanent establishment in New Orleans where they enjoyed for years the services as confessor of Father William Stack Murphy, the former vice-provincial of Missouri.⁷⁴

Between the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Society of Jesus in the West relations were established at an early date. Their holy founder, Father Donaghoe, had been led to undertake his great life-work largely through the wise counsels of Father Dzierzynski, whose duties as superior of the Maryland Mission had brought him in 1827 on a visitation to Florissant. Father Damen introduced the sisters into Chicago in 1867, Father Coppens gave them their first retreat in that city, closing August 15, 1868, while Father Maurice Oakley sent them their first Chicago postulant.⁷⁵ The Chicago Jesuits were especially active in securing from the Holy See official approval of this new religious community. A scholastic, Mr. Aloysius Lambert, was given the task, which he faithfully discharged, of drawing up a Latin version of the rules. The sisters' historian has made record of the aid thus received: "The Jesuit Fathers Van Gorp, Garesché, Coosemans, Koopmans and Lambert lent their valuable assistance to the work. The Constitutions, which had been matured by experience and tested by many trials, were given to the Jesuit Fathers, who prepared them for

⁷⁴ Mary Theresa Austin Carrell, *Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy* (New York, 1895), 4: 357, 430; Mary Josephine Gateley, *The Sisters of Mercy* (New York, 1931), p. 303.

⁷⁵ *In the Early Days: Pages from the Annals of the Sisters of Charity of the B.V.M., 1833-1887* (St. Louis, 1912), pp. 203, 211, 215.

examination by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. . . . To the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and to Fathers Trevis and Laurent, who obtained for us the sanction of the Church, is due our ceaseless gratitude." The rules of the sisterhood had been originally framed by Father Donaghoe with the assistance of the Jesuits of Georgetown, who, so writes its chronicler, "strongly impressed upon him the necessity of inspiring into each member of the Community a profound regard for the authority of the rule."⁷⁶

With still other bodies of nuns in the Middle West Jesuit contacts were made at an early date. At Chicago in 1858 the Sisters of Mercy of that city enjoyed for the first time the spiritual comforts of a retreat, which was conducted by a Jesuit.⁷⁷ This was apparently the first retreat given in Chicago to a community of nuns. At Cincinnati Mother Seton's Daughters of Charity found a sympathetic friend in Father Elet, the first Jesuit rector of St. Xavier's. "The Sisters of Charity," their official historian has recorded, "have a tradition of much kindness received from him and great helps towards sanctity. His name was placed on their mortuary list of Benefactors."⁷⁸ At Saint-Marys-of-the-Woods, near Terre Haute, Indiana, the Sisters of Providence shared the spiritual direction of Father Gleizal, of all the pioneer midwestern Jesuits the most successful, it would seem, in conducting retreats for religious communities. He lent the aid of his wise counsel to Mother Theodore Guerin, the venerable foundress of the sisterhood, and on hearing her deliver a spiritual exhortation to her community made the comment: "I have heard another St. Teresa."⁷⁹ At Kansas City, Missouri, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet opened St. Teresa Academy in 1867. Not long after they welcomed as a guest Father De Smet as he passed through the city on one of his numerous western trips.⁸⁰ A few years later the same sisters were to see their Chicago orphanage swept away by the great fire of 1871, the orphans being thereupon given a temporary refuge by the Jesuits in their newly opened college of St. Ignatius. At Bardstown in Kentucky the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth were neighbors during nearly twenty years to the Jesuits of St. Joseph's College. "The Jesuits from St. Mary's and St. Joseph's College," writes the chronicler of this sisterhood, "were always cordially interested in Nazareth's welfare and ready to share their store of eru-

⁷⁶ *Idem*, pp. 52, 294, 296.

⁷⁷ *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 3:357 (1921).

⁷⁸ Mary Agnes McCann, *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters: the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati*, 2:95.

⁷⁹ *Life of Mother Theodore Guerin* (New York, 1904), p. 449.

⁸⁰ Mary Lucida Savage, *The Congregation of St. Joseph of Carondelet* (St. Louis, 1923), p. 143.

dition with Sisters and pupils and to give of their spiritual resources. Once and for all it [association with the Jesuits] freed them from the limitation all too often and too unjustly ascribed to convent faculties—aloofness from the larger world of thought and mental discipline.”⁸¹

The School Sisters of Notre Dame were brought to St. Louis in May, 1858, by Father Joseph Patschowski, pastor of St. Joseph's Church in that city. They came to replace the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, who had been conducting the schools of that parish but now petitioned to be relieved of the charge. On October 2 of the following year another group of Notre Dame Sisters arrived in St. Louis, taking in hand the direction of the parish schools of Sts. Peter and Paul's. A large part of the parochial school-work of the archdiocese of St. Louis has since been in the hands of this capable sisterhood.⁸²

The Daughters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary owe their establishment in Chicago in 1876 to Father Damen, who invited them to that city. The same year saw the Little Sisters of the Poor arrive in Milwaukee at the invitation of Father S. P. Lalumiere.⁸³

The teaching congregation of the Brothers of Mary first came to the United States at the invitation of Father Weninger. This energetic missionary on becoming aware of the desire of the pastor of Holy Trinity Church in Cincinnati to obtain teachers for his parish school wrote to the superior of the Brothers of Mary in Europe. The latter took kindly to the idea of extending the field of operations of his community to the New World and sent Father Meyer and two brothers to Cincinnati, where they arrived in 1849. Thus was established the first American house of the Brothers of Mary, who subsequently increased their personnel in great numbers and were thereby enabled to open and conduct flourishing schools at numerous points throughout the states. An interesting circumstance connected with their first coming to America is on record. Father Weninger, on soliciting the services of the Brothers of Mary for the Holy Trinity School in Cincinnati, simultaneously invited the Brothers of the Christian Schools to settle also in Cincinnati, and, so it would appear, to take in hand the same school. He presumably did not expect that both invitations would be accepted. The two groups of brothers came out in answer to Weninger's petition,

⁸¹ Anna Blanche McGill, *The Sister of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky* (New York, 1917), p. 134.

⁸² John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1929), 2: 330.

⁸³ Thomas Mulkerins, S.J., *The Holy Family Parish, Chicago: Priests and People* (Chicago, 1923): C. M. Scanlan, "Little Sisters of the Poor: Milwaukee," *The Salesianum* (St. Francis, Wis.), 32: 107-111 (1937).

happened to be fellow-passengers on the same boat from Europe, and on comparing notes found that they were both destined for one and the same work. The Christian Brothers thereupon decided not to go on to Cincinnati but to turn their steps towards Canada, which plan they carried out.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Lamott, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

CHAPTER XXII

THE JESUITS AND THE CIVIL WAR

§ I. VIEWPOINTS AND REACTIONS

The Civil War came and went without affecting in any material way the fortunes of the Jesuits of the Middle West if one excepts perhaps the single incident of the closing of Bardstown. Yet the great conflict could not be regarded by them with indifference and there is frequent comment upon it, rarely, however, of a political tenor, in Jesuit correspondence of the day. It is of interest to note how these men of retired habits, seldom touched by the lively political passions of the day, viewed the surging current of contemporary events, which interested them chiefly in their bearings on religion and the Church. Both Father De Smet and Father Murphy, from whose correspondence some extracts will presently be made, wrote more or less under the influence of the atmosphere of St. Louis, which in the early stages of the war was charged with the excitement born of the bitter struggle between North and South to gain possession of the border state of Missouri. De Smet's sympathies, while decidedly for the Union, were tempered by his wide and intimate acquaintance with persons of avowed southern sentiment who were to be found in numbers in St. Louis, especially among the friends and supporters of the University. Murphy, on the other hand, appears to have indorsed in a doctrinaire and speculative sort of way the position taken by the South; but he took withal an impartial and consistent stand as to the attitude which the men of his jurisdiction were to adopt in practice towards the governments of their respective states.

The struggle at the outset of the war to save Missouri for the Union ranks among the most dramatic chapters in the history of the conflict.¹ The popular election of 1862 for delegates to a state convention to determine Missouri's relations to the federal government revealed a preponderating sentiment in favor of the Union. In the convention itself not a single vote was cast for secession. Even in St. Louis, as the *Missouri Republican*, the chief Democratic organ of the state declared at the time, the great majority of the citizens were friends of

¹ Lucien Carr, *Missouri a Bone of Contention* (Boston, 1888), Chaps. XIII, XIV.

the Union.² This fact added all the more to the resentment occasioned by the sudden and, as it appeared to many, high-handed seizure by Major Nathaniel Lyon, commandant of the United States arsenal in St. Louis, of a training camp of state militia named for the governor of the state, Camp Jackson. The camp was situated on the western edge of the city, directly across from the ground now occupied by the arts building of St. Louis University on Grand Avenue. This seizure, followed by the temporary imprisonment of the troops and their commander, General Daniel Morgan Frost, took place on May 10, 1861.³ General Frost and his family were close personal friends of Father De Smet, who later on intervened with the federal authorities to secure permission for Frost to return to St. Louis from Canada where he had taken refuge.⁴ Three days after the capture of Camp Jackson Arch-

² "In St. Louis it is well-known and no candid man will deny that there has always been a great majority of Union men." *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 15, 1861. Cf. De Smet's account of the parade in St. Louis on February 22, 1862. "It was estimated that more than 40,000 citizens took part in the procession. It was three full hours in its passage. It was the greatest manifestation ever made in St. Louis, and all in favor of the Union as it was." CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1505.

³ Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 306. According to General Sherman (*Memoirs*, 1: 169) Frost was "in open sympathy with the Southern leaders. This camp [Jackson] was nominally a State camp of instruction, but beyond doubt was in the interest of the Southern cause, designed to be used against the national authority in the event of the General Government's attempting to coerce the Southern Confederacy." For an opposite interpretation of the episode, cf. Carr, *op. cit.*; also, Eugene Violette, *A History of Missouri* (Boston, 1918), p. 348. "Viewed in the light of subsequent events in Missouri, it [capture of Camp Jackson] must be considered a stupendous blunder."

⁴ General Frost married a daughter of Major Richard Graham (son-in-law of John Mullanphy) of Hazelwood in the environs of Florissant and was thus connected with the pioneer Mullanphy family of St. Louis. Extracts from the correspondence bearing on De Smet's intervention in the Frost case follow. "Genl. Grant with whom I came up on the boat from Quebec last night has today written to the President recommending that I be permitted to return home at once on parole. Whoever presents the papers on my behalf would do well to call the President's attention to that letter. All agree that it will also be important that some one should take charge of the matter with sufficient interest to prevent its falling into the regular beaten track usually pursued by official documents, which track is supposed to lead directly into John Bunyan's Slough of Despond. I am sorry my dear Father, to give you so much trouble and yet I would rather be under obligations to you than to any other human being. You will observe that in my letter I speak in behalf of others as well as of myself. This will perhaps be said to be injudicious—but I feel as though I ought to say a word in behalf of those whose difficulties are due to their sympathies for my poor Camp Jackson. Should you deem it advisable however I will change it and sign papers as you may send me. In a word I put the whole matter in your hands to do in all things as you think proper." Frost to De Smet, Montreal, August 6, 1865. (A). "Some days ago I received letters from General Frost, now in Canada, to obtain permission to

bishop Kenrick of St. Louis, who was generally and, it would appear, correctly regarded as a southern sympathizer, issued a pastoral counselling peace and charity to his flock amid the prevailing excitement.⁵

Reflections on the events of the war, especially as they affected St. Louis, occur in contemporary letters of De Smet. When he stepped ashore at New York on April 15, 1861, on his return from a recruiting journey to Europe, he found the city agog with excitement over the fall of Fort Sumter:

A few hours before our arrival the great American metropolis had been thrown into the wildest excitement and consternation by the tidings that Fort Sumter in South Carolina had been taken by the Rebels and that the Stars and Stripes, the far-and-wide honored flag of the great Republic had been battered down by the enemies of the Union—once Union men themselves—reduced to mere shreds, a rag! Unpardonable outrage! One which I fear will be avenged in a deluge of blood. On hearing the sad news of the insulting and arrogant deed, tears flowed freely from many an eye among the passengers of the Fulton and were followed by loud imprecations and threats against the Secessionists. I am not a man for war and am averse to its horrors and bloodshed; but I was deeply moved by the scenes I witnessed on the day of my landing on the shores of my once happy and beloved adopted country. I prayed and prayed most earnestly that the Lord in His mercy might allay and soften the rising passions, and that peace might again be restored to this now distracted land.⁶

Shortly after his arrival in St. Louis De Smet wrote to a Jesuit friend: "I arrived here from Europe on the 19th instant [April]. I found the country in a great turmoil. . . . St. Louis is paralyzed in her commerce—little or nothing is doing—the excitement is great for

return to his family in Missouri. He has taken the prescribed oath of allegiance and he writes to President Johnson. I have been around to obtain signatures of some of our most influential citizens, who signed a petition to the President for the return of General Frost. I have forwarded all the papers to Maj. General James Hardie with the request that he will take an interest in the matter." De Smet to Maj. Gen. Pleasanton, August 22, 1865. (A). "I know and esteem highly Father De Smet, that apostolic missionary, and would do anything for him, to whom I am under special obligation indeed. The case, however, of Frost has so little merit that I do not think there will be any haste in its favorable disposition." Hardie to Pleasanton, October 21, 1865. (A).

⁵ "Remember that any aggression by individuals or bodies not recognized by the laws, from which loss of life may follow, is an act of murder, of which every one engaged in such aggression is guilty no matter how great and galling the provocation may have been and bear in mind that under the influence of such unholy feelings as lead to such acts, the innocent are confounded with the guilty or those who are presumed to be such." Kenrick's pastoral in the *Missouri Republican*, May 14, 1861.

⁶ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 76.

the people are divided and we may daily expect an outbreak. We sent 60 of our Southern boarders to their homes as a matter of prudence." ⁷ Later happenings in St. Louis during 1861 were also commented on:

June 13. The news here is astounding. You may have heard of the conference between the Governor of Missouri and General Price on one side and General Lyon and F. P. Blair on the other side—it ended in bad feeling.⁸ The Governor, on his return (so it is said) to Jefferson City, caused the bridge at the Gasconade to be burned. This morning we learn that he calls for the arriving immediately of 50,000 troops, for the defense of the state—he thinks he can have them ready in three days. Would it not be well to look out for a house in Illinois where we could deposit whatever we wish to save? I mentioned the idea to F[ather] Rector [Coosemans], who approved of the idea. Missouri might be overrun in all directions and that very soon.

June 17. The news of this morning is somewhat more reassuring—more troops are leaving for the upper country. In the case of danger, we will look to papers, etc.

June 17. I mentioned in my letter this morning that the news and quiet in the city was somewhat more favorable—two hours after the soldiers fired upon the citizens and killed some say six, others say ten citizens—two soldiers were killed. How it will end no man can foresee.⁹

There was no doubt at any time as to where De Smet's sympathies lay. "I have not been threatened with burning alive by the Rebels," he wrote jocosely to a correspondent in February, 1862. "I do not think they will ever hate me as bad as that."¹⁰ At the same time he was careful not to embroil himself in political discussion or indulge in unnecessary expression of opinion on public affairs. "I am keeping my mouth shut about politics," he confided to a friend, "and I wish some of our other brethren would do the same."¹¹ Meantime his known loyalty to the North was making him the obvious intermediary between Washington and his Jesuit confrères in questions affecting their interests which arose during the war, such as the draft and the arrears of government money due to the Osage and Potawatomi missions. He was equally the friend and that on terms of intimacy, of Generals Harney and Frost and Colonel Francis Preston Blair, outstanding figures in the dramatic scenes that marked Missouri's participation in

⁷ De Smet to Congiato, April 30, 1861. Letter-book, 11: 94. (A).

⁸ The conference, which lasted four or five hours, took place at the Planters' House in St. Louis. At the end of it, Lyon, turning to the governor, said: "This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines." Snead, *The Fight for Missouri*, cited in Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, 4: 2423.

⁹ De Smet to Murphy, June 13, 17, 1861. Letter-book, 11: 61. (A).

¹⁰ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1506.

¹¹ *Idem*, 1: 135.

the Civil War. He had the entrée into the military prisons of St. Louis and his services as chaplain for the Union troops were directly solicited by the federal government, an employment which his superiors on advice from Archbishop Kenrick did not authorize him to accept.¹² To Colonel Blair, to whom perhaps more than anybody else belongs the credit of having saved Missouri for the Union, he made known in the spring of 1862 a contemplated visit to the Indians of the upper Missouri, petitioning at the same time the favor of being allowed to go with some or other commission from the government. "Feeling, as ever, much attached to the Union of my adopted country, the United States, I shall do all I can to promote it among the Indians, to the best of my power. The thought came to my mind that if I could go in some official capacity from the Government (I ask for no emoluments) my object might be strengthened by it and be more efficacious."¹³ De Smet's general attitude towards the issues of the Civil War has been interpreted thus:

Father De Smet was a loyal citizen, a Union man; but he was not what he later calls a radical. His views were doubtless modified by the atmosphere of St. Louis, which was his home and he saw more clearly the other side of the question than people of the North generally did. His prayers were for

¹² "There are a large number of Catholics belonging to the various Regiments stationed at the Arsenal; and it is impossible, without a departure from Military Discipline, to permit them all to go out of the Arsenal on Sunday to attend to their religious duties at the churches in the City, as they would doubtless desire to do. Under the circumstances I take the liberty, having for many years enjoyed the pleasure of your acquaintance to say that if you deem it proper and consider it desirable, that I will give orders to receive any Catholic clergymen who may wish to enter the Arsenal on Sunday, or any other day to perform religious services for the Catholics now here and that I will cause accommodations to be prepared for the purpose." F. P. Blair to De Smet, June 7, 1861. (A). According to Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, 2: 213, it was Blair, recently named colonel of the First Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, who solicited De Smet's appointment as chaplain, "As this move seemed to be an inducement to Irish Catholics to join the ranks, Father De Smet being among the most beloved and honored priests in the entire country, the Archbishop refused his consent. It is said that Colonel Blair, whose influence in Washington had already removed both General Harney and General Fremont from the command of the Department of the Missouri, was on the point of taking severe measures against the Archbishop, but soon saw the futility of so doing and desisted." "By those who were more or less in his confidence it was pretty well known that his [Kenrick's] sympathies were with the South. We do not know that he went the entire length of the Calhoun doctrine of the Right of Secession, but we do know that he condemned the war, not only as inexpedient but as unjustifiable." William Walsh, *Life of Most Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1891), p. 25. Cf. also Rothensteiner, *op. cit.*, 2: 210-219.

¹³ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1509.

peace, but as between the North and South his sympathies were with the North. At one time he frankly doubted that the North would succeed, for he felt that so great a section of people of the Anglo-Saxon race could not be subdued. As the war progressed and the power of the North became more autocratic, he dissented from some of its extreme measures; but there never was a shadow of doubt of his unswerving loyalty to the Government.¹⁴

Though De Smet kept a judicious silence at home on the burning question of the war, he did not hesitate in letters to his relatives and friends in Europe to discuss what he conceived to be the causes of the great struggle that was desolating the country. These ventures into political theory and history are marked by accuracy and insight and reveal the missionary in the new rôle of a shrewd and discerning observer of public affairs. In his opinion the most decisive and indeed almost the sole factor in precipitating the Civil War was slavery.

But the difficulty was about the Territories belonging to the United States. There is an immense territory sufficient to form several large States yet unsettled. The anti-slavery party, or Free-soil party, as it is called, concluded that slavery should not be extended to the Territories, though protected in the already formed States. The pro-slavery party demanded the right of carrying slavery to every foot of the Territory. The anti-slavery party, for the first time since the organization of the Government, triumphed in the election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency, and the pro-slavery party seceded from the Union, or rather I should say, ten or eleven of the fifteen slave States seceded and set up what they call a Confederate Government for themselves. What are called the border slave States, as Missouri, Kentucky, Western Virginia, Maryland and Delaware, have declared for the old Union; but they are made the battle-ground of the contending parties. It is evident that, according to the Constitution of the United States, no State has the right to secede from the Union. The Union was intended to be perpetual. But the Secessionists contend that the States, as separate peoples, have, at any rate, the right of revolution when sufficient cause exists; and they further contend that a sufficient cause does exist in the hostility of the free States to the institution of slavery. But I have already remarked that the General Government was bound by the Constitution to protect slavery in the States where it existed. This is true; but the slave States regarded the hostile feelings of the Northern people as a sufficient cause for the act of secession. They regarded the fact that they were excluded from the Territories as a sufficient cause.

The truth is that the present state of the country is due to an angry controversy, long ago begun, on the subject of African slavery. Several compromises between the parties had been entered into, looking to the settlement

¹⁴ *Idem*, 1: 77. "If he had taken any part in politics he would doubtless have been what was called a 'War Democrat,'—a Unionist, when it was a question of the unity of the country, but opposed to the extreme measures adopted by the Republicans at the close of the war." *Idem*, 1: 133.

of the difficulty; but the feeling remained with the one party that slavery is right, and with the other that slavery is wrong. These two hostile feelings have culminated in a revolution, or rebellion, the most formidable that the world has ever seen. What will be the end of it? No one can say. One thing seems evident, namely, that slavery will be extinguished; for though the General Government does not claim any constitutional power to interfere with the Constitutions in the States, yet, as a war power, as a means of putting down the rebellion, the General Government does claim the power of liberating the slave; and hence the emancipation proclamation of the President more than six months ago. Thousands of slaves are making their escape from bondage and are now scattered over the free States.¹⁵

This view of the origin of the war is elsewhere and more than once brought out by Father De Smet in letters to European correspondents as in this one of February, 1863, addressed to Joseph Van Jersel of Utenhout in Holland. "The northern Territories, Washington on the Pacific slope, Colorado, Dakota, Nevada, were and are unsuitable for slave labor and no one has ever thought of introducing slavery into them. But the South insisted absolutely upon that privilege; that is, upon the *right* to introduce slavery, even though it were useless and unreasonable. The South was striving for a point of honor, ridiculous and unreasonable,—a point which they had no idea of carrying into effect."¹⁶

The loyalty to the Union of another midwestern Jesuit, Father Francis Xavier Weninger, is also worthy of note. His indefatigable and nation-wide missionary labors on behalf of the German-speaking Catholics of the United States made him a figure of prominence in the religious life of the country. It is to be noted that in the following passage from his *Relation* of 1862-1863 he evidently has in mind the Catholics of the North, as in the South the Catholics in concert with their fellow-citizens generally espoused the cause of secession. "The Catholic body in the United States in respect to its politics and ethico-religious attitude is everything one would desire. It favors the Union of the States and detests the trade in African slaves . . . numbers of Catholics have joined the army; they offer their life-blood to defend the Union and root out slavery." As a result of this stand taken by the Catholics, "many Americans think better of the Catholic Church than ever before." In Europe, so Weninger intimates, the curious impression was current in some quarters that the southern states were peopled chiefly by Catholics and that the war between North and

¹⁵ *Idem*, 4: 1440-1442.

¹⁶ *Idem*, 4: 1439.

South was a war between the Catholic Church and her enemies. This erroneous impression he was at pains to correct when writing to Rome.¹⁷

The more or less chronic illness of Father Druyts having in the end incapacitated him for the discharge of the duties of his office, he was replaced in February, 1861, as superior of the middlewestern Jesuits by Father William Stack Murphy. For five years, 1851-1856, this eminent Jesuit had already filled this post to the obvious and continued advantage of the division of the Society of Jesus administered by him and he now returned from Fordham to the West to assume its duties a second time. His arrival in St. Louis coincided with the extreme nervous tension and excitement in public feeling that preluded the actual outbreak of hostilities in the Civil War. He was an intelligent observer of men and things and for years had been watching with interest the gathering clouds on the political horizon. Writing as early as 1851 from Florissant to Father Roothaan, he had in a manner forecast the coming of the storm though what he prognosticated was rather a separation, peaceful in character, between East and West. "The difference between the old and new States in the way they view things and carry on is considerable. One would call them in many respects two distinct peoples; very probably their political and national union will one day cease. On both sides enough is being done to bring about such an outcome."¹⁸ In March, 1861, three weeks before the firing on Fort Sumter, Father Murphy felt that the moment of disruption had come:

Day by day our political affairs become more strangely embroiled. For twenty years back one could have foreseen the present-day crisis, regarding which, if I mistake not, no one is going to say very soon, "I have seen the end of it." According to principles of international law and the example set by the Fathers in formerly driving out the English, the Southern states have seceded with the best of right. This Missouri of ours with Maryland and other states hesitates, owing to the proximity of states which do not allow of negro [slaves], for the latter would either invade the former or take in their fugitive slaves. But it is likely that the states so hesitating will eventually secede while the remaining states will break up into several republics.¹⁹

A month later, April 24, Murphy wrote:

There is trepidation in this city. The English-speaking elements of every kind are said to meditate secession. On the other hand the non-Catholic Germans stand with the general government. A regiment of them has already

¹⁷ (A). Father Weninger was accustomed to draw up annually under the caption "*Relatio*," a Latin narrative of his missionary activities often with incidental comment on current events of importance.

¹⁸ Murphy à Roothaan, September 6, 1851. (AA).

¹⁹ Murphy ad Beckx, March 24, 1861. (AA).

been admitted into the citadel [arsenal] by the commandant [Maj. Nathaniel Lyon], who is reported to have said that a Sicilian vespers will be enacted here should the city perchance secede. The people of Illinois threaten from the other bank [of the Mississippi] and have already blockaded the lower river by setting up camps along it. Our boarders here and at Bardstown are Southerners or secessionists, whom we shall be forced soon to send back some way or other to their families.²⁰

A week later than the capture of Camp Jackson Murphy commented apropos of the event:

We have just passed through fire and water. Fighting outside, dread and apprehension behind doors. By force of arms and at the cost of the slaying of some thirty citizens of both sexes, the troops of the general Government, made up almost entirely of a rabble of non-Catholic Germans, have effected a military occupation of the city. This is, as a matter of fact, the chief inland town [of the West], from which the way strikes out to the Pacific Ocean through the vast region of the West that will swarm in the near future with settlers.²¹

In August St. Louis was still astir with excitement:

All is trepidation and expectancy in this city for the Confederates are approaching from every side and nearly the entire State is in their favor. This very hour news has come of the rout of the Federals with the killing of their commander [General Lyon] on August 10 [at Wilson Creek] a hundred miles from the city. The Governor is calling out the Illinois troops. Among the Federals it is common report that neither money nor blood is to be spared to prevent the State, which is the gateway and key to an exceedingly vast region and to the route towards the Pacific Ocean, from being wrested from the general Government. From here also by way of the Mississippi river all kinds of food and merchandise are carried to New Orleans, whence they are distributed among divers countries. . . . Fathers Gache, Hubert, Prachenski of New Orleans are chaplains with the Confederates. Among the Federals Fathers Tissot and Nash of the Mission of New York and Father Bernard O'Reilly are praised in the papers for their zeal and disregard of all risks even death itself in the thick of the battle in which the Federals were recently defeated. Father James Converse at the petition of the Archbishop rendered very great service to the Federal troops at Cincinnati. And so it is that our men show themselves interested in souls, not parties.²²

²⁰ Murphy ad Beckx, April 24, 1861. (AA).

²¹ Murphy ad Beckx, May 17, 1861. (AA).

²² Murphy ad Beckx, August 14, 1861. (AA). Father Murphy was misinformed when he wrote that nearly all of Missouri favored the Confederates. As to Jesuit chaplains in the war the experiences of Father Truyens, one-time missionary among the Miami of Kansas, are worthy of note. His death (December 14, 1867)

To a Bardstown Jesuit Father Murphy addressed these pleasant lines:

St. Louis and St. Joseph will, I hope, watch over their Houses and shield them in these stormy times. At St. Xavier's, one would think there was no danger at hand, and yet I learn that the Cincinnatians fear an attack from your state [Kentucky]. Really this apprehension appears to me diverting. Porcopolis may kill and salt its hogs in peace so far as Kentucky is concerned. Let us pray for the country and for a cessation of the bloody strife. You will be surprised to learn that five Novices on the banks of the Missouri were fired upon twice by an ascending boat full of soldiers, who, no doubt, supposed that *they* were about to fire upon them—nobody hurt! thank God. May it be so throughout.²⁸

In September, 1861, Father Murphy issued a circular letter to the members of the vice-province of Missouri informing them that he had just received a communication from Father Beckx, the General, urging upon all the scrupulous observance of that point of the Jesuit rule which "enjoins on Ours neither to manifest nor entertain any leaning or partiality towards either party in national difficulties." Two of the items embodied in Father Murphy's instructions are of special significance as indicating the stand which members of the vice-province were to take towards the civil authorities of their respective localities. "Granting that every citizen is free to adopt the view entertained by the State in which he resides and to which he belongs for the time

was generally attributed to the hardships incurred by him during his brief chaplaincy with Union troops in Kentucky. "I heard repeatedly Father Truyens say that he lost his health during the six weeks of his stay with the soldiers. The weather was horribly bad and he had to follow the soldiers on foot and sleep on wet ground. After his return he was for several months unable to discharge the duties of pastorship." Schultz to ———, December 19, 1867. (A). There is a letter on the subject from Father Truyens himself to some unknown correspondent. "I believe this is the last letter which I will be able to write for sometime. We have left Columbia and are pursuing our route towards Summerset [Somerset]. We are now 38 miles from that place. It will take us at least four days to reach it as the roads are very bad and place us under the necessity of walking very slowly. The 10th Indiana is camped by the side of us. Thus far I have been obliged to do my journeys on foot in the rear of the regiment but tomorrow I will have a horse as the Colonel just told me now. You can easily suppose that this life is very hard on me. I have suffered already very much from hunger and can hardly recollect myself for a few minutes. I try to make my meditations and exams but I hope Al[mighty] God will be satisfied with my endeavors. I feel also grieved not to approach the sacraments, there are no Catholic Chaplains here. When I will be able to say Mass I do not know." Truyens to ———, January 11, 1862. (A). The letter has a postscript of later date penned by Father Murphy: "The Irish and Germans and all city recruits have extremely few sick; country-boys, measles, smallpox, pneumonia, etc."

²⁸ Murphy to Verdin, De Smet Letter-book, 11: 198. (A).

being, it follows that so far as Missouri and Kentucky are concerned, the sovereignty of the General Government yet exists—and consequently residents of these two States are bound to consider it as the only lawful Government. According to the same doctrine, Ours residing in Free States are obliged to recognize [*sic*] its authority.”²⁴

Early in the war the functions of the governor and legislature of Missouri were taken over by a state convention which had been originally convoked by the legislature itself. The convention had declared unanimously against disunion, whereas Governor Jackson, an avowed secessionist, announced in August, 1861, that Missouri was already out of the Union. The chief executive offices of the state, including that of governor, were accordingly declared vacant by the convention and a provisional government under its authority was set up. An oath of fidelity to the provisional government was promptly required of all citizens. On the ethical propriety of taking this oath a difference of opinion at once revealed itself among the Jesuits of St. Louis. The majority of them saw no moral difficulty in subscribing to it, a view concurred in by the Visitor, Father Sopranis, and the vice-provincial, Father Murphy; but some few who held the *de facto* government to be revolutionary and illegal could not see their way to pledging allegiance to it on oath. Archbishop Kenrick himself did not take the oath nor would he authorize his diocesan clergy to do so; but he left the Jesuits free to declare their allegiance to the existing régime if they thought it necessary to do so. This liberal attitude on the part of the Archbishop was agreeable to Sopranis, who, however, wrote to the Father General: “We shall not take advantage of [it] unless the public authorities press us and evils of grave moment are imminent.”²⁵ At St. Charles Father Verhaegen and his colleagues in the residence promptly presented themselves before the civil authorities to take the oath; but no mention occurs of any other Jesuits in Missouri doing likewise. Either the oath was taken by the Jesuits generally or else no pressure was brought to bear upon them by the authorities to make them do so. The stand they were to take in the matter was outlined by Father Sopranis in February, 1862, after long and serious consultation with Father Murphy and other members of the vice-province:

1.° They shall refuse [the oath] if this can be done without risk [of prosecution] and they shall do so even with such risk in case the Archbishop and his clergy refuse it.

2.° In case they really incur the risk of suffering grave evil and the Archbishop does not object, they shall take the oath.

²⁴ De Smet Letter-book, 11:190. (A).

²⁵ Sopranis ad Beckx, March 2, 1862. (AA).

3.^o If there be any who sincerely think they cannot take the oath in conscience, let them be sent elsewhere as a concession to human infirmity. The chief difficulty lies in the fact that the present government of the state [Missouri] is regarded as illegal and that the reputable element of the city [of St. Louis] with the Archbishop and his clergy does not give allegiance to this government, which is for the Union. Whatever course our people there pursue, they will not avoid some sort of persecution as the open imprudence of some of them has brought it about that Ours in that city are regarded in public opinion as Secessionists.²⁶

There is nothing to indicate that the Jesuits of St. Louis University as a body were partisans of the South; but the indiscretions of a few of their number gave them, it would appear, something of this reputation. The *Annual Letters* for 1861-1862 record regretfully that in St. Louis certain members of the vice-province, heedless of the Jesuit rule, had given indiscreet expression to political views and had thus brought the University under suspicion of disloyalty. De Smet wrote October 20, 1861, to the General: "I must add in my letter that the city of St. Louis is in great danger of being sacked and burned in case the secessionists get the upper hand in Missouri. Several of Ours without regard to the instructions of your Paternity as published by the Provincial continue to manifest secessionist sentiments, at least in the house. No good and much harm can result from manifestations of this sort. Indiscretions are filling the prisons more and more every day."²⁷

On June 10, 1862, a formula of the oath of loyalty more stringent than any of its predecessors was decreed by the Missouri Convention. "A new formula of the oath, a new ordinance," wrote Father Murphy June 20, 1862, "has become almost a monthly occurrence. Recently all 'ministers of the Gospel' have been called upon to declare under oath their past, present and future loyalty nor are they permitted to perform the marriage ceremony under any other condition."²⁸ The oath of June 10, 1862, was the first of a retroactive character to be imposed; in many of its features it anticipated the notorious Drake oath of 1865. There is nothing in contemporary records to indicate the practical stand taken by the Jesuits of St. Louis in the face of it. Apparently no seri-

²⁶ Sopranis ad Beckx, February, 1862. (AA).

²⁷ De Smet à Beckx, October 20, 1861. Father Ferdinand Garesché, whose brother Julius was a prominent Union officer, was an open sympathizer with the southern cause. At his own request he was removed by his superiors from St. Louis, where his freely expressed sentiments were an occasion of embarrassment to the University. Capt. Allen, provost marshal of St. Louis, ordered the stars and stripes to be displayed at the University after the battle of Gettysburg. The order was a general one issued on the occasion, and not specific for the University.

²⁸ Murphy ad Beckx, June 20, 1862. (AA).

Belli civilis exitus non facile conjici potest.
Apparatus ac numerus copiarum et praesentium
classis littora portusque obsidem, subsidio
atque adjuvamento maximo. Foederalibus sunt.
Ducis militumque et virtus bellica et amor
patriae apud Confœderatos videntur praestare.
Quicumque denique eventus fuerit, reipublicae
conditio, ut vulgo dicitur, miserrima futura
est. Paxit Deus ut intellectum detvegatio
et fides tandem animos oblectare ranciscatur.

Bardipoli P. Truys, Episcopo rogante,
ad castra missus est; P. Halpin apud eundem
Lindivocopoli militibus aegrotantibus praesto est.

Adm. Rev. P. V. infimus in Xto servos

Gulielmus Murphy

Closing lines of a letter of William S. Murphy, S.J., to the Father General, Peter Beckx, S.J., January 15, 1862.
Issue of the Civil War doubtful. General Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome.

ous attempt was made by the authorities to enforce it in their regard or in regard to the clergy generally.

Early in 1862, less than a year after the outbreak of the war, Father De Smet was successful in obtaining from government the payment to the Jesuit Indian missions in Kansas of a considerable sum of school-money which was long overdue.

Towards the end of last February, as in July, I had to go to Washington to arrange the accounts of our Indian missions among the Potawatomies and Osages. Since the outbreak of the war and the great expenditures which it occasions, the Government is necessarily delayed in the payment of its contracts with the Indian tribes, the motto for today being "the expenses of the war before everything else." A sum of over eighteen [thousand] dollars was due the missions. I presented my request to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs [Dole] with the remark that a refusal or delay on the part of the Government of its debt and promise, would singularly disarrange the ideas of our Indians, who have thus far been loyal and attached to the Union side; that if we were obliged by lack of means to send some 400 children back to their poor parents, they would "conclude that their Great Father, President Lincoln, had taken the money that ought to have gone to the support of their children, and used it for other purposes" and that they might be led in consequence to lend a favorable ear to the Secessionists. This all-but *casus belli* made the Superintendent smile and pleased him greatly, and he promised to do his utmost to satisfy our good savages. He gave me also some good advice and indicated several influential persons who might aid me in my just demand upon the Government.

During my short stay in the capital I had the honor of being presented to President Lincoln and of talking with him about the present state of our Indians and our missions. He showed himself very affable and very well disposed towards us and promised me that he would favor and aid us in our efforts to ameliorate the unhappy lot of the Indians. The Secretaries of the Interior and Treasury and the Attorney and Postmaster-General were likewise very favorable to me. I succeeded in obtaining a sum of over \$11,000.00, with the promise that the balance due the missions should be forwarded at an early date.²⁹

§ 2. THE DRAFT

The enforcement of various laws of military conscription, state and federal, led to unpleasant experiences, of which the middlewestern Jesuits had their share though in the end none of them had actually to perform military service. In Cincinnati in September, 1862, Father Garesché, vice-rector of St. Xavier College in the absence of Father Schultz in Europe, obtained exemption for some twenty of his students who had been summoned to arms to defend the city against an ex-

²⁹ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1507.

pected attack. In St. Louis Father Thomas O'Neil, rector of the University, obtained a similar exemption in favor of students of the institution. The Missouri state draft-law was applicable to all citizens, even clergymen, between eighteen and forty-five. Owing, it would seem, to representations made by De Smet that the bearing of arms was incompatible with their ecclesiastical status, all Jesuits resident in Missouri were granted exemption from the operation of the law. "Great trepidation here," wrote Father Murphy, "over compulsory military service, which threatened at least the Brothers and novices. A single visit and petition on the part of this excellent Father [De Smet] was enough to secure in writing and by name the exemption of all."³⁰ But the federal draft law of 1863 was a more difficult problem for clergymen to cope with. In a letter of April 11 of that year De Smet sought the advice of his friend Thurlow Weed of New York as to what relief might be expected from this drastic measure:

There is an important matter on which I must beg leave to ask your counsel. You are aware that the Jesuits are a body of priests and brothers, devoted, by solemn vows, exclusively to the service of God and the spiritual good of their fellow-men. In the West here we number about 200 members, some of whom would fall within the limits of the conscription law lately passed by Congress. Our members are stationed in various cities—Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Bardstown, Ky., and in other places—all laboring in one way or in another for the good of souls. We have been here for nearly forty years, devoting ourselves entirely to the education of youth, thousands of whom have been trained in our schools and colleges, or attending the numerous churches intrusted to our care, or laboring for the civilization of Indian tribes in the Far West. And we have thus labored purely for the good of our fellow-men, without ever having received any aid from State or General Government, satisfied with that support which the liberality of our patrons has prompted them to afford us.

As I have stated, we are bound to God by solemn vows, which our conscience forbids us to violate. These vows, recognized and accepted by the Catholic Church, separate us from the world, consecrate us to a life different from that of other members of our Church, and subject us to the canon law of the Church which strictly forbids priests and religious men, who have taken these vows, from taking up arms in any cause whatsoever. We are ministers of peace, and in all ages this sacred character has been regarded as opposed to war and bloodshed. Such is the law of the Church, and this law binds our consciences. We cannot violate it without doing violence to our duty to God; and therefore we cannot obey any law which would require us to violate that duty. You perceive the predicament in which this places us at the present moment, and from which I desire your advice to enable us to extricate ourselves.

³⁰ *Litterae Annuae*, 1862-63. Murphy ad Beckx, August 26, 1862. (AA).

As to the remedy of paying \$300 for each member that may be subject to the draft, I must say that it is scarcely fair to require this of us, who are really not subject to military service, by reason of the life we have embraced and of the conscientious obligations it imposes upon us. And besides this, such a sum paid for all those who might be called upon among us, would prostrate all our establishments and leave us destitute of the means for carrying on the works we have undertaken for the good of our countrymen. We are struggling hard to keep these up; the war has inflicted severe losses upon us, as upon many others; and if we cannot escape the conscription without paying what the act prescribes, I do not see how we shall be able to continue our exertions.

Please give this matter your serious consideration, and if you can suggest any means of extricating ourselves from this perplexity, you will confer an infinite obligation upon me, by informing me of it. We have here a conflict of duties; we desire as far as possible to comply with both; but we cannot sacrifice our conscience, and our resources are too limited to allow us to comply with that condition on which alone the act of Congress will recognize our exemption.⁸¹

There is no record of what answer if any Weed returned to De Smet's inquiry. At all events the following year saw the Jesuits under the unseemly pressure of the draft. At Cincinnati in January, 1864, seventeen of the faculty of St. Xavier College were registered as citizens liable to the operation of the law; of this number, five, Fathers De Blicke, Kuhlman and Halpin, and the scholastics Ward and Venne-man were drafted. The last named obtained exemption on the ground of weak health; for the others substitutes appear to have been obtained by paying into the government treasury for each of the individuals drafted the legal compensation of three hundred dollars stipulated in the law. At Cincinnati Bishop Rosecrans, coadjutor to Archbishop Purcell, was also among the conscripts; but the authorities had the delicacy not to press the case.⁸² In Missouri in the course of 1864 the sweeping measure gathered into its net five fathers, two brothers and a scholastic, eight Jesuits in all. At Bardstown, Father Verdin, the superior, and Brother Flanagan were conscripted. On receiving this news from Bardstown the provincial, Father Coosemans, immediately telegraphed to De Smet, who was in Washington at the moment, to do what he could to save his confrères. De Smet took the matter up with Secretary of War Stanton, September 22 and 29, with this result:

⁸¹ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1515. De Smet in speaking of "solemn vows" does not employ the term "solemn" in a strictly canonical sense. Jesuit coadjutor-brothers do not take "solemn" vows nor do all Jesuit priests.

⁸² Coosemans ad Beckx January 15, May 18, 1864. (AA).

There was another affair that was disquieting us greatly—the universal conscription from which neither priests nor members of religious orders are exempt. Father Verdin and Brother Flanagan, in Kentucky, had already fallen under the lot and been drafted. I addressed myself to the Secretary of War, and by the Lord's favor, through the intercession of the Holy Virgin and the prayers of my brothers, I was able to obtain their liberty, with the formal promise of the Secretary "that hereafter he would exempt all our people who might be called on for military service." In order to evade the law the Secretary orders our conscripts "to stay at their homes until he calls for them"; and this call, according to his promise, shall not be issued so long as the war lasts."³³

Shortly after Father De Smet's return to St. Louis from Washington, the names of three fathers, Keller, Tehan and O'Neil and a scholastic, Mr. Lesperance, were announced in the draft. He at once conferred with Colonel Alexander, provost marshal of the St. Louis District, and two days later communicated with him in writing:

In my conversation on the 5th instant in reference to the drafting of Revd. John L'Esperance, I had the honor of acquainting you that whilst in Washington (Sept. 22) I received a Telegraphic Dispatch stating that two of our Revd. Brethren in Bardstown College, Kentucky, had been drafted, in consequence of which I applied to the Secretary of War who gave immediate directions "that the Revd. Gentlemen, drafted in Ky. be not called on to report for service until especially ordered by the Secretary of War. The Provost Marshall of their district will so inform them."

On the 29th ult. I applied again at the office of the Secretary of War, to obtain the like favor for any of our Revd. Gentlemen in the different Western States. Colonel James A. Hardie, Inspector General of the U. S. A., assured me that all measures had been taken to obviate every difficulty on the subject.

According to our religious principles, as a religious order in the Catholic Church, we cannot bear arms and go to war—our various houses have hardly the necessary number of persons to keep them up and cannot be spared—the establishments are all in debt, by the construction of necessary buildings for schools, colleges, etc., for the public good.

Besides Revd. John L'Esperance, the Revd. Fathers Keller and Tehan are also on the list of those who have been drafted.³⁴

On the same day, October 7, Father De Smet also sent a communication to Colonel Hardie, with whom he was personally acquainted:

Excuse me if again I have recourse to you for a particular favor. Four of the members of this institution [St. Louis University] have lately been

³³ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1520.

³⁴ De Smet to Alexander, October 7, 1864, Letter-book (1864-1866), 135. (A).

drafted in St. Louis, viz: the Revd. John Lesperance, Joseph E. Keller, John F. X. Tehan and John F. O'Neill. Could you obtain the same favor for these Revd. Gentlemen as for Father Verdin and Brother Flanagan of Bardstown, Ky., your kindness would ever be most gratefully remembered.

I shall in all probability leave for Europe on the 19th instant and if I have the happiness of reaching Rome, I will not forget to comply with your requests.

Please remember me to your kind Lady and good children.³⁵

The above named were the last Jesuits in the West to be caught in the draft. They were never actually pressed into service and their good fortune in this respect must seemingly be attributed to De Smet's intervention in Washington. It may be noted in this connection that the *Annual Letters* for 1864-1865 record that the satisfactory arrangement devised by Secretary Stanton in favor of Jesuit conscripts was later rescinded by the United States Senate. The annalist would seem to have been misinformed in this regard. It is unlikely that any such action by the Senate to the prejudice of the Jesuits or any other clergymen ever took place though there may have been some tightening up in the general application of the draft laws. The *Letters* further state that certain conscripted Jesuits had obtained exemption on various grounds, especially that of poor health, and that the chief agent in bringing this final stage of the draft question to an ultimate favorable issue was the assistant-provincial, Father Joseph Keller, a man of tact and wide personal influence in St. Louis, who took the matter in hand after Father De Smet's departure for Europe. He was a Bavarian by birth and, unlike De Smet, was by no means an ardent Unionist, if indeed his sympathies did not rather go with the Confederacy. He had earlier in the war expressed the opinion that the number of people who recognized the futility of the conflict and longed for its speedy termination was daily increasing. The only obstacle to peace was the obstinacy of the North. "As a matter of fact whoever looks at the matter without prejudice or passion will easily see that the other side [the South] cannot be overcome in the war nor disheartened by its hardships." On the occasion of his being drafted he wrote: "What we long feared has finally come to pass. . . . What is going to happen to us does not appear, but we shall certainly be freed, either through the same intervention [De Smet's] or on account of weak health or by payment of 300 dollars. Whether others have been drafted elsewhere, we haven't heard. But this must be expected. Peace seems far off to one who conjectures merely on human grounds; perhaps in the decrees of God it is nearer at hand. Meantime this stain will long remain deeply im-

³⁵ De Smet to Hardie, Letter-book (1864-1866), 136. (A).

printed on the name of the Republic, the fact, namely, that alone among the nations it has dared to drag with violence the ministers of peace from the altars of God and order them to shed blood in battle.”³⁶ As a matter of fact, no evidence appears to be at hand that any Catholic priests served in the Union armies as drafted soldiers. On the other hand, in the World War hundreds of ordained clerics in pursuance of iniquitous conscription laws bore arms and shed their blood on the battlefields of Europe.

§ 3. INCIDENTS AND MISADVENTURES

Fortunately most of the Jesuit houses of the Middle West lay by a very safe margin outside the zone of actual hostilities. Yet here and there the fathers found themselves on ground overrun by the contending parties. This was particularly the case in Osage and Cole Counties, Missouri, where there were numerous parishes of German Catholics in charge of Jesuit pastors. New Westphalia in Osage County, the headquarters of the fathers engaged in parochial work in central Missouri, enjoyed immunity from hostile disturbances of any kind up to the fall of 1864, when Confederate troops under General Sterling Price ravaged the state as far as the Missouri River and beyond. In June, 1864, Father Weninger preached a mission to the congregation of New Westphalia in which he reproached them for their failure to contribute in due measure to the support of their pastors, hazarding the prediction that the worldly goods which they were so industriously bent on amassing would soon become the prey of an invading enemy. The following October brought with it the fulfillment of his words. During four days secessionist troops to the number of twenty thousand held Osage County in their grip, spoiling it of cattle, horses, clothing and such other material goods as served their needs. The farmers of New Westphalia and its vicinity suffered losses aggregating twenty thousand dollars. Houses were entered and the men's best clothing and the women's shawls carried off as booty before the eyes of the helpless inmates. On the Sundays immediately following the invasion many of the male members of St. Joseph's congregation were to be seen attending divine service in incomplete attire or in the shabby, discarded garments which alone of all their wardrobe had escaped the pillage. The residence in New Westphalia was entered and preparations were being made to remove the furniture when General Shelby, who had given assurance of his protection to the superior, Father John Goeldin, intervened and put a stop to the proceedings. Father William Niederkorn was returning home from a missionary excursion when he heard of what had hap-

³⁶ Keller ad Beckx, April 21, 1865; October 12, 1864. (AA).

pened in New Westphalia. He at once turned in from the road to a farmer's place, where he contrived to put his horse in safe hiding. But shortly after he was met by a party of soldiers, who forced him to deliver up his coat, watch and a part of his money. After remaining concealed for three days, he returned to Westphalia on foot, not venturing to ride his horse for fear the latter might also become a prize of war. At Richfountain Father Henry Van Mierlo was despoiled of his horse, watch and some of his clothes. At Loose Creek Father James Busschots saw the church and parish residence robbed and his horse appropriated. Such were some of the incidents that marked the invasion of Osage County by Confederate forces in the fall of 1864. With their withdrawal quiet was soon restored in the county, and, as the annalist observes, each one took up again the round of his accustomed duties as though nothing extraordinary had taken place.

At Taos in Cole County, on the west side of the Osage River and only a few miles distant from New Westphalia, Father Ferdinand Helias, then in his sixty-fifth year, had to taste the bitterness of petty persecution. Here the founder of the Catholic parishes of central Missouri was engaged in quiet pursuit of his parochial duties when the fierce storm of the Civil War broke over his head. He at once avowed his loyalty to the Union though numerous sympathizers with the southern cause were to be found in his locality. For years back a faction made up of German liberals and free-thinkers, popularly known as the "Latin Farmers," had been in open opposition to Helias and his work. The outbreak of the Civil War was the signal for fresh attacks on the venerable priest. He was accused of being a secessionist and of harboring secessionist spies in his house and in the parish cemetery. A careful search of the presbytery and cemetery made by a detachment of state militia resulted in the priest's vindication. But the opposition to him still continued. Things finally came to such a pass that he stole out of Taos in disguise one morning before dawn and made his way quietly to New Westphalia, where he remained in hiding in the presbytery, taking advantage of this forced retirement to begin at once the exercises of his annual retreat.

When the news of Helias's sudden departure from Taos became known, calumny again became busy with the father's name. The old cry of disloyalty to the Union was again raised and with such effect that soldiers belonging to the local militia known as the Home Guard broke into the presbytery of St. Francis Xavier at Taos, destroyed the furniture and carried off such valuables as suited their taste. Not content with this, they vented their ill-will on some of the neighboring farmers who were charged with being accomplices of Father Helias. The presence of the latter at New Westphalia had in the meantime ceased to

be a secret, a circumstance which determined him to resort to flight a second time. He accordingly left St. Joseph's presbytery one night under cover of darkness and, making his way through a dense woods to avoid taking the public road, reached the house of a friend of his, a Mr. Forth. Here he found hospitable refuge and a secure hiding-place. Soon, however, he realized that the interests of his parishioners as well as the good name of his ministry and of the order to which he belonged demanded that he take steps towards vindicating himself before the public. He therefore drew up a statement in explanation and defense of his career, which he addressed to the military authorities in Jefferson City. It is a well-written and even eloquent document, replete with patriotic sentiment and inspired throughout by the sincerest attachment to the Union. "The founder of the Mission of Central Missouri could never be the partisan of a secession in which his conscience saw only a flagrant violation of the primitive pact and sacred contract, which not being restricted to any period of time remains forever of equal obligation. . . . He has not failed to employ every means in his power to maintain the people in submission to the law; he has been and will continue to be the apostle of peace; at Taos where he resides and everywhere in Missouri, he has been seen to defend and support the cause of the Union; his numerous friends will know whether he has ever spoken any other language save that of concord."

Father Helias's defense was well received. General Davis, in command at Jefferson City, addressed him a letter under date of September 16, 1861, in which he gave assurance that the priest would no longer be subject to molestation at the hands of the Home Guard. "I will not permit a minister of the Gospel to be insulted or ill-treated by those under my command. I accordingly reserve to myself the punishment of every infraction of my order."³⁷

Taking up again his work in Taos, Helias, though spared any interference on the part of the military, still continued to be harassed by the free-thinking element of the place. One gets an idea of the lawless character of the times in reading how a body of armed men entered the priest's residence at night and sacked it from garret to cellar, demolishing what they could not carry off and leaving him nothing but his bed and books. To a friend of his who offered him on this occasion five hundred dollars wherewith to retrieve his losses, the father replied: "Keep it, they might rob me of that also." To spare the good priest further molestation he was removed by his superior in 1864 to the novitiate at Florissant. But his stay there was short and he was soon back again with his parishioners of Taos.

³⁷ Auguste Lebrocquy, S.J., *Vie du R. P. Hélias D'Huddeghem* (Ghent, 1878), pp. 258, 285.

On the Kansas border towards the end of 1861 Father James Van Goch met with a harrowing experience, which Father De Coen of Leavenworth recounted in a letter to St. Louis:

Good Father Van Goch met with a very trying occurrence the other day. On his way to Leavenworth near Fort Scott he was arrested by a band of federal marauders; they knew him and he knew them, as only a few days before he had very kindly fed them and their horses at the [Osage] Mission. They acknowledged that they had been well treated, but they said that he was a d—— priest and that his kindness was nothing but hypocrisy; they cursed him most dreadfully and threatened to take his life. Then the leader of the band put his revolver to Fr. Van Goch's ear telling him that he wanted to go to confession and that he [Father Van Goch] would hear a confession as he never heard before, that he would blow a pill through both ears at once. After many insults and blasphemies about religion, they made him march on, having their rifles pointed towards him and threatening at every step to blow him to pieces. After a few miles they told him that his last hour was come and that he had only two minutes to live. They then dragged him into the wood by the roadside and ordered him to kneel; they immediately surrounded him with their revolvers and pointed to his heart. "Men," said the leader, "when I say: *one, two, three*, fire altogether"; here one of the men stepped forward: "Captain," said he, "let us take him to the camp and examine him and blow out his brains afterwards." This was accordingly done, they took him to their camp which was a few miles farther in, insulting and threatening him all the time. Arriving there, they took him before the Commander, who at once recognized him and shook hands with him. "Father," said he, "I am glad to see you, but what brought you here?" F. Van Goch answered that he had been taken prisoner. The Commander told his men to go about their business and invited F. Van Goch to his tent and treated him very kindly; the only apology he made was that he had some bad men among his troops. F. Van Goch was thankful to him for his protection and asked him to accompany him until he was out of reach of his late friends, which the officer did. F. Van Goch seems to have taken this mishap with great composure and great resignation. Almighty God be praised for the assistance He gave to his servant during these trying [times?].⁸⁸

§ 4. AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

The close of the war found the Jesuit houses of the Middle West if not in a state of prosperity at least engaged without molestation in their ordinary round of activities. "Here at St. Louis and in other places where we have establishments," recorded Father Coosemans Feb-

⁸⁸ De Coen to Murphy, December 11, 1861. (A). Most of the details embodied in the foregoing section are derived from the *Litterae Annuae*, 1864. Civil War incidents bearing on the Potawatomi and Osage missions are told in the chapters specially dealing with these missions.

ruary 18, 1865, "Ours continue, thanks be to God, to work in peace A.M.D.G. It is something marvellous that since the beginning of this unfortunate war we have been nowhere hampered in our activities except at Bardstown; and even the closing of that college must be regarded as a favorable stroke of Providence by making it possible for us to send some of our men to the scholasticate."³⁹ Some two months later Lee laid down his arms at Appomattox Court House; a little later followed the surrender of the other Confederate armies and the Union triumph was complete. "We have grounds for hoping that we shall soon have the peace for which we have long prayed," Coosemans informed the General. "Yesterday [April 10] we received news that General Lee of the Confederate army had surrendered at discretion."⁴⁰

Though an end had come to the memorable struggle, the violence of political passions to which it had given rise was long in subsiding. In Missouri particularly a bitter aftermath of ungenerous and reckless oppression of the vanquished party was gathered in. The so-called radical or uncompromising wing of the Republican party having got the upper hand in the state, a new constitution was adopted in June, 1865, an outstanding feature of which was the requirement of a test-oath from all voters, public officials, teachers, clergymen, lawyers, jurors, and trustees of church property. "The principal condition of the oath was that the individual had never sympathized with or aided the South. There were some forty-five offenses that he must never have committed; and so sweeping were its provisions that no one could truthfully take it."⁴¹ Writing to one of his relatives in Belgium shortly after the announcement of the Drake oath, as it came to be called from the principal author of the new constitution, Charles Drake, a St. Louis lawyer, Father De Smet inveighed against this latest exploit of the dominant party in Missouri:

The old proverb says *sunt bona mixta malis* and that is the case today in Missouri. Upon emerging from the war and at the beginning of the return of peace we find ourselves in fresh trouble and in a state of cruel uncertainty. This is the way of it. The radical party has installed itself, *per fas et nefas*, at the head of the State Government. The new Constitution, which has been adopted by a slender majority and which is publicly denounced as fraudulent, requires the clergy of all denominations, all professors of seminaries and colleges and all school teachers of either sex (including nuns) to take the following oath: "That they have at no time in the past uttered a word nor sympathized in any manner in favor of the rebellion," etc. Preaching and performing the marriage ceremony are expressly forbidden to the clergy by

³⁹ Coosemans à Beckx, February 18, 1865. (AA).

⁴⁰ Coosemans à Beckx, April 11, 1865. (AA).

⁴¹ CR, *De Smet*, I: 133.

this law. The priests are generally agreed that, on principle, such an oath cannot be taken, because our authority does not emanate from the State and we cannot, without compromising the ecclesiastical estate, consent to take such an oath. No Catholic priest in Missouri will take it; the Protestant ministers have generally done so. The penalty for those who refuse to take this abominable *ex post facto* oath is a fine of \$500 and imprisonment. The Governor has announced in a speech "that he has had the State prison enlarged and that the law shall be executed." If this cruel law is really enforced our churches will have to be closed and our schools and colleges will be ruined.

We have thus far been left in peace at St. Louis, but in the interior of the State, in places where the radicals are in a majority, religious persecution is beginning to seethe. Four priests have been cited before their tribunals "for having preached the gospel" contrary to their iniquitous law. One of the priests is actually in prison, the other three have given bail. Two Sisters of Charity have also been cited before these famous judges "for having taught children" and have been released under bail. Serious as this matter is, it has also its curious side; it is wonderful that a land so proud and jealous of its liberty can hatch so many tyrants of the lowest and most detestable kind. This law is at the same time so absurd that I am inclined to believe that the odious act, after a few vain efforts, will be smothered and expire after having seen the light of day. This black and infamous blemish in the Constitution of Missouri will, it is hoped, react promptly upon its contrivers.

The sad circumstances in which we find ourselves do not in the least interfere with our ordinary tranquility. Each one keeps at his work as if nothing was plotting around us. This tyrannical law of Missouri being *ex post facto* is unconstitutional and therefore null and contrary to the Constitution of the United States, which prohibits laws of that sort. Meanwhile our churches remain open and we preach and administer the sacraments as usual. Our college opened on the very day of the promulgation of the law (the fourth of this month) with an attendance of about 600 pupils. We pray and keep our patience under the wings of the eagle, the emblem of the Constitution of the United States—or rather we repose without uneasiness under the safeguard of the Lord! May his holy will be accomplished in regard to us!" ⁴²

From the beginning the test-oath met with widespread opposition not only among Catholics but among Protestants as well. The claim has been made by a careful student of the subject that the oath was conceived not in any spirit of hostility to the churches as such but solely with a view to penalize to the extreme all participants in and abettors

⁴² *Idem*, 4: 1444. De Smet was in error when he wrote that the Protestant ministers in general took the Drake oath. August 10, 1864, the province consultors agreed that in view of the Archbishop's instructions the oath could not be taken as a condition for exercising the ministry; but the question was raised whether it might not be taken by teachers, trustees, etc. No decision was reached and meanwhile the Archbishop's advice was to be sought.

of the Rebellion.⁴³ As the Baptist minister, Galusha Anderson, one of the advocates of the test, expressed it: "They framed this merciless oath to hold in check the rebellious pro-slavery element of the commonwealth until the new order of things should be established."⁴⁴ Be this as it may, the oath was rather generally regarded as a gross violation of religious liberty. Almost unanimously the Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist clergymen of the state announced their intention to continue to discharge their ministerial duties in disregard of it. Archbishop Kenrick in an open letter to his clergy forbade them to take the oath.⁴⁵ It was reckoned that of the fifteen hundred clergymen in the state not a hundredth part accepted the test, though many desisted from preaching. As far as figures, admittedly incomplete, are available, some eighty-five clergymen were indicted for disregarding the oath, all of whom were released on bail. The great majority of the cases were never brought to trial and the proportion of convictions to indictments was negligible.⁴⁶ Francis Preston Blair, the acknowledged leader of the movement to save Missouri for the Union but subsequently the radicals' most determined foe, declared in a speech in October, 1865: "It [the test-oath] is inoperative. Every preacher in the state continues to preach. In St. Louis preachers of the Gospel pray and preach and perform the marriage ceremony and there is no Grand Jury that will indict them."⁴⁷

The part played by the Catholic clergy in the opposition to the oath was a conspicuous one. No Catholic priest in the state subscribed to it. Three of their number, Fathers Cummings and Murphy and probably a third, Father Ryan, were put on trial and fined for having preached without first taking the oath. Father Hogan, of Chillicothe, subsequently Bishop of St. Joseph and later of Kansas City, Missouri, attracted widespread public notice by openly repudiating it. As to the Jesuits, those residing in St. Louis were protected by public opinion and, though continuing the open discharge of their ministerial duties in disregard of the oath, were in no wise molested. But in the interior of the state legal action was taken here and there against Jesuit pastors. On May 2, 1866, Fathers Goeldin and Niederkorn of Westphalia were

⁴³ "That there was any state-wide and systematic persecution of the clergy for the conscious purpose of destroying religious freedom must be regarded as a legend." Thomas S. Barclay, "The Test Oath for the Clergy in Missouri," in *Missouri Historical Review*, 18: 345-381.

⁴⁴ Barclay, p. 352.

⁴⁵ ". . . Kenrick y voyant un impietement sur les libertés ecclesiastiques." Coosemans à Beckx, September 13, 1865. (AA).

⁴⁶ Barclay, p. 380.

⁴⁷ Barclay, p. 359.

before the grand jury for having preached in disregard of the oath. They obtained an appeal to February, 1867, by which time it was hoped the obnoxious thing would be ruled out by the courts. At St. Charles in November of the same year Fathers Oakley and Setters, both non-jurors, were summoned to trial but acquitted. At Washington Father Seisl was cited for not having subscribed to the oath but twice secured a postponement of the suit. These cases are typical of the results which attended the attempts made to enforce the test by legal action.

Of all the cases resulting from the test-oath in which Catholic priests were involved, that of Father John Cummings of Louisiana in Pike County was to be the most important. A contemporary account describes him as "a very modest gentlemanly looking little fellow of about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age," though this was no doubt an understatement of his actual age. On September 3, 1865, he had preached to his congregation without having previously sworn the oath. Almost immediately he was haled before the grand jury of Pike County, indicted and subsequently convicted by the Circuit Court. Bail was offered him but he pertinaciously refused to accept it, preferring to go to jail, where he was confined for some days. On his eventual release under bond and in pursuance of advice from Archbishop Kenrick, who was determined to make this a test-case of the constitutionality of the oath, he appealed his sentence from the Circuit Court to the State Supreme Court of Missouri.⁴⁸ The latter having by an unanimous ruling upheld the constitutionality of the oath, the case was then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. This highest tribunal of the land, not unanimously, curious to say, but by a divided vote of five to four, declared, January 14, 1867, the oath to be null and void on several counts, among these being the circumstance that it was an *ex post facto* measure and therefore at odds with the federal constitution. "For severity," runs the comment of the majority judges, the oath "is without any precedent that we can discover." Such was the inglorious issue of the Missouri test-oath of 1865, which had been conceived in a spirit of political rancor and vindictiveness and in complete disregard of Lincoln's immortal watchword for reconstruction, "with charity to all, with malice to none." As a postscript to this brief account of the fortunes of the middlewestern Jesuits during the period of the Civil War, may be cited the words penned by Father Coosemans in September, 1868: "I will only say that, if during the Civil War we have happily escaped many a disagreeable situation, this certainly was not by reason of my administration, for everything done to extricate

⁴⁸ According to Walsh, *Life of Archbishop Kenrick*, the prelate incurred an outlay of some ten thousand dollars in carrying through the Cummings case.

us from the difficulties to which we were exposed was done by Father De Smet, who has great influence with the government, and by Father Thomas O'Neil, Rector of the University at the time, who took effective measures to save it from the difficulties in which new and hostile legislation had placed it."

PART IV
THE INDIAN MISSIONS

CHAPTER XXIII

THE POTAWATOMI OF SUGAR CREEK

§ I. THE RESTORED MISSION OF THE ST. JOSEPH

The Potawatomi Mission of Sugar Creek, maintained by the middle-western Jesuits during the decade 1838-1848 near the present Center-ville, Linn County, Kansas, was a revival after the lapse of many years of the eighteenth-century Jesuit Miami-Potawatomi Mission on the St. Joseph River near the site of Niles in Michigan.¹ Children and grandchildren of the Indians who had received the gospel-message from the latter center were to be found in numbers at Sugar Creek, where the devoted zeal of Allouez, Mermet, Chardon and their Jesuit associates lived again in worthy successors. For the historical background of Sugar Creek one must therefore go back to the mission on the St. Joseph. "Here," says Parkman, "among the forests, swamps and ocean-like waters, at an unmeasured distance from any abode of civilized man, the indefatigable Jesuits had labored more than half a century for the spiritual good of the Potawatomi, who lived in great numbers along the margin of the lake [Michigan]. As early as the year 1712, as Father Marest informs us, the mission was in a thriving state and around it had gathered a little colony of the forest-loving Canadians."² Here, then, in the valley of the St. Joseph was going forward on behalf of the Potawatomi an evangelical enterprise of promise when the suppression of the Society of Jesus supervened and the mission went down in the general ruin of the Jesuit establishments in the West. Yet it was not to perish altogether. The early thirties of the nineteenth century saw its restoration at the hands of diocesan priests.

With the passing of the Jesuit missionaries the Christian Potawatomi of the St. Joseph became demoralized though they preserved the memory of the black-robos as a precious heirloom far into the nineteenth century. If we except Father Edmund Burke, one-time professor in the

¹ George A. Paré, "The St. Joseph Mission," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 17: 24-54 (1930); on the restored Potawatomi mission cf. William McNamara, C.S.C., *The Catholic Church on the Northern Frontier, 1789-1844* (Washington, 1931).

² Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (Boston, 1882), 1: 273.

seminary of Quebec and later Bishop of Sion and Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia, who from his post in southeastern Michigan is said to have attempted to revive the Catholic Indian missions of the West, the first missionary to be associated with the restored Potawatomi mission was Father Gabriel Richard, the well-known pioneer priest of Michigan.³ Though he was a visitor at the Ottawa mission of Arbre Croche on Lake Michigan as early as 1799, it is not clear that he visited in person the Potawatomi of the St. Joseph. But he was known to these Indians as a friend of the red men. Evidence of the esteem in which they held him is found in the circumstance that in 1821 they commissioned him to act as their agent in a projected treaty at Chicago between the federal government and the Potawatomi of Illinois and Michigan. Contrary winds delayed him on his lake journey from Detroit, whence he set out July 4, 1821, and he arrived in Chicago only in September to learn that the treaty negotiations were over.⁴ Shortly after this Dr. Isaac McCoy, taking advantage of the educational provisions of the treaty, opened a Baptist mission among the Indians of the St. Joseph. This was the Carey Mission, which, after maintaining itself for about a decade, closed its doors on the very eve of the return of the Catholic missionaries to the St. Joseph.

In July, 1830, Rev. Frederick Rese, while making an official visitation of the diocese of Cincinnati, of which he was vicar-general and which included in its territory all of Ohio and what was then Michigan Territory, arrived among the Potawatomi. He was probably the first Catholic priest to appear on the old mission-site since the passing of the Jesuits. The Indians were delighted to have a black-robe in their midst and pitched their wigwams in great numbers around the visitor's cabin. They were eager for instruction in the faith which their forbears had professed and many asked to be baptized on the spot. Rese, however, contented himself with baptizing the few on whose perseverance he could prudently rely, among the number being the chief, Leopold Pokegan, and his wife. The question of a Catholic chapel having been raised, it was decided by the chiefs to ask the proprietors of the Carey Mission to turn over to the Catholic priest whom Rese promised to send them the buildings which the Protestants were about to abandon. A party of chiefs, accompanied by the vicar-general, thereupon presented themselves at the Carey Mission and preferred this request. The clergy-

³ Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 2:475, 491. There is no direct evidence that Father Burke ever visited the Potawatomi of the St. Joseph.

⁴ *Ann. Prop.*, 3:342. Some, however, of the Potawatomi are said to have asked for a Baptist mission.

man in charge answered by engaging to surrender the buildings at the expiration of a month.⁵

Prior to Father Rese's visit to the St. Joseph, Pokegan, the Potawatomi chief, with a party of five Indians, had appeared, July 1, 1830, at Detroit, to press the petition of his people for a resident pastor with the vicar-general, Father Gabriel Richard. Pokegan had the red man's native gift of eloquence and his address on this occasion was a pathetic plea for a priest to break the bread of life to his famishing tribesmen. His address finished, the chief fell upon his knees before Richard and recited the Our Father, Hail Mary and Credo in his own language in token of his sincerity in seeking the truth for himself and his people. The vicar-general had engaged on a previous occasion to send the Potawatomi a priest. This time he renewed his promise, assuring the Indians of his intention to send them Father Vincent Badin, nephew of the better-known Father Stephen Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States. But by a chance Stephen Badin himself arrived in Detroit on July 2, the day following Pokegan's visit to the vicar-general. Richard having offered him the Potawatomi mission, Father Stephen Badin eagerly accepted it. Then followed Father Rese's passing visit to the Potawatomi. On July 30 he was back in Detroit and on August 4 Father Badin, now appointed their regular pastor, was with the Indians on the St. Joseph. He was accompanied by Miss Catherine Campau, an elderly lady of Detroit, who was to act as interpreter.⁶

Father Badin had no expectation of being installed forthwith in the Protestant mission-buildings. Moreover, he knew the American government was determined to transport all the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi, and so made up his mind to purchase a tract of land and thus make the establishment of the Church on the St. Joseph independent of all contingencies. "Arriving on the scene, I felt at once that my apprehensions were justified; and so with the aid of divine providence I have purchased: 1, a house, which I have blessed so as to make it into a chapel; 2, a tract of fifty acres two miles from the chapel and adjoining the territory of the Indians and Pokegan's village."⁷ In the interval between Father Rese's visit to the Potawatomi and Badin's arrival among them representations appear to have been made to the local Indian agent in consequence of which he received orders to take possession of the mission-buildings on the departure of the ministers. To the Catholic resident with whom Father Badin lodged at St.

⁵ *Ann. Prop.*, 6: 147.

⁶ Letter of Father Badin, September 1, 1830, in *Ann. Prop.*, 4: 546. It is written from "*Territoire du Michigan, à l'ancienne Mission des Jésuites sur la Rivière St. Joseph chez les Potuatomies.*"

⁷ *Ann. Prop.*, 6: 160.

Joseph's the agent was at pains to write a sharp letter in which he threatened dire penalties against all who should attempt to obtain possession of the buildings or even advise the Indians on the subject. But a rejoinder, at once courteous and courageous, from Badin's pen had the effect of mollifying the agent, who thereupon began to treat the priest with much consideration, going so far as to share with him his budget of newspapers, a very welcome courtesy, one may well believe, in such an out-of-the-way corner as Pokegan's Village.⁸

On the feast of the Presentation of Our Lady, November 21, 1830, Father Badin dedicated his little chapel on the St. Joseph. It topped an eminence which rose prettily by the side of the river and close to the Niles road, at a point about a mile north of the Indiana-Michigan state-line. It was built of logs, measured twenty-five feet by eighteen and cost one hundred and eighty-five dollars. An unexpected circumstance lent color to the dedication ceremony. A party of Ottawa Indians, ten in number, from the mission of Arbre Croche on Lake Michigan, had been hunting in the neighborhood of St. Joseph's. Two hundred miles away from home, they readily availed themselves of the opportunity to attend Mass in the new chapel of their Potawatomi kinsmen. They had been trained to sing by the mission-teachers and so Badin's choir at the High Mass with which he solemnly opened his modest little church turned out to be none other than this wandering band of Ottawa hunters. "Thank the Lord for me," he exclaims, "for the consolation He affords of seeing gathered around me in the new chapel, which resembles not a little the stable of Bethlehem, a slender congregation of French Canadians and Indians of two allied tribes in this far corner of the United States, where Recollects and Jesuits labored of old to preach the Gospel."⁹

The eagerness of the Potawatomi to embrace the Faith taxed the missionary's strength. At his arrival he found scarcely twenty of them baptized. In December, 1832, little more than two years after his taking up the work, three hundred of the tribe had become members of the Church. In another year the number of Catholics in the various Potawatomi villages of the Indiana-Michigan frontier had risen to six hundred. In September, 1831, seven of the neophytes, Chief Pokegan among them, were admitted for the first time to holy communion. The first communicants, some of them children of ten, fasted for several days in preparation for the great event. "They show so much simplicity and good will," Father Badin records, "that argument is unnecessary to convince them of the truth of our holy religion. Besides, the Jesuits, who instructed their fathers or rather their grandfathers,

⁸ *Idem*, 6: 159.

⁹ *Idem*, 6: 161.

have left behind them so good a repute that they are called 'the holy fathers'.¹⁰

As the Potawatomi were settled north and south of the Indiana-Michigan state-line, Badin's field of labor lay in two dioceses, Bardstown, which included Kentucky and Indiana, and Cincinnati, which took in Michigan Territory. There was no difficulty over jurisdiction, however, for the missionary long before his arrival at the St. Joseph had received from Bishops Flaget and Fenwick the powers of vicar-general for their respective dioceses.¹¹ Towards the close of 1830 Father Carabin was sent to assist Badin, who remained with the Potawatomi until some time in the course of 1834 when he apparently took up residence on the site of the future Notre Dame University.¹² In 1835 Father Deseille, a Belgian, assisted for a while by Father Bôhème, was in charge of the mission. When Bishop Bruté in the summer of 1835 visited the Potawatomi villages for the first time as head of the newly erected diocese of Vincennes, he was accompanied on his rounds by Deseille.¹³ There were at this time at least two

¹⁰ *Idem*, 6: 168. Father Verreydt records in his memoirs that Wiwosay (or Wewesa), the Potawatomi chief at Sugar Creek, treasured as "a relic of a saint," a letter of a Jesuit missionary on the St. Joseph which he had received from his father, also a Potawatomi chief. "This shows in what great veneration our ancient Fathers were held by the Pottowatomie nation. Would to God we had followed their example."

¹¹ Father Badin signed himself in letters of this period "Vicar General of Cincinnati and Bardstown."

¹² "On Thursday evening we arrived at South Bend, a little town beautifully situated on the high banks of the St. Joseph river. It is growing rapidly, owing to its many advantages. Crossing the river we visited 'St. Mary of the Lake,' the mission-house of the excellent Mr. Badin who had lately removed to Cincinnati. He had a school there kept by two Sisters, who have also gone away, leaving the place vacant. The 625 acres of land attached to it and the small lake named St. Mary's make it a most desirable spot and one soon I hope to be occupied by some prosperous institution. Rev. Mr. Badin has transferred it to the Bishop on the condition of his assuming the debts, a trifling consideration compared with the importance of the place." Letter of Bishop Bruté to the Leopoldine Association of Vienna in McGovern, *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, p. 9.

¹³ Of Father Deseille and his successor among the Potawatomi, Petit, there are interesting glimpses in the letters of Father Sorin, founder of the University of Notre Dame. The site of that great institution formed part of one of the Potawatomi reserves and was at one time in possession of Father S. T. Badin. Subsequently it passed to Bishop Bruté of Vincennes, by whose successor, Bishop de la Hailandière, it was in turn transferred to Father Sorin. *Infra*, Chap. XXXI, § 1. "It was situated," wrote Father Sorin, "in the Northern part of the state on the banks of the river [St. Joseph] beside which had labored an Allouez, a Marquette, a Hennepin and a La Salle, to be followed in the pioneer settlement days by a Badin, a Deseille and a Petit." *A Story of Fifty Years from the Annals of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, 1845-1905* (Notre Dame, Ind., n.d.).

Potawatomi settlements of size, Pokegan's Village, situated just north of the Indiana state-line, though a number of this chief's followers lived south of the line, and Chichako's Village on or near the Tippecanoe River and about seventy-five miles to the south of Pokegan's Village.¹⁴ Badin's ministry seems to have been confined chiefly to the Indians of the last-named settlement, but Deseille worked in the southern villages also, especially in Chichako's. The latter dying in 1837, an ardent successor to his apostolate among the Potawatomi of Indiana was found in the person of Father Benjamin-Marie Petit.

§ 2. THE FORCED EMIGRATION OF THE POTAWATOMI OF INDIANA

Born at Rennes in Brittany April 8, 1811, Father Petit followed at first the career of a barrister but abandoned it in 1835 to devote himself to the ministry. Bishop Bruté of Vincennes, while on a visit to Rennes, which he also claimed as his native town, met the young seminarian and received him into his diocese. Petit embarked in June, 1836, for New York, whence he proceeded to Vincennes to continue his theological studies. On October 15, 1837, he wrote to his mother:

I am a priest and the hand which writes to you has this day borne Jesus Christ. . . . I had been a deacon since September 24 when one evening there came a letter sealed in black announcing the death of Mr. Deseilles, for seven years a missionary among the Indians. He had sent word in good season to his two nearest neighbors, at Chicago and Logansport; but one of the two was very ill while the other, confined to bed for several weeks, was too exhausted to attempt a journey of sixty-five miles. Mr. Deseilles had to die all alone. A priest yesterday, I said my first Mass today and in two days am to go to South Bend to bring comfort to a settlement of Indians who have addressed to Monseigneur a touching petition for a new priest. I have always longed for a mission among the Indians. We have only one such in Indiana and it is I whom the Indians call their black-robe Father.¹⁵

The diocese of Vincennes was to enjoy the services of this extraordinarily zealous priest only some sixteen months. During this time he divided his attention between the Indian villages and the white settlements, in particular, Logansport and South Bend in Indiana and Bertrand in Michigan. But it was the Potawatomi who enjoyed the

¹⁴ Petit makes no mention of Chichako's Village in his letters. His own mission at Chichipi-Outipe on the Yellow River, a fork of the Tippecanoe, was sixty miles south of Pokegan's Village (*Ann. Prop.*, 11: 391). Chichipi-Outipe is apparently to be identified with Twin Lakes in Marshall County. According to Esarey, *History of Indiana*, p. 337, Petit had a chapel at Chippewa, twenty-five miles south of Twin Lakes.

¹⁵ *Ann. Prop.*, 11: 383.

major share of his attention. Chichipi-Outipe, their most considerable village, situated on the Yellow River in Marshall County, some sixty miles south of the Michigan-Indiana state-line, was the chief center of his apostolate. In letters from his pen to be found in the early issues of the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, he dwells with enthusiasm on the piety of his Indian neophytes and their preparedness for the ways of Christian virtue. The passionate zeal for souls of St. Francis Xavier and other canonized apostles of the Faith lived again in the heart of Benjamin-Marie Petit. One thing alone cast a shadow over the fruitful ministry of the young clergyman and this was the impending removal of the Potawatomi to the West.

By the thirties the removal of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi River to unoccupied lands in the Indian Territory was in full process of operation as the recognized policy of the federal government. As far back as the administration of Washington the Indian title to possession (though not to absolute ownership) of lands claimed by the various tribes within the United States was considered a sound one in law and equity. As a consequence, the Indian title could not ordinarily be extinguished except by voluntary cession on the part of the natives. Hence the long series of treaties of cession between the federal authorities and Indian tribes in various parts of the United States. In Indiana alone fifty-four transfers of land held by Indian title were recorded between the years 1795 and 1838. As the line of white settlement moved steadily westward, the position of the Indians in the middle-western states became increasingly difficult. The disappearance of game incident upon the extension of civilized and settled life deprived them of a capital means of support while the attempted maintenance of tribal relations and autonomy within the limits of the organized state governments and the unwillingness or inability of the natives to conform to state laws brought them into frequent collision with the civil authorities. Most telling circumstance of all, their boundless acres were coveted by the hardy race of western pioneers and backwoodsmen and every form of pressure, not excepting in cases the most palpable fraud, was brought to bear upon the defenceless Indians to make them deed away their interest in the soil. At the same time, many friends of the Indians, among them ministers of the Gospel, were of opinion that the material and moral betterment of the natives could be secured only by isolating them from the corrupting influence of the whites. Hence, partly from selfish, partly from humanitarian motives, a government policy was elaborated looking to the ultimate transfer of all the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi to the vast, unorganized district known as the Indian Territory, where they were to be settled on reserves allotted to them in exchange for their ceded possessions in the East. Projected first by

Monroe and his secretary of war, John C. Calhoun, and indorsed by John Quincy Adams, the policy found an ardent supporter in Jackson, who dwelt upon it in great detail in his messages to Congress. The law of May 28, 1830, authorized any Indian tribe at its option to trade its actual lands for lands beyond the Mississippi while the law of July 9, 1832, appropriated twenty thousand dollars for the holding of councils among the Indians with a view to induce them to migrate thither.¹⁶

Through the operation of this governmental policy the Potawatomi of Indiana found themselves gradually dispossessed of their holdings. By the treaty of October 26, 1832, they ceded extensive tribal lands in the state, only reserving a few tracts for their chiefs. To Men-o-minee was given a reservation lying around Twin Lakes and as far north as the present Plymouth in Marshall County, while to Chief Aub-be-naub-see was assigned a large reservation around Maxinkuckee.¹⁷ With the exception of a mile-wide strip running north and south through Plymouth, which was given for the Michigan Road, the Indians were left in possession of all of Marshall County. In 1836 Abel Pepper, Indian agent on behalf of the government, succeeded in buying Men-o-mi-nee's reserve at a dollar an acre, the Indians agreeing to give possession of the land at the expiration of two years. Meantime, squatters had settled here and there on the reserve to secure the benefits of a proposed preemption law. With the expiration on August 6, 1838, of the two-year limit, the whites demanded that the Indians vacate the reserve. This the Indians refused to do, having planted corn on assurance given them by officers of the government that they would not be required to give possession of the reserve until the land had been surveyed. The act of an Indian in battering down the door of a white settler, Watts, and threatening his life was met with reprisals by the whites, who burned twelve Indian cabins on the Yellow River. Pepper, fearing that bloodshed might ensue, appealed to Governor Wallace for a force of a hundred soldiers. The governor ordered John Tipton to muster the military of Miami and Cass Counties and proceed to Twin Lakes. Here on August 29, the Indians, to the number of two hundred, were called together in council by Pepper and while thus assembled were surrounded by the military, disarmed and taken into custody. By September 1 over eight hundred Indians had been rounded up and on September 4 they set out from Twin Lakes under military escort with Tipton in

¹⁶ "Various missionaries and other friends of the Indians soon began to plead for help. Most of them agreed that it would be better to get the Indians beyond the frontier. It was a policy of the Jacksonian Democrats to get them out of the way of the white settlers." Esarey, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹⁷ Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 2: 367.

command. Their destination was the new reserve along the Osage River in what is now eastern Kansas, which had been given them by the treaty of February 11, 1837. Father Petit had left his mission at Twin Lakes shortly before the seizure of his parishioners.¹⁸

I said Mass there one morning, after which my dear little church was stripped of all its ornaments. On leaving I called my children together and addressed them for the last time. I wept, my hearers sobbed; it was enough to rend one's soul. We, a mission at the point of death, prayed for the success of other missions and sang together, "I put my trust, O Virgin, in thy help." The voice of the leader was choked with sobbing and few indeed were the voices that lasted to the end. I took my leave. It is sad, I assure you, for a missionary to see so young and vigorous an enterprise perish in his arms. Some days later I learned that the Indians, despite their peaceable intentions, had been surprised and made prisoners of war. Under pretext that a council was to be held, they had been collected together and then carried off by a military force to the number of eight hundred.¹⁹

The forced emigration in September, 1838, of eight hundred Potawatomi from their Indiana reserve to the Indian Territory remains to this day a little known episode in American history. The official report of the affair, compiled by General John Tipton, who was in charge of the emigrants as far as Danville, Illinois, declares that the measures employed against the Indians were resorted to in the interests of public peace and security and to forestall a probable outbreak on their part. Bishop Bruté, on the other hand, witnesses that the intentions of the Indians were peaceable and that the authorities alleged

¹⁸ For an account (with bibliography) of the expulsion of the Potawatomi from Marshall County, Indiana, in September, 1838, cf. Esarey, *op. cit.* Cf. also for correspondence of Bishop Bruté and the Catholic missionaries in regard to the Potawatomi of Indiana, Mary Salesia Godecker, O.S.B., *Simon Bruté de Rémur, First Bishop of Vincennes* (St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1931); "Correspondence on Indian Removal," in *Mid-America*, 15:177-192 (1933). The official report of General John Tipton, who was in charge of the troops that arrested the Indians and conducted them forcibly out of the state, is in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (hereinafter cited as *RCIA*), No. 10, 1838. The report is addressed to said commissioner and is a defense of the government's action. "It may be the opinion of those not well informed upon the subject that the expedition was uncalled for, but I feel confident that nothing but the presence of an armed force for the protection of the citizens of the State and to punish the insolence of the Indians could have prevented bloodshed." Esarey, on the contrary, sees in the incident only an illustration of "the hatred which the Indiana settlers bore towards the Indians."

¹⁹ *Ann. Prop.*, 11:393. The actual number of Indians in the party when it reached Sandusky Point, Illinois, September 18, was eight hundred and fifty-nine, as given by General Tipton in his report of that date.

against them a treaty which they had never signed.²⁰ The view taken of the occurrence in later days by the people of Indiana has found expression in the statue of Men-o-mi-nee, erected in 1905 at Twin Lakes, Marshall County, in token of regret for what they feel to have been a measure of inhumanity perpetrated on the defenceless Indians.²¹

The invitation extended by General Tipton to Father Petit to accompany the prisoners was at first declined, as Bishop Bruté wished to avert any suspicion of connivance on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities in the drastic measures of the government. Later the Bishop changed his mind and to the missionary's great satisfaction allowed him to accompany the expedition on condition that he return to his diocese at the first summons. On September 9 the Bishop, assisted by Petit, administered confirmation to twenty of the Indians at their camp about a mile outside of Logansport. The priest then returned to South Bend to procure his baggage and on September 16 overtook the emigrants at Danville.²² From there the line of march was across Illinois to Quincy and thence southwest to the upper reaches of the Osage River.

Nine days after reaching his destination Father Petit dispatched to his bishop a detailed account of the march from Indiana:

I had scarcely arrived [at Danville] when a colonel came up looking for a suitable place to camp; a little later I saw my poor Christians marching in line and surrounded by soldiers, who hurried them along under a burning midday sun and amid clouds of dust. Then came the transport wagons, in which were huddled together numbers of the sick as well as women and children too weak to march. The party encamped about a half-mile from town and I was soon in their midst. I found the camp such as you saw it, Monseigneur, at Logansport, a scene of desolation with sick and dying on all sides. Nearly all the children, overcome by the heat, had dropped down in a state of utter weakness and exhaustion. I baptized some newly-born babies, happy Christians, whose first step was from the land of exile to the bliss of heaven. The General [Tipton], before whom I presented myself, expressed

²⁰ "You will only have been informed, respected Sir, that as a treaty which they had not signed was unhappily presented to them as a further inducement to leave, they could but at first represent that it could not be the real motive for them to depart." Bruté to Harris, November 3, 1838. (H).

²¹ Daniel M. McDonald, author of *Removal of the Potawatomi Indians from Northern Indiana* (Plymouth, 1899), delivered an address in the Indiana House of Representatives, February 3, 1905, in support of a bill to erect a monument to Men-o-mi-nee and his tribesmen at Twin Lakes, Marshall County.

²² *Ann. Prop.*, 11:401. "By this time [i.e. at Logansport] the Indian children and old people were completely worn out. The children especially were dying in great numbers, not being used to such fare. Physicians from Logansport reached them on the 9th and reported 300 unfit for travel." Esarey, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

his satisfaction at seeing me and with a condescension that was quite unexpected rose from his chair, the only one in the place, and offered it to me. This was the first night I spent under a tent; early next morning the Indians were piled into the transport wagons and the cavalcade proceeded on its way. Just as we were about to set out, Judge Polk, conductor-in-chief, came to offer me a horse which the Government had hired from an Indian for my use the whole length of the journey.²³ At the same time the Indian himself came up to me and said, "Father, I give it to you, saddle, bridle and all." We made for our next camping ground where a few days of rest were to be allowed. The six chiefs, hitherto treated as prisoners of war, were released on my parole and given the same liberty as the rest of the tribe. The order of march was as follows: the United States flag carried by a dragoon; next, one of the chief officers; next, the quartermaster's baggage; next, the wagons reserved all the way for the use of the Indian chiefs. Then one or two chiefs on horseback headed a line of some 250 or 300 horses on which were mounted men, women and children, following one by one, as is the fashion of the savages. The flanks of the line were covered at intervals by dragoons and volunteers, who hurried on the stragglers, often with harsh gestures and abuse. Following this cavalcade came a string of forty transport wagons filled with baggage and Indians. The sick stretched out in the wagons were jolted about roughly under a canvas cover, which, far from protecting them from the dust and heat, only deprived them of air. They were in a manner buried under this broiling canvas with the result that several of them died. We camped only six miles from Danville, where on two successive days I had the happiness of celebrating holy Mass in the midst of my Indian children. I administered the sacraments to several who were dying, and baptized a few more infants. When we struck camp two days later, we left behind us six in their graves under the shadow of the cross. There the General [Tipton] took leave of his little army and left us; he had announced his intentions of doing so immediately on my arrival.

We soon found ourselves amid the great prairies of Illinois under a devouring sun and without the least shelter from one camp to another. These prairies are as vast as the Ocean; the eye grows weary looking for a tree. Not a drop of water on the way; it was a veritable torture for our poor sick, among whom there were deaths every day from exhaustion and fatigue. We soon resumed evening prayers in common and the Americans, attracted by curiosity, were astonished to find so much piety in the midst of so many trials. Our evening exercises consisted of a chapter of the Catechism, prayer and the hymn, "I put my Trust," which I intoned in the Indian language and which was repeated by the whole congregation with the *élan* which these new Christians display in all their religious practices.

²³ Judge William Polk, appointed to conduct the Indians west of the Mississippi, took them in charge at Sandusky Point, near Danville, on September 18. The military escort consisted of only fifteen men. Polk's journal of the emigration is in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI (1925). Another English version of Petit's letter is in Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, 2: 681 *et seq.*

Permission had been given to the Indians to hunt along the way; and so from the Illinois River almost up to the line of the Indian Territory, they made great havoc among the squirrels, turkeys and pheasants of this magnificent hunting country. But we were taken back on seeing, as we came up to the district assigned to them, that game became scarcer while the woods dwindled into petty thickets along the margins of the streams that irrigate the vast prairies far and near. At a day's journey from the river of the Osages we were met by Father Hoecken of the Company of Jesus. This Father, who spoke Potawatomi and Kickapoo, declared his intention of quitting the Kickapoo country where he at present resides and settling down among my Christians. Amid the pains of exile and the ravages of disease the infant Christian community has received all the aids of religion; the sick have received the sacraments, the grounds which encloses the ashes of the dead is blessed ground; faith, together with the practice of religious duties, has been fostered; and even in their temporal distresses the Father of these poor creatures, as they name him, has often had the consolation of coming to their aid. In fine, committed now to the skilful hands of the Jesuit Fathers, they need no longer deplore the violence which wrested them from our midst, from the country, to use their own expression, where their fathers lie, only to entrust them anew to these same Religious who more than a century ago imprinted on the hearts of these tribes lasting impressions so favorable to Catholicity. You, Monseigneur, looked only to the glory of God and the salvation of these Christians; I, for my part, desired nothing else. Let us hope that our intentions will be realized.²⁴

The Indians reached their journey's end November 4, 1838, two months to a day since their departure from Twin Lakes. Of the eight hundred and more who had left Indiana, about six hundred and fifty survived the journey. Of the remaining number, some thirty died while the rest deserted.²⁵

During the six weeks that he spent with the Potawatomi in their new home Father Petit lay stretched out on a mat in the grip of a devouring fever, with no shelter save a tent though it was in the heart of winter. Father Christian Hoecken, who had some knowledge of medicine, did his best to relieve the sufferings of the courageous priest though not much could be done with the slender means at his disposal. The sick man, however, was somewhat restored when he received orders from Bishop Bruté to return to Indiana. He set out January 2, 1839, making the first one hundred and fifty miles on horseback and then taking the stage to Jefferson City. After a day's stay in the Missouri capital he travelled with an Indian companion in a

²⁴ *Ann. Prop.*, 11: 400-405.

²⁵ This is Father Petit's estimate, which apparently does not bear out Esarey's statement that the journey "cost the lives of one-fifth of the tribe."

covered wagon to St. Louis, the roads being wretched and rain frequent. With three great open sores draining his strength, he reached St. Louis University in a state of exhaustion and was there given every attention which the fathers could bestow. He still hoped to be able, on the opening of navigation on the Wabash, to take a steamboat for that river, by which route he could reach his bishop in Vincennes; but his condition grew steadily worse and on February 10, three weeks after his arrival in St. Louis, he passed away. The circumstances of his death were reported by Father Elet, president of St. Louis University, to Bishop Bruté:

What a great loss your diocese has just sustained in the person of Mr. Petit. He arrived in St. Louis January 15 pitifully reduced with fever. No doubt God gave him strength beyond the natural strength of his body that he might have the consolation of coming here to finish his days in the midst of brethren and that we might have the happiness of being edified by his virtues. What patience and resignation! What gratitude towards those who waited on him! but above all what a tender piety towards the Mother of the Savior! He begged me on the eve of the Purification for permission to celebrate holy Mass in honor of the good Mother who had protected him from his tenderest years and whom he had never ceased to cherish. So intense was his desire that, despite the anxiety I felt on account of his extreme weakness, I acceded to his request. I had an altar arranged in a room adjoining his own, a fire was lit early in the morning and there he said his last Mass assisted by one of Ours. From that time on he suffered less, slept soundly during three nights and on the whole felt much relieved. But on the 6th all indications were that his case was hopeless. On the 8th Mr. Petit received the last sacraments with angelic piety. Towards evening on the 10th word was brought to me that the end was coming. I hastened at once to his bedside. When he saw me he raised his head and bowed with a sweet smile upon his dying lips. I asked him if he suffered much. His only answer was an expressive glance at the crucifix that hung by his bed. "You mean," I put in at once, "that He has suffered more for you." "Oh, yes!" came the reply. I put the crucifix to his lips and twice did he kiss it tenderly. I disposed him anew for absolution, which I gave him. Summoned back at ten at night, I found him in his agony. We recited the prayers of the agonizing, which he followed, his eyes steadily fixed upon us. He expired calmly twenty minutes before midnight, having lived twenty-seven years and ten months. According to the custom of our Society, I had the body laid out in sacerdotal vestments. On the 11th at 5 o'clock in the evening the whole community assembled in the chapel to recite the Office of the Dead. On the 12th the solemn obsequies took place. Our Fathers, the priests of the Cathedral and two Bishops assisted. I sang the Mass; Mgr. Loras pronounced the absolution. A great number of Catholics on horseback or in carriages accompanied the remains to the cemetery. I conclude, Monseigneur, by praying the Father of Mercies to try you in some other way than by carrying off from your diocese men of such useful-

ness as him whose death we deplore, however much we may comfort ourselves with the memory of his edifying life.²⁶

A correspondence of Bishop Bruté with Father Elet reveals the grief he felt over the young priest's premature death. "My heart is so full that tears start to my eyes as I write his name." He thanked the fathers of St. Louis University as also Father Hoecken for the charity shown by them to "our dear Mr. Petit." He sent Petit's forty-dollar watch to Hoecken and an extra watch belonging to the dead priest to another Indian missionary "to mark the hours of doing them [the Indians] good" (*pour marquer les heures de leur faire du bien*). He thanked the fathers in St. Louis for gathering together Petit's papers, books and other effects, among them a chalice, adding a request that the chalice be returned as he had need of it, being obliged to tolerate one of tin in a certain parish of his diocese. There was an inquiry, too, from the Bishop as to whether anything was known of a claim of two hundred dollars, this being money lent by Petit to an old Potawatomi chief to defray the expenses of his trip to Washington. The missionary had made his will two months before his ordination. "His will leaves me all his belongings in America," wrote the Bishop to Elet. "On opening it I found in four or five lines a disposal of his property in my favor as also a commission to send his crucifix to his brother; but there were in addition five or six lines of so edifying a character that I transcribe them here: 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. If it should please God to send me death I accept it in all love and submission to his amiable Providence and I hope that his mercy will have pity on me at the last moment.—I commend myself to Mary now and at the hour of my death. Vincennes, Aug. 17, 1837.'"²⁷

§ 3. BEGINNINGS AT SUGAR CREEK

The Potawatomi of Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois emigrated westward in successive bands or detachments. Sometimes they settled, at least temporarily, on lands not belonging to them and even mingled with other tribes so that their movements in the Indian country are not always easy to trace.²⁸ By the summer of 1838 the emigrant Potawatomi

²⁶ Tr. from contemporary copy (A). Cf. also *Ann. Prop.*, 11:397,408.

²⁷ Bruté à Elet, Feb. 28, March 19, April 6, 1839. (A). Father Petit's remains were removed in the fifties to Notre Dame University where they are held in honor.

²⁸ The government plan of establishing the Indians on new lands in the West was evolved through successive stages. Jefferson's idea was to allot the entire Louisiana Purchase for an Indian reserve. This idea was abandoned for that of three great Indian reservations in the West, which plan was also never realized, the

were grouped into two chief divisions, known respectively as those of the Council Bluffs and Osage River sub-agencies.²⁹ The Council Bluffs Potawatomi, also known as the Prairie band, but more correctly styled the "United Nation of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi" had come chiefly from northeastern Illinois, many of them from Chicago or its immediate vicinity.³⁰ In 1840 the Potawatomi of the Osage River district numbered 2,153. Up to that date five distinct parties of them had settled in what is now southeastern Kansas. They were divided into three bands. The St. Joseph band was located in part on Pottawatomie Creek, one of the main tributaries of the Marais des

system ultimately adopted being that of separate reservations for the separate tribes, which system has in turn been gradually disappearing before the policy of allotting the Indians their lands in severalty. Isaac McCoy, *The Annual Register of Indian Affairs within the Indian (or Western) Territory* (Shawnee Baptist Mission House, Indian Territory, 1838). In 1838 the whole vast stretch of unorganized and, as far as the whites were concerned, uninhabited territory west of the Arkansas and Missouri state-lines was described vaguely as the "Indian country" or territory. An act of Congress of June 30, 1834, regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians, declared that "all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the States of Missouri and Louisiana or the Territory of Arkansas shall for the purpose of that Act be considered the Indian country." "By Indian Territory is meant the country within the following limits. Beginning on Red River on the Mexican boundary and as far west of Arkansas Territory as the country is habitable. Then down Red River eastwardly along the Mexican boundary to Arkansas Territory, thence northward along the line of Arkansas Territory to the State of Missouri; thence north along its west line to the Missouri River; thence up Missouri River to Puncah River; thence westward as far as the country is habitable; thence southward to the beginning." McCoy, *Register of Indian Affairs*, 1838. See also Lawrence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs, its History, Activities and Organization* (Baltimore, 1927).

²⁹ In 1838 the federal administration of Indian affairs was operating according to the following system. An Indian Bureau in Washington, an appanage of the War Department, was presided over by a commissioner of Indian affairs. Subordinate to him were four superintendents, each charged with one of the four superintendencies, namely, Michigan, Wisconsin, St. Louis and the Western Territory into which the country as far as inhabited by Indians was divided. The superintendencies were in turn organized into agencies and sub-agencies. The St. Louis superintendency, which had jurisdiction over all the tribes north of the Osage River, embraced the following agencies and sub-agencies: (1) agency of Fort Leavenworth (Delaware, Kansa, Shawnee, Kickapoo); (2) agency of Council Bluffs (Oto, Missouri, Omaha, Pawnee); (3) agency of upper Missouri (Sioux of Missouri River, Cheyenne, Ponca); (4) sub-agency of Missouri River (Mandan, Assiniboin, Blackfeet, Crows, Aricara, and Gros Ventres); (5) sub-agency of Council Bluffs (Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi); (6) sub-agency of Great Nemahaw (Iowa and Sauk of Missouri); (7) sub-agency of Osage River (Potawatomi, Ottawa, Peoria, Kaskaskia, Piankashaw, Wea). The Osage sub-agency (Osage River) was attached to the superintendency of the Western Territory, to which also belonged the Choktaw, Creeks, Cherokee and Seminole.

³⁰ Cf. *supra*, Chap. XIII, "The Potawatomi Mission of Council Bluffs."

Cygnés or upper Osage River. The Potawatomi of the Wabash resided about fifteen miles south of the former between the north and south forks of Big Sugar Creek, likewise a tributary of the Marais des Cygnés and so named because the sugar-maple was abundant along its banks. The Potawatomi of the Prairie were dispersed among their kinsmen at both creeks, while some of them were living with their friends, the Kickapoo, in the Fort Leavenworth agency.⁸¹

In the summer of 1835 Father Van Quickenborne in the course of a prospecting trip to the Indian country met a band of Potawatomi Indians, of the so-called Prairie band, who petitioned for the favor of a Catholic missionary.⁸² Later the Indiana Potawatomi began to arrive; in 1837 about one hundred and fifty of them, many of whom had been baptized by Fathers Badin and Deseille, were settled on lands allotted to them along the course of Pottawatomie Creek. Sometimes before the close of that year a chief of these Christian Potawatomi, Nesfwawke by name, communicated with Father Christian Hoecken, superior of the Kickapoo Mission, earnestly entreating him to minister to the spiritual needs of his people. This the missionary did in January, 1838, staying two weeks at Pottawatomie Creek and favoring the delighted Indians with the celebration of Mass. On January 30, in the course of this visit, he united in marriage Wawiakächi and Josette,

⁸¹ *RCIA*, 1840, gives the total number of Potawatomi in the Osage River sub-agency as 2153, the result of five distinct emigrations. The first emigration took place in 1834 or somewhat earlier, the participants being apparently Potawatomi of the so-called Prairie Band ("United Nation" or Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi). Their number, originally 441, had risen in July, 1837, to 658. Two minor emigrations, one of 160, the other of 50, followed. In November, 1838, Polk's party arrived, followed in 1840 by a contingent of 526. All the Osage River Potawatomi, except the first 658, were from Indiana and Michigan. There still remained in Indiana around the lower end of Lake Michigan about two hundred Potawatomi, who had eluded the search of the government agents charged with their removal to the West. The 1840 contingent was accompanied by a secular priest, Reverend S. A. Bernier, who presented to the Indian Office, January 14, 1844, a bill for six hundred and fifty dollars, for expenses, alleging that without his intervention the Indians would not have migrated. (H).

The Potawatomi reserve was laid out by Isaac McCoy in accordance with the treaty of 1837. "This treaty was negotiated, as treaties so often were, to our national discredit, in a rather questionable manner; for instead of dealing with the tribe in its authorized council, the federal agents conferred with individual Chiefs." (Anne Heloise Abel in *Kansas Historical Collections*, 8: 82).

The reserve comprised a tract now within the limits of Linn and Miami Counties, and, except for an outlet on the west, was completely surrounded by other Indian reserves, the New York Indians being on the south, the Miami on the east, the Peoria and Kaskaskia, Ottawa, Chippewa and Sauk and Foxes of the Mississippi on the north.

⁸² *Ann. Prop.*, 9: 102. Cf. *supra*, Chap. XIII, § 2.

a daughter of Nesfwawke, as also Chachāpāki and Wawasemokwe, the last-named also a daughter of the same chief. These are the earliest recorded marriages among the Potawatomi of the Osage River.³⁸ In May of the same year he again visited Pottawatomie Creek, this time in company with Father Verhaegen, superior of the midwestern Jesuits. Verhaegen's account of this trip reveals the difficulties of missionary travel in eastern Kansas at this early date:

After settling the affairs of this mission [Kickapoo] I took leave of my brethren and, taking Father Hoecken along with me for companion, set out on a visit to the Potawatomi, who dwell on the banks of the Osage River. The Father had been in that locality before and felt sure of the way. The first day out we passed through the lands of the Delaware and Shawnee. We counted on spending the night in a cabin of the last-named tribe, but lost our way in a vast prairie and had to wait for day-break. A missionary setting out on a trip of this kind must provide against such contingencies. Each of us was accordingly furnished with a woolen blanket and some eatables. We hastily set up a little hut at the edge of a thicket. A few poles planted in the ground and then tied at the ends to form a little bower and covered with brushwood and hay made up the outer framework. The interior was soon put in order. Some handfuls of hay thrown on the grass was our bed and our valises served as pillows. Then we started a big fire some distance from the opening and tied our horses in a way that left them free to graze. This work done, we partook of a supper, which was indeed a frugal one for we were without even water. The night was cold and pitch dark and, though well covered up in our blankets and near the fire, we found difficulty in getting to sleep. The patches of woodland found at intervals on this immense prairie are haunted by wild beasts. Wolves, wild-cats, foxes and many other animals have their lairs therein. They come out at night and make a noise which would frighten the inexperienced traveller. We felt at ease in our quarters, but being stiff with cold welcomed the first gleams of dawn.

We set out at day-break, taking a beaten path that led us into a woods. Presently the sky became overcast; it began to hail, then to snow and finally to rain in torrents. We were attired Indian-fashion, that is, wrapt up in our blankets, which protected us pretty well against the rain. On coming out of the woods we saw two cabins and a fire before the door of the nearer one. What a consolation for men that had lost their way! We made thither with eagerness and found there two Indian women preparing their breakfast. The Father addressed them in Kickapoo, but they showed by signs that they did not understand. He then spoke to them in Potawatomi. Joy at once lit up their faces and they answered. The two women had come from the same

³⁸ Diary of Father Hoecken, Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas. For translation of this document (the original is in Latin) cf. the *Dial* (1890), a student publication of St. Mary's College. The translation, by Rev. James O'Meara, S.J., is reproduced in Thomas H. Kinsella, *The History of Our Cradle Land* (Kansas City, 1921).

place as ourselves and like us also were on their way to the Osage River. They were to resume their journey immediately after breakfast. We gave them a portion of our victuals and on their part they allowed us to partake of some boiled corn. Breakfast finished, they rose up, seized their horses which were grazing about, saddled them, loaded them with their modest baggage and started off before us to show us the way.³⁴

That day, at seven in the evening, the missionaries arrived at the cabin of Napoleon Bourassa, a Potawatomi headman, who, on behalf of the other chiefs, had written to Verhaegen imploring him to send them a priest. Bourassa spoke both English and French with facility, having been educated in a Catholic school in Kentucky. He was a devout and practical Catholic and used his deservedly great influence over his fellow-tribesmen to keep them in the ways of Christian living. To the missionaries on the occasion of this visit he showed every attention, sending a messenger to the principal chief Nesfwawke to invite him to meet the missionaries on the following day, which he did. Nesfwawke in his speech on the occasion expressed his regret that Father Hoecken had not returned sooner after his first visit as he had engaged to do. Many of the Indians, under the impression that the black-robos had quite abandoned them, had given themselves over to excesses of every sort. Hard drinking was prevalent and the tribe was thinning out under its ravages. Within two or three months, as Nesfwawke had been informed by letter, the Potawatomi of the St. Joseph would be here. "Convinced that you would come to our assistance, I had assurance given them that on their arrival they would only have to come to my abode and from my lodge they would behold the cabins of our brothers and the house of God. Have pity on us, then, and suffer not that my Catholic brothers, to the number of more than a thousand, should given themselves up to despair on not finding you here." Father Hoecken answered the chief that evil conditions among the Kickapoo and the hope he entertained of having Father Verhaegen accompany him on the present visit had led him to delay it until the spring. Then the chief asked Verhaegen what he proposed to do for the Indians of Pottawatomie Creek, to which the superior answered that they would not be abandoned, that Father Hoecken would have a care of them and that he hoped to see a church and school built for them in a year's time. He himself was to leave for St. Louis the next day, but Hoecken would remain with the Indians for some time to relieve their needs. In the afternoon some of the Indian women gathered in Bourassa's cabin to sing from printed hymn-books in their possession. "I was delighted with their tuneful singing," relates Ver-

³⁴ *Ann. Prop.*, 11: 472.

haegen, "and tears came to my eyes as I thought of the happiness enjoyed by those people while so many of their neighbors were still plunged in the darkness of paganism."⁸⁵

The Jesuit superior, having thus held out to the Indians the hope of receiving a resident priest, left them to go to Westport while Father Hoecken continued his ministry among them for three weeks. After consultation with his official advisers in St. Louis September 6, 1838, Verhaegen determined to open a permanent mission among the Potawatomi. In pursuance of this plan Christian Hoecken was directed to take up his residence among those of the tribe who were living on Pottawatomie Creek. Once a month, at a point half-way between the two missions, he was to meet Father Eysvogels, who was to remain with the Kickapoo, opportunity being thereby offered each of the priests to make his confession. Hoecken arrived at his new post on October 2 in time to welcome Petit and his expatriated Indians, who reached Pottawatomie Creek November 4 of the same year.

One could have no misgivings of the spiritual success of a mission recruited from the Potawatomi converts of Indiana. From its first setting up at the hands of Christian Hoecken it was an illustration in the concrete of the efficacy of the Gospel message in taming the heart of the savage and moulding him to the ways of orderly and upright living. Verhaegen wrote in 1839:

This is the most flourishing of all the Indian missions and realizes the accounts which we read of the missions of Paraguay. A letter of the missionary received in January last states that on Christmas one hundred and fifty approached the sacred table and all who could be spared from domestic duties assisted with great devotion at the three solemn Masses, the first at mid-night, the second at day-break and the third at 10:30 o'clock. There is but one Father at present at the station and as his presence is almost always required among his six hundred Catholics, he cannot make frequent excursions to the neighboring tribes. The catechists, however, perform this duty for him and often return with several adults ready to receive baptism.

To Father Hoecken, with his disappointing labors among the Kickapoo to look back upon, the piety of his new flock was a source of the deepest consolation. He wrote to Father Roothaan, the General:

Never does a day pass without our seeing some one receive the sacraments. On feast days the participants increase to twenty or thirty. One very striking trait of theirs is a blind obedience not merely to the orders of the priest, but to his least desire, and with a strange sort of childish indecision they refuse to undertake anything without his counsel.

⁸⁵ *Ann. Prop.*, 11:476. Napoleon Bourassa was married to Memetekosikwe, December 10, 1838, by Father Hoecken, Father Petit being witness.

Without affection for the things of earth, they look for no result from their labors beyond the supply of their actual needs. Elsewhere the cultivation of the soil devolves upon the men as the stronger sex; here it becomes the duty of the women. With a view to setting right this perverted order of occupation and of instilling a love of agriculture in the very class that can pursue it with more profit, I got together all the men of the tribe one spring day and gave them some lessons in farming. There was amazement as well as gratification on all hands at my instructions. From the exposition of theory to its application the step was quickly taken, and for the double purpose of directing the labors of my Indians and stirring their emulation, I put myself at their head, handling the farming implements myself and teaching them to use them as I did. This toil practiced in common has not been without results; greater care in cultivation has filled the furrows with more abundant crops and never have the Indians harvested more grain than in the past autumn. I hope this will encourage them. The future will see them develop under the impulse of their first success that science of agriculture of which I have imparted to them the elementary notions. . . .

The Indians, I repeat, whom grace has converted through my ministry, are holy souls, generous towards God and edifying to their brethren. Their piety, earnest and courageous in regard to our Divine Lord, takes on a filial tenderness towards Mary. After our example they call her their dear Mother. Every day their love finds an outlet in the canticles which they sing in her honor. They are faithful in the practice of the Rosary and in their walks and expeditions are happy in fingering their beads and reciting the accompanying prayers.

Permit me in conclusion, Reverend Father, to repeat what I said before: here among the savages the harvest is abundant and ripe, but hands are wanting to gather it in. A hundred tribes cry aloud for missionaries to teach them the principles of Catholic faith, the nature of their duties and the laws of morality. As far as I am personally concerned, I have only one desire, and that is to live among the Indians and to find the place of my last sleep somewhere beyond the Rocky Mountains.⁸⁶

On March 10, 1839, the Catholic Indians shifted their position from Pottawatomie Creek (near Osawatomie) to Sugar Creek, fifteen miles south, both streams being tributaries of the Osage River. The new mission-site was situated "about 15 miles directly west from the point where the military road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott crosses the Osage River." This location is nearly twenty-five miles northwest of Fort Scott and in the immediate vicinity of the present Centerville, Linn County, Kansas.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ *Ann. Prop.*, 13: 61-65. The hymn-books in the Indians' possession were very likely Father Baraga's edition in Ottawa. "They [Sugar Creek catechists] followed for their instructions the Ottawa catechism published by the Rev. Mr. Baraga, who had converted to the faith many of the Ottawas." Verreydt, *Memoirs*. (A).

⁸⁷ Verreydt's school-report for year ending September 30, 1843. (H). The St.

The work of evangelizing the Indians went on apace. Before July, 1839, Hoecken's converts numbered a hundred. But his health broke under the strain. While Father Verhaegen was on his way in the summer of 1839 from the Kickapoo to Sugar Creek, he was met by Hoecken, who informed him that the streams were swollen and that further travel in the direction of the mission was impracticable. At this intelligence the superior at once turned back on the road by which he had come, but had not proceeded far when word was brought him that Father Hoecken had been suddenly stricken with a serious illness. The superior hastened at once to the relief of his fellow-Jesuit and did what he could to restore him. The sick man rallied, but Verhaegen, alarmed at his weakened condition, determined to recall him. Father Herman Aelen, who had recently filled the office of treasurer of St. Louis University, arrived at Sugar Creek on April 26, 1839, with Brother Francis Van der Borgh. The following July Christian Hoecken left the Indian country to retire to the novitiate in Florissant. Aelen himself was recalled from the mission in August, 1841, but did not actually relinquish his post until June, 1842. To him, it would appear,

Louis Archdiocesan Archives contain a report of Father Aelen dated May 14, 1839, "*Ex oppido Potowatomiensium prope flumen Osage.*" According to Aelen the missionaries had given the name "St. Mary's Creek" to Sugar Creek. Thus, Hoecken's name for it was "Rivière Ste. Marie" (*Baptismal Register*, April-June, 1839). Aelen immediately on his arrival began to write Sugar Creek in the records (July, 1839, "*a la rivière de Sucre*"). The first recorded baptisms among the Osage River Potawatomi were by Father Petit, who towards the end of September, 1838, baptized a child named Marie, daughter of Penneche, as also Angelique, daughter of Mengosse, John Tipton being god-father. The following October Hoecken baptized nine persons "near [or at] the river commonly called Putawatomie Creek," J. N. Bourassa being god-father for seven. All the fourteen baptisms in 1838, except two, were by Hoecken. The baptisms by Hoecken and Aelen in 1839 were distributed thus: Potawatomi, 63; Ottawa, 12; Peoria, 11; Wea, 3; Piankeshaw, 2; Sioux, 1; Iroquois, 1; Americans, 15. Of the 125 baptized in 1840, 102 were Potawatomi, 11 Ottawa, 1 Chippewa and 11 Americans. The first marriage entered in the records (January 30, 1838) is that of Josette, daughter of Nesfawwke, "living at that time on the Osage River." Father Hoecken performed the ceremony. The same father also married J. N. Bourassa and Memetekosikwe "before Rev. Mr. Petit and Mesgami [?]" on December 10, 1838; Pierre Moose and Marguerithe Maneto, daughter of Tchisaken "at St. Mary's River," on June 6, 1839; and Ignace Nekwoishuk (usually known as Andrew Jackson) and Marie Anne N-gokwe on September 15, 1839. (A son of this Pierre Moose, Paschal Baylon Moose, was born May 15, 1843). Joseph Wiwisse, chief, was married to Marie Otukwoi (Otekkwoe), March 25, 1839. (Variants in the spelling of the name, Wiwisse, e. g., Wewesa, occur in the records.) The Ottawa village is indicated as place of residence of William Phelps and his wife Angelique Roi. (F).

According to Kinsella, *The History of Our Cradle Land*, p. 12, the site of the Sugar Creek mission was "five and a half miles northeast on the Michael Zimmerman farm, but almost four miles in a direct line from Centerville."

belongs the distinction of having named the mission for the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God. "If it please your Grace," he wrote to Bishop Rosati May 14, 1839, "I would call this mission—*Conceptio Beatae Mariae Virginis*." Aelen was succeeded as superior of the mission by Father Felix Verreydt, who with Father Christian Hoecken and Brothers Andrew Mazzella and George Miles arrived at Sugar Creek on August 29, 1841. Father Anthony Eysvogels had preceded them in May or June of the same year. In 1842 the mission-staff consisted of Fathers Verreydt, Christian Hoecken, Adrian Hoecken and Eysvogels, together with the coadjutor-brothers, Mazella, Miles and Van der Borcht. The names of Fathers Francis Xavier De Coen and Charles Truyens, John F. Diels, a scholastic, and Brother Patrick Ragan complete the list of Jesuits who labored at Sugar Creek. Verreydt remained in charge of the mission from his arrival in August, 1841, until its transfer to the Kaw River in 1848. De Coen left in October, 1846, his place being taken in 1847 by Truyens. Francis Van der Borcht, the first lay brother at the mission, arrived with Aelen in 1839 and remained until June, 1845, when Father Van de Velde, on making the visitation of Sugar Creek, detached him from the mission-staff and took him to St. Louis.

§ 4. GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES AND THE MISSION CHURCHES

Besides obtaining a grant of money for the building of a church, the mission at Sugar Creek was the recipient of an annual subsidy of three hundred dollars appropriated out of the so-called Civilization Fund. The subsidy was originally allotted to Father Petit's Potawatomi mission on the Yellow River in Marshall County, Indiana, but was continued in favor of the Sugar Creek mission on the removal of the Indians to the latter in the autumn of 1838. Reports that Petit had used his influence with the Indians to prevail upon them to resist the deportation at first led government to withhold for a while the money due to the missionary; it was only after much correspondence, in which the true attitude of Petit was brought to light, that it was decided to continue the appropriation. Three hundred dollars a year may appear a paltry sum for the support of an Indian mission; but it seemed important enough to Bishop Bruté to engage him in earnest correspondence with Washington over its payment to Petit. He wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Harris in November, 1838:

I was starting for the North, when Hon. Mr. Law communicated to me your letter stating that according to the reports of the agents, it would be "improper" to allow the claim of the Bishop of Vincennes for the missionaries employed in the civilization of the Potawatomi Indians of this state,

\$300 for the year expiring on the 19th of April, 1838. Said reports insinuated that the missionaries, both Rev. Mr. DeSeilles, who died after seven years consumed in that humane work, uninterruptedly living among the Indians and having never received from Government but a first year of the \$300 . . . and his successor, Rev. Mr. Petit, now accompanying Judge Polk for the leading of the Indians to the Mississippi, had exerted their influence "to oppose the intentions of Government for the benefit of these Indians." I respectfully observe to you that the success of both M. DeSeilles and M. Petit in fulfilling the great object of ameliorating the morals, social temper and habits and whole condition of the portion of the Indians who obeyed their wholesome directions and cares, was on the contrary so remarkable as to excite the most uniform and lively appreciation of the whole country and our most enlightened and benevolent citizens in South Bend and Logansport. They rendered their Christian Indians as worthy to be granted some exception to remain and live under the laws of our state, as those who have long enjoyed the same in other states, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, etc. To solicit in their behalf in the most orderly and legal manner, not meddling besides with the Indians at large, whether Potawatomi or Miami, was my only fault—and as for opposition, the very fact of their so peaceable departure as well as the manner in which General Tipton and Hon. Judge Polk have appreciated the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Petit, are the best answers to any incorrect report that may have been sent in relation to myself and my friend.³⁸

Father Petit himself in a letter to General Tipton dated Pottawatomie Creek, Indian Country, November 26, 1838, asked him to use his influence to obtain the payment of the three hundred dollars due to his abandoned mission on the Yellow River. After mentioning the charges alleged against him, on the ground of which Bruté's first application for the sum was refused, he continued:

³⁸ Bruté to Crawford, November 3, 1839. (H). On November 8 Bruté wrote again to the Indian Bureau expressing his satisfaction that the Bureau had been set right in regard to the complaints made against himself and Petit. General Tipton in his official report of the deportation (*RCIA*, 1838) renders the following testimony in favor of Petit: "Three of their principal men, however, expressed a wish to be governed by the advice of their priest, Mr. Petit, a Catholic gentleman, who had resided with them up to the commencement of the quarrel between the Indians and the whites, when he left Twin Lakes and retired to South Bend. I addressed a letter, inviting him to join the emigration and go west. He accepted the invitation and I am happy to inform you that he joined us two days ago and is going west with the Indians. It is but justice to him that I should say that he has, both by precept and example, produced a very favorable change in the morals and industry of the Indians, that his untiring zeal in the cause of civilization has been and will continue to be eminently beneficial to these unfortunate Potawatomies when they reach their new abode. All are now satisfied and appear anxious to proceed on their journey to their new home, where they anticipate peace, security and happiness."

I am happy to inform you, General, that I met here a Jesuit Father sent by the Society who is especially intrusted with the care of these Indian Missions. He will make his residence among these Indians. The Society has the intention to put up a school and to spare nothing for the improvement of these good Indians. For any person who is a little acquainted with the Jesuits, it is no doubt that they will be successful in their mission here as well as anywhere else. Their preceding success in anything of that kind is a sure guarantee for the future. It is in their hands that I will commit with confidence these Christians, whose pastor God called me to be; and it is to them and for them as my successors that I claim the execution of the Government's engagements and the allocation for the support of the priest.³⁹

This letter of Petit's was forwarded by Tipton to the Bureau of Indian Affairs with the recommendation that the allowance in question be raised to four hundred dollars. "I know not," he commented, "what grounds there may have been to justify the opinion given to your Department that Mr. Petit opposed the removal of the Indians from Indiana. I am happy to inform you that his conduct at the time and since I was engaged in the emigration has been such as to convince every one that he entered heartily into the removal and was very useful in reconciling the Indians and in administering to the sick and afflicted on their journey West."⁴⁰ The charges against Petit were finally dropped by the Indian Bureau as groundless. General Tipton's letter to Commissioner Crawford bears the following indorsement of the Bureau: "If there were no other motive for withholding the \$300 than the one herein alleged, Mr. Petit's conduct subsequently when under General Tipton sufficiently disproves the accusation and he ought to be paid the amount out of the education fund. The sum of \$300 may be continued to this mission and be paid through Bishop Bruté; and the buildings promised by General Tipton may be erected and paid for out of the civilization fund."⁴¹ Finally, General Tipton wrote to Father Petit January 25, 1839: "With this I have the honor to enclose for your information a copy of my letter of 29—to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And in reply to your letter on that subject I have to inform you that \$300 of the civilization fund has been transmitted to the Rev. Bishop Bruté and steps have been taken here to comply with my promises to you and to our Potawatomi friends for erecting a house for your residence, a chapel and twelve cabins in lieu of those burnt by the whites on Yellow River."⁴²

³⁹ Petit to Tipton, November 26, 1838. Potawatomi files. (H). Petit in his letter to Tipton makes bold to remark: "Operations when left to themselves go on very slow in the Department of Indian Affairs."

⁴⁰ Tipton to Crawford, December 29, 1838. (H).

⁴¹ *Idem.*

⁴² (H).

Bishop Bruté had recommended to the Bureau that the allowance for the Potawatomi Mission be paid through Bishop Rosati of St. Louis as the ecclesiastical head of the district in which the mission was located. In the event it was paid to Father Verhaegen as superior of the missionaries. The father in a letter of December 15, 1839, to Commissioner Crawford, acknowledging a payment in favor of the Kickapoo Mission, added:

I need not tell you, Honorable Sir, that the Potawatomi who resided in Indiana within the diocese of the late Bishop Bruté, have recently removed to the diocese of St. Louis. This is a fact with which you are acquainted. But I doubt whether you have been officially informed that said Indians are now entrusted to my spiritual care as Superior of the Missionary Catholic Association and that the Rev. H. G. Aelen, a member of the association, is now stationed among them, having succeeded the late Mr. Petit. With the removal of this band of the Potawatomi tribe, I conceive the allowance made in their behalf while in Indiana to have been transferred to our Association. If I mistake not, the grant made for the pension of the clergyman residing among them commenced in favor of our Association on the 1st of February, 1839. It is immaterial whether the money which has become due since that date be paid to the Rev. Mr. Aelen or to me, though I deem it more expedient that I should be the only agent acknowledged by the Department in the transaction of business with those Indians. . . . I understand from the Rev. Mr. Aelen that the Potawatomi among whom he resides are very desirous of having a school for the instruction of their children and that everything required for this purpose can be procured in a short time. I am very willing to contribute towards the formation of the school, but I can neither commence nor conduct it without the aid of the Department. Can I rely on some assistance? ⁴³

The Indian Bureau redeemed its pledges. On arriving in St. Louis from Sugar Creek in August, 1839, Father Hoecken had in his possession the letters addressed to Father Petit from Washington in which assurance was given of government aid towards building a church and "priest's house" on the Potawatomi reservation. He presented them to the superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, Major Joshua Pilcher, from whom a few days subsequently he received two thousand dollars towards the erection of a church and other buildings.⁴⁴

⁴³ Verhaegen to Crawford, December 15, 1839. (H).

⁴⁴ Verreydt wrote to Major Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis, apropos of this appropriation: "Rev'd. Father Hoecken took charge of these Indians after Rev'd. B. Petit left this place. When he saw that the government did not comply with those promises at the appointed time, he addressed Major Pilcher, that time Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and gave him a copy of Gen. J. Tipton's letter, he consequently wrote and stated the whole matter to the government and shortly after \$2200 were appropriated to defray the expenses of chapel, residence

The Potawatomi church thus to be constructed at government expense was the third the Indians put up since their coming to the West. The first, a structure forty by twenty feet, was built on the site of their first stopping-place on Pottawatomie Creek.⁴⁵ The second log church was constructed by the Indians in the space of three days at Sugar Creek immediately after they settled there in March, 1839.⁴⁶ For the accommodation of the Potawatomi bands who arrived from Indiana towards the end of 1840, a third church was begun in the summer of that year, a neat and spacious structure situated on a bluff about a hundred feet above the level of the bottom land. Under the title of "The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin" it was blessed by Father Aelen on Christmas Day, 1840. A contemporary account of the ceremony is extant:

At eleven o'clock of the night previous to the feast the discharge of a gun in the front of the new building was the signal for the beginning of the ceremony, which was responded to by a salute of three hundred guns fired from the doors of their respective lodges by as many Indian braves. Three hundred lights, borne by as many women, now approached the new Temple of God at the birth-hour of the world's Redeemer, and seemed to proclaim, through the pitchy darkness of that winter night, that this was the hour when light came to illuminate those who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. At midnight, when the church-bell tolled, the Indians intoned a beautiful canticle in honor of the ever Virgin Mary, Mother of God. The blessing of the new church took place and afterwards the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered up to the Most High amidst the sounds of music and harmonious singing, well-executed by our good Indians, of whom about two hundred received Holy Communion on the occasion and about five hundred assisted at High Mass and Solemn Vespers. In the course of the day a beautiful statue of the Immaculate Virgin was carried in procession by Indian virgins all over the settlement, as a token of the particular devotion of the people of Sugar Creek to the Mother of God. The greatest regularity marked the conduct of the hundreds who accompanied the procession. At night all retired to their bark lodges with joy and satisfaction depicted on their countenances.⁴⁷

and 12 cabins. After the money arrived, the Indians perceived that the chapel would not have been spacious enough, which they would have built with that amount of money, they agreed therefore to do rather without cabins than church, and appropriated the whole amount \$2200 to the church exclusively, made cabins for themselves and a house for the Blackgown." (H).

⁴⁵ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*. (F).

⁴⁶ *Idem*. (F).

⁴⁷ *Catholic Cabinet* (St. Louis) 1:471. General conditions at the mission in 1841 were pictured by Father Aelen in a letter to the Father General. The Potawatomi received the sacraments every four or five weeks, and assisted daily at Mass. On the eve of the Assumption, August 15, Aelen heard confessions in Potawatomi for eighteen hours, Holy Communions on the festival numbering two hundred and fifty. "*Ex uno disce omnes*, for here under the shadow of the cross

1839 Ann. Antu emigrant Indiani" omnes ad Plover Legum B. A. &
tempore Quadragesimali. Platen ad huc admissus, Capessus edificat
etiam Ecclesiam ex lignis extructis, conviciatus Indianis diabolos
et circa IV quadragesimali, indige eo, ut veniant de Lander et
Ecclesiam edificemus, prompto obtemporavit, illamque tractus exp,
etiam, die Iovis post dominum IV quadragesimali, huiusmodi
etiam celebravit: ex quo tempore habui singula die Dominica
ad minimum 30 Communiones, Confessiones consequenter plures et
quidem singula die Cathedralium, quorum circiter 100 sacro
Baptismatis fontis regenerationi, tempore huiusmodi hic fui argum et
medum mensis Julii 1839.

The Catholic Potawatomi move to Sugar Creek, March, 1839. Entry by Father Christian Hoecken in the Sugar Creek Liber Parochialis.
Archives of St. Mary's Mission, St. Marys, Kans.

Sugar Creek 26th Feb. 1847

Major Thomas H. Harvey

Dear Sir—

In consideration of our circumstances I hope you will pardon the freedom I take, of calling your attention so frequently to the concerns of our Indians. I therefore say frankly before you, as before the eyes of our Father the present condition of our affairs, not with intent of pouring forth complaints or feelings of dissatisfaction, but merely to inform you, how matters stand, that you may have it the better in your power as a Father to do justice to your children, and as government officer to comply with all the agreements made with the Indians. as nothing is more important for preserving the respect of the Indians for the government, than a prompt compliance on its part with all the treaty stipulations and promises.

Our Indians, Sir, are determined to move to their new homes this spring, this year they want to make their camps at the Kansas River. of course they are anxiously desirous not only to get speedily the means necessary for emigrating, but also to be their future homes in a state of getting ready for habitation. now besides houses and fields for the wants of individuals, they as a people living in community, and much more as Christians, need a community establishment, I mean a church for worship, with dwelling houses for their Pastors and Suters, this they know and ask for, this the officers of the government know as the labor of the treaty. it was only upon promise of the establishment of a church the Indians agreed to the treaty, and it was likewise therefore (as you will see)

Felix L. Verreydt, S.J., superior of the Sugar Creek Mission, to Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, February 24, 1847. Files of the Indian Office, Department of the Interior, Washington.

Like its predecessors the third Potawatomi church was to prove too small for the number of worshippers. As early as April 1, 1844, Father Verreydt set the Indians hewing and preparing timber for a fourth church, for which a new and eligible site had been selected. In August of the following year the Indians were still engaged with preparations for the new structure, some digging for the foundations, others getting rock and hauling materials.⁴⁸ The fourth Potawatomi church was still unfinished at the time the Indians left Sugar Creek for the Kaw River. Oddly enough, the fathers were unable to obtain compensation for the improvements they had made at Sugar Creek. In September, 1847, they were officially informed that in the payment for the Potawatomi reserve, "no compensation can be allowed for the Catholic church and priest's residence and improvements," the reason assigned being "that no mention was made of them in the Secretary's report when the land was sold by the Indians." Advised to negotiate privately with the Indians for reimbursement of their losses, they did so, and successfully, to the great credit of the natives. The Indians, moreover, in October, 1847, generously set aside out of the annuities they had just received seventeen hundred dollars for the erection of a new church and presbytery on the Kaw River reserve.⁴⁹

similar prodigies of fervor are being manifested by the faithful nearly all the year round." Father Aelen was of opinion, however, that the system under which the missions were being operated, i.e. with immediate dependence on the vice-provincial and his consultors in St. Louis, was defective, inasmuch as the latter had no knowledge of Indian ways, language and other circumstances of the mission. The missions east as those west of the Rockies should have a separate superior and consultors, a central seminary for the children of the various tribes and a special fund, say "of 8000 French francs." Aelen also wrote that a serious mistake had been made in recalling from the Kickapoo "that immortal pattern of missionaries, Father Van Quickenborne." "It was done for the sake of a young Father [Christian Hoecken], who even now is judged by all to be unfit for the Indian missions." Aelen ad Roothaan, August 22, 1841. (AA). This opinion of Hoecken is manifestly not the one which prevailed at a later period when he was generally regarded as the most successful of all the Potawatomi missionaries. However, Hoecken, when among the Kickapoo, had shown traits which did not augur well for his future success as a missionary.

⁴⁸ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*. (F).

⁴⁹ Verreydt wrote February 24, 1847 to Major Harvey, St. Louis: "Our Indians, Sir, are determined to move to their new homes this Spring; this year they want to make their crops at the Kansas River. Of course they are anxiously desirous not only to get speedily the means necessary for emigrating; but also to see their future homes . . . they as a people living in community and much more as Christians, need a community establishment, I mean a church for worship, with dwelling-houses for their pastors and tutors. This they know and asked for; this the officers of the government knew at the close of the treaty. It was only upon promise of the establishment of a church the Indians agreed to the treaty; and it was likewise therefore (as you with me and all our Indians must recollect) that

§ 5. THE RELIGIOUS OF THE SACRED HEART AT SUGAR CREEK

The Catholic Indian school for boys opened at Sugar Creek July 7, 1840, was the third of its kind established by the St. Louis Jesuits. It was destined to reap a larger measure of success than the two that had preceded it, St. Regis Seminary at Florissant and the Kickapoo mission school. The Florissant institution was suspended in 1832, the Kickapoo, in 1839. In the establishment of Indian schools the Catholics found themselves anticipated on all hands by the Protestant denominations. Of fifty-two Indian schools in the United States in 1836, nearly all being under denominational control, only three were Catholic. In the Indian country particularly, Protestant mission-stations and schools had sprung up with rapidity. Prior to the advent of the Jesuits to Sugar Creek at least seventeen Protestant missions, most of them supporting schools, had been started west of the Missouri state-line. The Osage river sub-agency was especially well provided with these centers of non-Catholic missionary effort. It counted two schools among the Potawatomis, one of them Baptist and the other Methodist; one, Methodist, among the Peoria and Kaskaskia, and one, Baptist, among the Ottawa. These, however, had all been discontinued by 1842 and Colonel Davis in his report for that year notes that the Sugar Creek school was the only

the Commissioners so willingly consented to make this promise etc." Father Verreydt added that the improvements of the Indians had been appraised the preceding week by the sub-agent J. Bourassa, and J. Jones, but not those of the fathers or the nuns. However, for labor expended in the construction of the mission buildings and the making of rails, the Indians were allowed five hundred dollars and this sum they had agreed to turn over to the missionaries "in consideration of the benefits derived to them from our mission and of the many expenses we shall be obliged to incur in moving etc." Major Harvey in forwarding Verreydt's petition to Commissioner Medill commented: "You will observe that he asks for the erection of a church for the Potawatomis on the Kansas as promised by the Commissioners at the treaty; I am not able to say whether the promises thus made and referred to by Mr. V. are on the Journal or not. Col. Matlock, who acted as clerk, thinks they are. The promises that he speaks of were made and were deemed necessary by the Commissioners to ensure the adoption of the treaty by the Indians on the Osage. The Catholic Church numbers from ten to twelve hundred members on the Osage, very few belong to any other church. The Revd. Gentleman has so [ms.?] and forcibly urged the necessity of building a church that it is scarcely necessary for me to add anything. I would however say that I consider it exceedingly important that a church should be built as early as practicable. Judging from the manner in which the church spoken of by Mr. V. in his postscript was built, if the building could be entrusted to the Missionaries it would be better and more economically done." Harvey to Medill, September 27, 1847, (H). It does not appear that government appropriated money for a church on the Kansas River unless such appropriation was included in the five thousand dollars granted St. Mary's in 1849 for buildings on the new mission site.

Indian school then in operation in his agency.⁵⁰ But in 1847 the Baptists were again in the field, conducting three separate schools among the Ottawa, Wea, and Potawatomi respectively. The accounts given of non-Catholic schools in the Indian Territory by agents and superintendents are in general commendatory. Major Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis, said in his annual report for 1844:

I conceive that the missionary or teacher of the Christian religion is an indispensable agent in the civilization of the Indians. No one who is not steeled in prejudice can travel through the Indian country where they have missionaries without observing their beneficial influence. I take pleasure in stating that I have not *visited* a single missionary in this superintendency whom I did not look upon as exemplary in his deportment and highly beneficial to the Indians; many of them have schools under their charge which promise to do much good.⁵¹

Working hand in hand with the Jesuits for the spiritual and material uplift of the Potawatomi was the Society of the Sacred Heart. That congregation of religious women had been associated with the Missouri Jesuits in their earliest efforts for the Christian education of the Indians. As counterpart to St. Regis Seminary, the Jesuit school for Indian boys at Florissant, there was Mother Duchesne's school for Indian girls. Both institutions were suspended in 1832, having reaped only a meagre measure of success. Within a decade both Jesuits and Religious of the Sacred Heart were to take up again in cooperation the education of Indian youth, this time on the borders of Sugar Creek.

The story of Father Petit and his Potawatomi flock thrilled the soul of Mother Duchesne as she heard it from the lips of Father Hoecken himself on his return to Florissant from the Indian country to recover his broken health. She conceived at once the idea of a house of her society among the Potawatomi, who seemed predestined to enjoy all the blessings of the Faith, and appealed to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, then visiting in France, to intercede with the Mother General, St. Madeleine Sophie Barat, in favor of such a venture. On Epiphany day, January 6, 1841, Father De Smet, but a few months back from his first trip to the Rocky Mountains, in the course of a conversation with Mother Duchesne advised her to present a formal application on the subject to her superior. To Mother Galitzin, then discharging the duties of Visitatrix to the American houses of her society, the missionary had already said: "Believe me, you will never succeed in this country till you draw down on your work the blessing of God by founding an establishment amongst the Indians." "That is exactly our Mother

⁵⁰ RCIA, 1836, 1842. McCoy, *Register*, 1838.

⁵¹ RCIA, 1844.

General's greatest wish," the Visitatrix replied; "but we have neither subjects nor money." "Still, you must do it," De Smet insisted, and they both undertook to pray for the realization of the plan. "Yesterday, the feast of the Three Kings," Mother Duchesne made known to Mother Galitzin, "the visit of the Father who has just returned from the Rocky Mountains has reawakened to such a degree my desires and my zeal that they seem to give me new life, and I have every hope of joining the mission which offers itself at this moment under such favorable circumstances." And she added: "The missionary [De Smet] whom I saw yesterday tells us of many things which will facilitate this establishment, the neighborhood of several small settlements and the security of the place, which is protected from all invasion. He says it is a positive duty for us to take possession of the place before it is occupied by Presbyterians or Methodists. I showed him Mgr. Rosati's letter, so like an inspiration, in which he says, 'Follow that call.' I now think that it was the voice of God speaking, especially as the desire so often expressed by our Mother General concurs with it and I hope that God will permit that you carry it out."⁵²

A fortnight later De Smet was *en route* to the South to collect funds for his Rocky Mountain mission and incidentally to urge upon Mother Galitzin the necessity of acting promptly in the matter of the Potawatomi girls' school. In the letter which he bore to the Visitatrix from Mother Duchesne, the latter wrote: "The Father who is the bearer of this letter is the one at the head of the great mission in the Mountains. I hope he will strongly support my petition. . . . Subjects will be easily found. I hope God will permit that I be chosen. . . . If we had only four hundred dollars to begin with, we could go in the spring."⁵³

Shortly after his return to St. Louis from a begging-trip to the South De Smet received a communication from Mother Galitzin, written from St. Michel in Louisiana:

After taking due counsel with the Lord and considering over and over again all the interests of the Province, and after weighing the last letter of our Reverend Mother General, which gives me a little opening and enables

⁵² Baunard, *Life of Mother Duchesne* (tr. by Fullerton), p. 360. Verhaegen wanted to see the school well conducted from the start for he built great hopes on it as he informed Bishop Rosati: "It seems certain that all the nations would send their children there and that in a short time there would be from 100 to 150 children. These children, solidly instructed in the principles of our holy religion and accustomed to practice its duties would spread the faith more efficaciously perhaps than a large number of missionaries. We shall speak of this enterprise upon your return and shall try to find means to begin it and to make it prosper." Verhaegen à Rosati, December 10, 1840. (C).

⁵³ Baunard-Fullerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 360, 361.

me to conceive a ray of hope for this mission among the Indians, this is what I think; I will make the sacrifice of M[other] Bajin, formerly Superior at Grand Coteau, whom I wished to take for the foundation of New York; I will give up Mother Lucille, whom I was anxious to give to one of the three houses which are begging for her; they have done without her up to this time, they will continue to do without her; in addition to these two I will give Mother Duchesne. If Father Verhaegen approves my plan, the foundation will be made with these three subjects; I can do no more. As to money, I haven't a copper. I leave here for New York with no more money than is absolutely necessary for the journey. Our two houses of Louisiana are drained after relieving the needs of the Province and meeting the expenses of buildings now in course of erection. If you could interest the Ursuline Ladies in our favor, they might perhaps make a little contribution to this good work. We shall see whether it will be possible to raise a little at St. Louis by subscription. If the good God wishes this foundation, he will level all obstacles in order to finance it; if he does not wish it, who shall resist him? I am waiting for the boat to leave this evening for St. Louis. I cannot accordingly receive your answer here, but I hope to see you in St. Louis and acquaint you with final decisions and arrangements.⁵⁴

A fund of five hundred dollars having been collected by De Smet for the proposed mission, Mother Galitzin finally decided to put her hand to the venture. A party of three nuns was told off without delay for service at Sugar Creek. Mother Lucille Mathevon, who presided over the St. Charles convent, all eagerness for the conversion of the Indian, was named superior. She was to have for helpers Mother O'Connor, who had served an apprenticeship in the training of Indian children at Florissant, and the lay sister, Louise Amyot, of Canadian birth. Edmund, a trusty and resourceful Negro, was to lend his services to the party. As to Mother Duchesne, it was doubtful up to the last moment whether her health would permit her to undertake the journey. She was seventy-two years of age, enfeebled with infirmities and seemingly at no great distance from the grave. Under the circumstances her departure for the mission appeared an obvious folly. But she was eager to go, while Father Verhaegen, who in company with Father Smedts was to conduct the group to its destination, wished her to be included among the personnel. "If she cannot work," he said, "she will forward the success of the mission by her prayers." The father's wish proved decisive and Mother Duchesne was one of the four Religious of the Sacred Heart that left St. Louis for the Indian country on board a Missouri river steamer, SS. Peter and Paul's day, June 29, 1841.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Galitzin à De Smet, March 10, 1841. (A).

⁵⁵ Baunard-Fullerton, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

An incident of the voyage up the Missouri is recorded by Mother Mathevon in her journal. "On the 4th of July, the festival of Independence, Father Verhaegen preached to the passengers. When the sermon was ended great applause ensued, with clapping of hands and stamping of feet. Then everybody, ourselves included, drank iced sherry. We are all very well. Mother Duchesne walks up and down the deck as if she were young again." Six days after its departure from St. Louis the steamer put in at Westport Landing, now Kansas City, and the missionary party proceeded in wagons along the Fort Scott military road to Sugar Creek, distant some seventy-five miles to the south-west.⁵⁶

It was rough travel at the best and Mother Duchesne, jostled about with the other passengers over the uneven road-bed, suffered keenly. Having put up at the house of a French trader on the banks of the Osage about eighteen miles from their journey's end, they were met there by two Potawatomi who, coming up to Father Verhaegen, fell on their knees before him and begged his blessing. Then they told how on the evening before all the tribesmen had come together to await till nightfall the arrival of the women of the Great Spirit only to meet with disappointment. "Go and tell them," was Verhaegen's answer, "that tomorrow by the first light of the sun we shall be with them."⁵⁷

The next morning the party was again in motion. At every few miles were posted Indians to show the way. Of a sudden, as the travellers turned into a great stretch of prairie-land, there appeared a band of some hundred and fifty Indians, mounted on horseback and decked out in feathers and all the finery of Indian attire. At their head rode Father Aelen, the superior of Sugar Creek, and his assistant, Father Eysvogels. With this impressive escort the visitors had now to proceed on their way while the Indians performed their best dances and rent the air with volleys of musketry. The procession halted in front of the Jesuit residence. What followed Mother Mathevon relates in her journal:

There the four religious and the five Jesuit Fathers were invited to alight and take seats on some benches, the savages standing in four lines on each side of them. Father Verhaegen began by presenting to them Madame Duchesne. "My children," he said, "here is a lady who for thirty-five years has been asking God to let her come to you." Upon this the Chief of the tribe addressed us a compliment. His wife then did the same with these

⁵⁶ *Idem*, p. 364.

⁵⁷ *Idem*, p. 365. The trading-post referred to in the text was very probably the one established in 1834 by Giraud and Chouteau at the crossing of the upper Osage (Marais des Cygnes) and the Fort Scott-Fort Leavenworth military road.

words: "To show you our joy, all the women of our tribe, married and unmarried, will now embrace you." Then speeches were translated by an interpreter called Bourassa, son of a French father and an Indian mother. The nuns went bravely through the ceremony, and then had to shake hands with all the men, who, with their chief at their head, marched before them. Even one old man, quite blind, insisted on giving the newcomers this greeting. These tokens of welcome were repeated seven hundred times. Mother Duchesne in spite of excessive fatigue gladly went through it all.⁵⁸

Pending the construction of a house, the nuns took up their residence in an Indian cabin, the owner of which withdrew with his family to live in a tent. Despite the poor accommodations a school for Indian girls was opened on July 15, 1841. The school house as well as residence for the nuns, planned and built for them before the end of August by their devoted Negro servant, Edmund, stood close to the mission-church on a bluff or eminence that commanded a view of the surrounding country. The charity shown the Jesuits by the Religious of the Sacred Heart in the pioneer days at St. Ferdinand's was now reciprocated, Father Aelen giving them two cows, a horse and a pair of oxen.

Fifty girls were soon in attendance at the school while the Indian mothers themselves frequented it to learn the secrets of housekeeping. At the end of two weeks, the nuns, as fruit of the instruction they had received from two of the Indians, were able to sing some hymns in Potawatomi. "As soon as we could," records Mother Mathevon, "we taught our Indians the prayers of the church, and especially the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, as it is sung on Sundays after Vespers. Soon our cabin could not hold all our scholars and we made a large room with green branches. Our children are very intelligent and understand easily all we teach them. They are as handy as possible with their fingers."

In the immediate conduct of the school Mother Duchesne could be of little service. The difficulties of Potawatomi staggered her and she gave up all hope of mastering it. To one ministry alone was she fully equal, that of prayer and good example. "The woman who prays always," was the name the Indians soon invented for her. Though the stimulus of the first days at Sugar Creek and the realization of her long-cherished dream had resulted in a momentary improvement of her health, the unusually severe winter of 1841-1842 reduced her visibly. "She is much aged and often very ill," wrote Mother Mathevon in February, 1842. "The life here is too hard for a person of her advanced age." In this condition of shattered health she was found by Mother

⁵⁸ *Idem*, p. 366.

Galitzin, the Visitatrix, on her arrival at Sugar Creek on March 19, 1842, as also by Bishop Kenrick of St. Louis when he administered confirmation at the mission in June of the same year. Both agreed that to allow her to remain longer at the mission would only hasten her death. Instructions were finally given Mother Duchesne to leave Sugar Creek and repair to St. Charles in Missouri. This she did on July 19, 1842, being accompanied on her return journey by Father Verhaegen, who had escorted her to Sugar Creek but a year before and who was destined to know her still more intimately in St. Charles and to minister to her in her last moments.⁵⁹

§ 6. EDUCATING THE POTAWATOMI

The progress of the boys' and girls' schools at Sugar Creek is recorded in the annual reports, beginning with 1842, submitted by Father Verreydt to the Indian Bureau. The boys' school was opened July 7, 1840, the girls, July 15 (17?), 1841. The expenses of the mission were estimated by Verreydt at about eighteen hundred dollars per annum. This sum included the living expenses of the three priests and three lay brothers and the money spent on medicines for the Indians, two hundred dollars annually. Father Hoecken, who had some knowledge of medicine, discharged the duties of doctor to the tribe. The expenses of the girls' school, including the support of the three nuns in charge, amounted to about six hundred dollars annually.⁶⁰

Father Verreydt's second report is dated from "Sugar Creek Catholic Mission," September 30, 1843:

⁵⁹ *Idem*, p. 372. For a remarkable letter of Mother Duchesne on her desire for the Indian missions, cf. Marjory Erskine, *Mother Philippine Duchesne*, New York, 1926, pp. 346-353. An excellent account of the activities of the Religious of the Sacred Heart at Sugar Creek may be found in Louise Callan, R.S.C.J., *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America*, New York, 1937.

⁶⁰ *RCIA*, 1842. Verreydt's report, Sept. 1843-Sept. 18, 1844, lists the following as a portion of the work done by the girls: embroidered pieces, 12; stockings, 32; hdfs. hemmed, 139; dresses made, 160; coats made, 4; pantaloons, 3; shirts, 60; aprons, 94; samplers worked, 3. The Indian girls were especially skilful at embroidery, their fondness for it being turned to good account by their Catholic teachers, as the Rev. N. Sayres Harris, inspector in 1844 of Episcopalian mission-schools in the Indian country, observed: "At one of the Roman Catholic Schools I afterwards learned the fondness of the Indians for embroidery is cultivated with success; by this one interest, so to speak, they may be led on to perfection. In some instances we have felt pained by a well-meant but most unwise crushing and quenching of Indian tendencies. Better to train and direct and make use of them for good." N. Sayres Harris, *Journal of a Tour in the "Indian Territory"* (New York, 1844), p. 24.

I have the pleasure to state that there is this year a decided improvement; although both schools are under my superintendence, yet they are differently conducted. I have secured the services of Messrs. Thomas Watkins and John Tipton as school-masters; the former teaches the English language and the accessory branches in the forenoon, and the latter the English and the Potawatomi languages conjointly in the afternoon, both belonging to the nation and very popular. They are also well calculated to impart instruction with greater facility on account of their knowledge of both languages. The boys' school numbers 61 scholars, of whom forty-five attend regularly, if you except a short period early last spring when they accompanied their parents to the sugar camps. They are daily instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic and geography.

The female academy is conducted by five Ladies of the Sacred Heart (a religious community), who devote all their attention to the moral and mental improvement of sixty-one pupils, forty of whom may be called regular. Besides spelling, reading, writing and ciphering, they have taught their scholars carding, spinning, sewing, knitting, marking, embroidering and even some of the accomplishments which are only taught in some of the most fashionable boarding-schools in the States; such as fancy-work and artificial flower making, although the more important and more useful objects relating to domestic economy have not been neglected on that account. The girls have been instructed how to cut and make every article of dress and apparel; to bake good bread, make butter and do every kind of housework, as the circumstances may require. Six pupils are boarded by the institution.⁶¹

I am of opinion that this nation would be greatly benefited if some of the older boys attending the school could be instructed in some of the mechanical arts. This, however, our means do not allow us to begin at present. We have also been prevented from setting the looms in operation in the female academy for want of necessary buildings. I would respectfully solicit

⁶¹ RCIA, 1843. Thomas Watkins is very probably to be identified with the individual of the same name who taught school in Chicago in the early thirties and was later chief clerk in the Chicago post-office under J. S. C. Hogan, first post-master of the village. Watkins's marriage to a daughter of the Potawatomi chief, Joseph Lafromboise, was a social event of the first importance according to the Hon. John Wentworth, Chicago mayor, who participated in the festivities. Watkins's Indian wife was afterwards divorced from him, marrying Menard Beaubien, son of Jean Baptiste Beaubien of Chicago and later a resident of Silver Creek, Kansas. A letter of Thomas Watkins in explanation of an incident that occurred on a Lake Michigan steamer appeared in the St. Louis *Shepherd of the Valley*, November 15, 1834. Cf. Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673-1871*, p. 83.

A supplementary school-report from Verreydt for the year ending September 30, 1843, furnishes additional data. The school was under the management of the "Catholic Board of Missions of the St. Louis University, Mo." Two Indian boys were boarded in the missionaries' house. School-hours ran from 9 to 12 A.M. and from 2 to 4.30 P.M. The boys and girls in regular attendance were sixty-one for each group. Many of the children refusing to study English were instructed in their own language. The nearest post-office was Westport, Jackson County, Missouri. (H).

the attention of the department on these two subjects; and when it is considered that the allowance made by government last year did not exceed \$300, and that the aggregate number of children educated in both schools amounts to 122, I trust you will come to the conclusion that the same appropriation is inadequate to our wants.

The three hundred dollars annually appropriated by government to the Sugar Creek Mission was a pittance with which the fathers could scarcely be expected to remain content. Even this small sum was not always paid promptly. "I find it rather strange," wrote Father Van de Velde to Major Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "that every year since I have been in office I should have been put to the trouble of calling for the paltry sum (\$300) which hitherto seems to have been paid with a kind of reluctance."⁶² A manual labor school for the boys and a boarding-school for the girls were outside the range of possibility so long as further aid from the government was denied. Father Verreydt's report for 1844 dwells upon the need of a larger appropriation:

The looms provided by the government have not yet been put in operation. On examination, they are all, with the exception of one, found to be incomplete; a number of pieces are wanting to each one. The cotton and wool to manufacture are also wanting. These reasons and the one assigned in my last report, viz: the want of means to put up the necessary building, is the cause that the Ladies have not been able to teach their scholars to weave.

These ladies have now been three years in the Indian country, devoting their whole attention to the instruction of Indian children, and have never received any aid from the general government. Their expenses cannot be less than from \$700 to \$800 annually. This is a great expense, and I really think that the department should take their case into consideration and allow them something annually to defray it. . . .

We are about removing our church to a more eligible situation and also to make an addition to it, as it is entirely too small for our congregation. All the logs have been hewed and hauled by the Indians, who are very willing to do anything to assist us in this undertaking; but still the expense of nails, shingles, and the putting up and finishing of the building, falls upon us, and will be heavy indeed, unless the department should render us some assistance. When is taken into consideration the great good that has been done and may still be done by the civilization of these Indians, I do not think that our appeal will be considered improper. Missionaries of any denomination in the Indian country receive aid either from their own societies or from the general government; it is not so with us. Our society is totally unable to render us any further assistance than to send us, at times, provisions; and, as to aid from the department, we never have received anything but what

⁶² Van de Velde to Harvey, January 8, 1846. (H).

was immediately paid to the teachers of the school at this mission. I hope that the department will consider this subject, and render us that assistance which is denied from all other quarters.⁶³

Major Harvey, head of the western superintendency, in his report of October 8, 1844, to the commissioner of Indian affairs spoke approvingly of the mission schools:

The Catholics have male and female schools attached to their missions at Sugar Creek, among the Pottawatomies, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Verreydt. The female school is conducted by five ladies of the society of the "Sacred Heart"; they have under instruction between sixty and seventy girls. The progress of the girls is exceedingly flattering; they are taught the useful branches of female education; at the same time fashionable accomplishments are not neglected. A number of girls are supported and brought up in the family of the ladies. This school is supported entirely by the ladies and their friends. It is to be regretted that they have not the means to enable them to enlarge their operations; they are extremely anxious to have house room enough to enable them to put up looms. Too much praise cannot be given to these accomplished ladies, for the sacrifices they have made in alienating themselves from society to ameliorate the condition of the Indians. The number of boys taught is about sixty; they are said to succeed well.⁶⁴

In February, 1845, Major Harvey again brought the needs of the girls' school at Sugar Creek to the attention of the Indian Bureau. He wrote to Commissioner Crawford:

⁶³ *RCIA*, 1844.

⁶⁴ *Idem*. Harvey had previously written to Crawford, commissioner of Indian affairs, about the girls' school: "I visited today the female school under the charge of five Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The weather had been extremely wet for sometime and as the scholars are with a few exceptions day scholars, that is, board with their parents, they are not as attentive as it is desirable they should be. Notwithstanding the unfavorableness of the day I think I counted thirty-nine present. I examined a considerable quantity of their needlework both fancy and for practical purposes, all of which would have been creditable to girls of their age in any society. The shirts, vests, stockings and spinning was well done, their fancy needlework was very pretty. Their recitations were highly creditable, their singing was very fine, nearly the whole school joining. Their singing was in four languages, the native, English, French and Latin.

"It is much to be regretted that these ladies cannot carry on their works of charity on a more extended scale. It is only necessary to see them and their school to be convinced of their zeal and the happy effect which they are producing among the Indians at Sugar Creek. The single fact of teaching the girls to make the common articles of clothing will do much in civilizing the Indians. Induce the Indians to throw off the blanket, the leggings and breech cloth and his civilization is half effected. I will enclose an address from a little full blood Indian girl about twelve years old delivered to me on visiting their school which very clearly sets forth their necessitous condition. Can the Government give them no aid?" Harvey to Crawford, May 29, 1844. (H).

I regret to see from your report that the Indians of this superintendency are so much behind other Indians in moral and intelligent improvement. Is it not to be mainly attributed to the want of well regulated schools and missions among them? I observe from the report that nearly 9000 dollars of the Potawatomi funds were expended at the Chocktaw Academy last year, while the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, who are conducting a large school for the Potawatomi at Sugar Creek, cannot receive one dollar.⁶⁵ It is with deep regret that I learn that this school will be discontinued. I consider the discontinuance of the School at Sugar Creek as a most calamitous circumstance to those Indians. The female school, which is under the immediate charge of four or five accomplished ladies of the "Sacred Heart of Jesus," is a most valuable institution and is no doubt calculated to exercise a most beneficial influence upon the Indian character.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ The Chocktaw Academy near Sulphur Springs, Kentucky, was under the management of Col. R. M. Johnson. The Indian Office made efforts to have boys sent to it from the various agencies, but apparently without success, at least as far as the Catholic Indians were concerned. Cooper, the sub-agent at Council Bluffs, complained in 1840 to Maj. Pilcher that the Potawatomi parents refused to send their children to the Academy, "being all Roman Catholics and determined absolutely not to patronize anything that is not of that persuasion." (*Supra*, Chap. XIII, note 27.) Major Harvey's testimony in this connection is significant. "I find the Indians every where are very much opposed to sending their children out of the nation to school." Harvey to Crawford, May 29, 1844. (H). The government policy of sending Indian children away from their tribes to be educated is severely arraigned by N. Sayres Harris, secretary of the board of missions of the Episcopalian Church. "It is not a little mortifying that a gentleman of Col. Johnson's standing and aspirations should have permitted himself for so long a time to stand in the way of the Indian's desire to have his children educated among themselves. I could but blush for him at hearing the remarks of some intelligent Indians upon himself and his institution and for the Government that could barter the best interests of its unfortunate wards for a mess of political pottage." Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 20. The money provided for the education of Potawatomi children (\$5000 for the Osage River bands and \$3,825 for those of Council Bluffs) was all expended at the Chocktaw Academy. When it is considered that the Potawatomi refused on reasonable grounds to patronize the aforesaid institution, the justice of Major Harvey's appeal in favor of the nuns' school becomes obvious. Father Verreydt in his Memoirs (A) describes some of the methods employed to recruit boys for the Kentucky Indian school. A bonus, apparently as high as two or three hundred dollars, was offered anyone who succeeded in obtaining a certain number of boys for the school. A young man of Westport, who had often visited Sugar Creek, showing himself on these occasions friendly to the missionaries, made an attempt to secure the bonus. He appeared in the village and began to plead with the Indian parents to entrust their sons to Mr. Johnson's care. But all to no purpose. "They had their school and were satisfied. They were right for they knew that some young Indians who had been educated there did not return home, except one or two, who were naturally good fellows, with any religious education; besides, the trade some had learned profited them nothing. The Potawatomes were determined not to send any of their children."

⁶⁶ Harvey to Crawford, February 24, 1845. (H).

The major's appeal was successful. In June, 1845, the nuns were advised that the Indian Bureau had decided to grant them an annual appropriation of five hundred dollars, payable from July 1. Delay on the part of the Bureau in making the promised payment elicited a protest from Major Harvey to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill:

The late commissioner, Mr. Crawford, on the 15th May last, advised this office that the sum of \$500 per annum would be allowed the female school among the Potawatomis in the Osage River Sub-Agency from and after the 1st of July last. It is presumed from the allotments received under cover of your letter of the 3rd inst. that it has been overlooked. I presume it is only necessary to call your attention to the fact, but I would take occasion to remark that this school has been kept up for a number of years at the entire expense of the religious society under whose immediate management it is, "The Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus." Five ladies who would be creditable to a school in any country devote their entire lives to the education of the females of this vicinity, boarding a number and teaching them all the useful arts of housewifery; their school numbers about 60 and occasionally upwards. The happy moral influence which they have exerted among the Indians cannot be mistaken by the most casual observer (I speak from frequent personal observation). The Society, as I understand from those who know, cannot longer bear the entire expense of the school. I would view the removal or discontinuance of the school as a serious calamity to the Potawatomis in the Osage River sub-agency. I trust that I may be authorized to assure the ladies that the allowance will be continued.⁶⁷

The allowance for the first year was paid to the nuns January 11, 1846. With the help thus afforded them they were able to maintain the girls' school up to the dissolution of the Sugar Creek Mission.⁶⁸

The Sugar Creek schools being annually subsidized by the government only to the extent of three hundred dollars for the boys' school and five hundred for the girls' (1846-1848) were unable unless in a few exceptional cases to receive the Indian children as boarders. But a boarding-school with a manual labor department for the boys was felt by the fathers to be necessary if the Indian youth were to receive the education that best suited their needs. "If we had the means," declared Father Verreydt in his report for 1846, "of establishing at our mission a boarding-school, in which we could combine literary instructions with the teaching of manual and mechanical arts, I feel confident that not only the greater number of those who are now the most irregular, but that many others, besides, would be constant in attending,

⁶⁷ Harvey to Medill, November 17, 1845. (H).

⁶⁸ Transferred to the new Potawatomis reserve on the Kaw River in 1848, the boys' and girls' schools continued their interesting career. *Infra*, Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX.

and their progress would not fail to be far more considerable.”⁶⁹ Verreydt's representation of his needs to the Indian officials met with consideration and before the final occupation by the Potawatomi of their new reserve on the Kaw River was carried out he had been authorized by Major Harvey to board and educate as many children of the tribe as he could accommodate, pending the opening with government support of a Catholic manual labor school.

While the civilizing process at Sugar Creek was exercised upon children and adults alike, the agencies employed in the process, apart from the direct influences of religion in both cases, were not identical. With the children the schools were the paramount factor; with the adults, apart from education in industry and the practical arts, church services and parish organization were the outstanding influences. As regarded pious confraternities and public devotions the Sugar Creek parish could challenge comparison with the best organized congregations of the whites. The Archconfraternity of the Most Pure Heart of Mary for the Conversion of Sinners was introduced in May, 1843, by Father Verreydt.⁷⁰ In November of the same year the Society of Jesus and Mary was first organized and soon included in its membership several hundred heads of families. Again, on June 14, 1844, was established the Association of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary.

Toward the close of 1843 an eight-day mission, “according to the method of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius,” as the contemporary record expresses it, was conducted for the Indians with abundant visible fruit. In April of the succeeding year a *triduum* or three days' revival, was preached by Father Verreydt in English, as also, with the aid of an interpreter, in Potawatomi. The month of May was dedicated according to Catholic custom to the Mother of God and every day the Litany of Loretto was sung or recited in her honor. Christmas was celebrated with more than usual pomp. During the Christmas holidays of 1845 Bishop Edward Barron, Vicar-apostolic of the Two Guianas, was a guest at the mission where he administered baptism to more than eighty Indians. That year a crib was set up in the church to bring the Savior's birth in concrete fashion before the eyes of the natives. The Potawatomi celebrated their tribal feast on Easter Sunday. Father Hoecken's diary for March, 1845, notes that some of the Indians had gone on a hunting expedition to secure game for the approaching national feast and that the fathers contributed flour and coffee. The guest of honor on the occasion was Colonel Vaughn, chief officer of the Osage River sub-agency.

“Novenas” or special public prayers continued through nine days were frequent. On May 18, 1847, one was begun in honor of St. Francis

⁶⁹ RCIA, 1846.

⁷⁰ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*. (F).

Hieronymo to secure God's blessing on the mission. Two weeks later came another novena, this one preparatory to the feast of Corpus Christi, with exposition of the Blessed Sacrament every day of the devotion. Religious processions were especially calculated to stimulate the piety of the Indians. Of such there were several in the course of the year. On St. Mark's day, April 25, there was a procession through the fields for the blessing of the crops. The feast of the Most Pure Heart of Mary, August 25, had its annual procession conducted with much pomp and ceremony. But the most elaborate of all these pious functions was that of Corpus Christi. In 1847 crowds flocked in from the neighboring reserves to take part in the procession. "They behaved with edifying devotion and the day was orderly throughout." Father Verheyden, who was attached to the Sugar Creek mission during the summer of 1843, left a graphic account of the Corpus Christi services of that year.⁷¹

⁷¹ *Catholic Cabinet* (St. Louis), 1: 251. The visit of Bishop Kenrick to Sugar Creek in June, 1842, was also a noteworthy occasion. An account of it was written by Father Hoecken to his parents in Holland: "The Bishop of St. Louis came here last month. People came from a distance of 15 miles to meet him. He was given a solemn reception. All were on horseback and nearly everybody had his lance trimmed with little flags. I went in surplice in front of the guard of honor of 80 men. At my side went two acolytes also in surplice, one with the holy-water, the other with incense. When the Bishop came up, I put incense into the vessel and incensed him. Then the commander of the troops went up to the Bishop and after ordering his men to salute him, turned to the prelate and declared the great joy felt by his brethren at seeing him in their country. They then accompanied him to our village where all the men, women and children were assembled to receive him and give him the honor due to his high office. The Bishop stayed here for some days and administered Confirmation to some 300 of our Indians. At his departure they accompanied him a distance of more than 20 miles." In this same letter Hoecken asked his parents to send him four hundred dollars for a mill: "But they have no mills and this is the greatest reason for our poverty. We are obliged to buy all our provisions from the Americans, flour, bacon, maize, etc." This letter (original in French) dated July 2, 1842, was published in a Dutch periodical, *De Godsdienstverriend*, 1842, pp. 316-321. Tr. by Fr. Martin M. Brongseest, S.J.

A memorandum by Father Van de Velde in the files of the Indian Office dated St. Louis University, February 8, 1844, gives particulars of an alleged plot against the Sugar Creek Mission.

"It appears that since the commencement of last summer (1843) a kind of secret conspiracy has been formed against our missionaries on Sugar Creek by five or six reckless persons who use all their exertions to excite the Indians, chiefly those of the St. Joseph's band on the Potawatomi Creek against the Missionaries and to destroy all the good these Missionaries have already done and still continue to do among the various tribes on or near Sugar Creek.

"This conspiracy seems to have been set on foot by one Jude Bourassa, a half-breed, who, for publicly maintaining irreligious principles that necessarily lead to immorality, was reprehended at church by the missionaries (sometime in the spring of 1843) and cautioned against holding any further communication with the

Idleness and a passion for strong drink were the Indians' typical vices. It especially became necessary to teach them the material and moral advantages of honest, persevering toil. With a view to mutual encouragement and support in manual labor, they organized themselves under the direction of the missionaries into working-guilds. In each guild an overseer assigned the tasks, gave all necessary directions to the workers, and also presided at certain prayers which were said in common. At the call of a bugle, the Indians, headed by the overseers, marched out to the fields, where they learned the age-old secrets of tilling the soil and, again preceded by the overseers, marched back to their homes when the day's work was done.⁷²

Father Verreydt in his memoirs stresses the poor quality of the land around the mission:

The selection was one of the worst places that could have been chosen. If they had gone some miles further west of Sugar Creek, they would have found a much better place for a settlement. But as the church was built at Sugar Creek, besides our house and that of the Ladies and the neatly constructed log houses of the Indians, it was too late to make a new establishment. The deep bottom land of Sugar Creek was the only soil, with a few exceptions, fit to raise corn. There was scarcely any air stirring in that bottom. I saw an Indian working there almost naked so as to be able to continue his work. Corn is the only grain the Indians will raise and the prairie in general all around Sugar Creek was not rich enough to raise good corn. Said prairies have a light soil about two feet deep; not much deeper

peaceful Indians, unless he should abandon those principles and retract what he had said. In consequence of this reprimand he conceived a deadly hatred against the Missionaries and used his utmost efforts to thwart and annoy them. The other Indians and his brother Jos. Bourassa blamed and avoided him.

"During the course of last summer the former chief of the St. Joseph's Indians on Sugar Creek, called *Gagodamua Chebis*, who had been elected six years before, because the lawful chief Magie was then too young to command, was unanimously put out of office (the Indians having been long displeased with him on account of his arbitrary way of acting) and the rightful chief chosen to succeed him. Though this was done during the absence of the Missionaries and by the common consent of all the St. Joseph's Indians, still he suspected that the Missionaries had advised the latter to put him out of office and conceived a hatred both against them and against the Indians of his own nation. He left Sugar Creek and went to live in the neighborhood of Potawatomi Creek, where he joined Jude Bourassa and with him began to plot against the Missionaries."

Father Van de Velde also names as parties to the alleged plot M. Scott, Dr. J. Lykins, Wilson, the U. S. blacksmith to the Potawatomi, and A. Burnet (Abraham Burnett). Wilson he describes as "an upright and honest man," who became prejudiced against the missionaries on an unfounded suspicion that they had preferred complaints against him with the government on the ground that he had employed his own son as "striker" or assistant to him in violation of treaty-stipulations. Burnett is called by Van de Velde "the soul of the whole conspiracy." (H).

⁷² Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*. (F).

and all is rock. The Indians themselves acknowledged this. One of them remarked that if one put a knife in the ground, he might touch rock. There were a great many sugar maple trees skirting the Creek and hence it was called Sugar Creek. As the Indians are very fond of sugar, they bore the maple trees and thus tapping them let the juice of the tree run into a trough, pour the juice into a kettle and let it boil until it has the consistence of hard sugar; then it is formed into cakes and may be thus kept for years. But as it is the best kind of sugar, it is soon consumed by the Indians and all their labor has been of little if any profit to them. If they had employed their time in more useful pursuits as in enlarging their little fields of corn or raising at least some wheat in some parts of their prairies or planting some potatoes in their bottom lands, etc., they would have been scarcely any poor people among them. Their thirty dollars per head which they received of the government for their annuities could not with their little industry support them. There was no game in their country and for them to go on a buffalo hunt to the Rocky Mountains was too dangerous an undertaking. They dreaded the scalping-knife of the wild Indians of those regions. To ameliorate their pitiful condition, F. C. Hoecken, who was heart and soul for the welfare of the Indians, gathered them into bands, consisting of about 30 persons in each band. He selected a suitable place for each family where they might raise corn or potatoes, etc. These 30 Indians were to split rails and fence and plow the field for each family belonging to their band. It was truly a pleasant sight to see them at work. Their natural indolent nature was there truly exhibited. One would plow for a little while, staggering as if he were drunk. Having never had a plough in his hands, no wonder he was laughed at by the few who knew better. As soon as he gave out, another commenced and thus [as they worked] by turns, laughing and joking, the field was made ready for cultivation. They soon began to see the advantages of industry and some of them by and by raised an abundance of corn and their little cabins began to be neatly fixed and some of them erected fine log-houses. One of them in particular had become so industrious that he himself planed all the logs for his house which was erected as smooth as a brick wall. (A).

But to instruct the Indians in farming was futile unless the most deadly of all their enemies, brandy, was kept at a safe distance. In 1843 Father Verreydt organized a party of Indians under the leadership of Brother Van der Borcht into an anti-liquor brigade. The members were instructed to keep watch that no liquor was brought into the village, and if any one was reported to have such in his possession, they were to go at once to his house, surround it, search for the prohibited article, break the bottles and spill the contents. The anti-liquor brigade was something more than a Potawatomi jest and not a few luckless Indians found themselves summarily dispossessed of the contraband they had smuggled in.⁷⁸ Yet, as time went on, something more was needed

⁷⁸ *Idem.* (F).

to bar the entrance of "ardent spirits" into the settlement. In August, 1844, the Indians drew up regulations dealing with the abuse, which were unanimously agreed to and embodied in writing. They furthermore elected eleven constables to insure the observance of the new regulations. In July, 1845, they deliberated in council on the all-important liquor question and a year later, July 22, 1846, they met again in council to devise more stringent measures against the evil. Agent Vaughn was invited to attend and at his suggestion it was determined that any one thereafter caught bringing liquor into the mission should be locked up in the guard-house at Fort Scott. In August of the same year still another council was held with the result that three laws directed against drunkenness, immorality and card-playing, (by which no doubt was meant gambling), were unanimously passed. These laws were committed to writing and duly promulgated. It was something more than a momentary reform-wave that now swept over Sugar Creek; before the year was out the Indians had their own jail for the due punishment of law-breakers. Finally, in July, 1847, the Indians of Pottawatomie Creek, the non-Catholic section of the tribe, came to Sugar Creek to hold common council with their fellow-tribesmen. It was decreed on this occasion that whosoever should bring intoxicating liquor into the reserve should forfeit for his first offense half his government annuity and for the second offense, the whole annuity. It was a drastic measure but a wise one and it met with the warm commendation of Agent Vaughn. "I said the Pottawatomies have been more than usually unsteady," he reported in September, 1847, to Superintendent Harvey; "drunkenness and its dire companion, murder, have prevailed to a greater extent this year than for years previous; even the hitherto exemplary Indians on Sugar Creek have not escaped the infection. I am, however, happy to state that a reaction is taking place. Some of the old and steady denizens of Sugar Creek have taken the matter in hand. They have called councils, invited the attendance of their brethren on Pottawatomie Creek and mutually have pledged themselves to adopt rules, fines and penalties for the introduction of spirituous liquors within their limits. It is pleasing to see the energies with which the movers of this truly desirable object press onward to suppress the use and abuse of ardent spirits amongst their people."⁷⁴ The liquor evil was never thoroughly rooted out at Sugar Creek, where it continued to hamper seriously the work of the missionaries down to the transfer of the Indians to the North.

Though economic conditions among the Potawatomi appear to have been satisfactory on the whole, there were periods of more or

⁷⁴ *RCIA*, 1847.

less general poverty and distress. Such was the winter of 1844-1845 following on the great floods of the preceding year, which ruined the crops. "We owe it to kind Providence," wrote Father Hoecken, "that the hunting this winter has been more successful than in any other year since the Indians came to this territory. Indeed, it is a mark of the special protection of God, without which the people must have suffered the greatest hardship, for provisions are now scarce and very dear." In February, 1845, the Government as a relief measure distributed about three thousand bushels of corn among the Potawatomi. The fathers at the same time made them a gift of pork and flour. Hoecken was particularly active in collecting alms for the widows, orphans and poor generally. In March, 1845, he was able to distribute some money among the Peoria and Potawatomi, and in August of the same year visited St. Louis to seek aid for the poor of Sugar Creek. In February, 1847, he returned to the mission from a second begging tour through the states. The Indians themselves made provision from their slender income for the more destitute members of the tribe, as when in September, 1844, they set aside from their annuities the sum of \$109.50 to be expended by the fathers for medicines and for the sick.⁷⁵

§ 7. NEIGHBORHOOD TRIBES

The ministry of the fathers was not confined to the Indians of Sugar Creek. It reached out to the numerous tribes whose reserves were contiguous to or at no great distance from that of the Potawatomi. And here it is interesting to reflect that the Society of Jesus was thus enabled to renew its acquaintance with not a few of the tribes among whom the Jesuits of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had moved about in the discharge of their apostolic tasks. Menard and Allouez set up missions for the Ottawa on the shores of Lake Superior; Raymbault and Jogues, first of Jesuits to look upon the waters of the Great Lakes, met the Chippewa at the Sault as early as 1641; Marquette made friends with the Peoria on his famous voyage down the Mississippi while among the Kaskaskia he established, as Allouez, Rasles, and Gravier after him consolidated, the first Catholic mission

⁷⁵ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*. (F). A bit of evidence as to the attitude of the Sugar Creek missionaries towards their Indian charges is furnished by N. Sayres Harris, who visited the Indian country in the spring of 1844. He did not reach Sugar Creek, being unable to obtain a fresh horse for the journey, but heard its schools highly spoken of. "My room-mate tonight was a Canadian engagé with whom I contrived to hold a little conversation. He had no copy of the Sacred Scriptures, but told me he was a catechumen of the missionary, of whom he spoke in raptures. 'When Indian sick priest lie on the floor and give him bed; if he have no covering, he cover him; do anything for Indian.'" Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

in the Mississippi Valley; Allouez dealt with the Wea, a Miami sub-tribe, while Pinet and Bineteau wore themselves out in labor for the same Indians in their mission-post on the site of modern Chicago. And now these historic tribes, around whom is woven the story of Jesuit missionary enterprise in the Middle West during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had the gospel preached to them anew by Jesuits of the nineteenth.

Father Aelen, from his arrival at the mission in April, 1839, up to July of the same year, when Father Hoecken was withdrawn, worked chiefly among the Ottawa, Peoria, Wea and other neighboring tribes. That year he was visiting the Ottawa every second month, the congregation among them, however, numbering only twenty adults; but these were loyal and the prospect of conversions in the tribe seemed good. In March, 1844, a Potawatomi catechist was sent to the Ottawa to instruct the catechumens. In April one of the fathers was dispatched on the same mission. Finally, in January, 1845, Father Francis Xavier De Coen established a mission-post among the Ottawa and made arrangements to administer the sacraments and say Mass among them once a month. In the course of one of his monthly excursions to the Ottawa, March, 1845, he visited the Peoria and the Chippewa, who promptly evinced an interest in Christianity and before long were begging for a resident priest.⁷⁶

The chief of the Chippewa or Ojibways with his family paid a visit to Sugar Creek on April 14, 1845, to petition the fathers to establish a mission-post among his tribesmen. In answer to this request De Coen was sent the next month to the Chippewa reserve. Having held a council with the Ottawa, the Chippewa came to the conclusion that they ought

⁷⁶ Hoecken's Diary. (F). Aelen ad Rosati September 25, 1839. (C). The Ottawa reserve was northwest of the Potawatomi and embraced all of the present Franklin County, Kansas. A Baptist Ottawa mission established in 1837 by Rev. Jotham Meeker near the present town of Ottawa was maintained until his death in 1854 (*Kansas Historical Collections*, 9: 568). The Ottawa were of Algonkin stock and closely related to the Potawatomi. According to McCoy, *Register of Indian Affairs*, 1838, one language (presumably with modifications) was spoken by the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa, one by the Osage, Quapaw and Kansa, and one by the Oto and Iowa, while dialects of the same language were spoken by the Wea, Peoria, Piankashaw, Kaskaskia and Miami. It may here be noted that Father Van Quickenborne was the first nineteenth-century Jesuit to come in touch with the Miami, Wea, Piankashaw and Kaskaskia, at least in their trans-Mississippi habitats. Cf. *Ann. Prop.*, 10: 137 *et seq.* For a visit of Father Nicholas Petit, a Jesuit of St. Mary's College, Kentucky, to the Miami in 1835, when they were still living in Indiana, cf. *Ann. Prop.*, 10: 138. Father Francis Xavier de Coen, a native of Ninove, East Flanders, Belgium, and a blood-relative of Father De Smet, was born December 19, 1811, entered the Society of Jesus October 19, 1843, and died at St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission July 16, 1864.

to embrace Catholicism, for the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa, being close of kin, should be of the same mind in so important a matter as religion. Arrangements were accordingly completed for a Chippewa mission-station to be located in the vicinity of the Osage River.⁷⁷

For the four confederated nations, the Peoria, Kaskaskia, Wea and Piankashaw, a station called by Father Aelen "Miamis' Station" and visited by him every second month was established in July, 1839, in the Peoria village on the left bank of the Marais des Cygnes in what is now Miami County, Kansas. Aelen was the first priest known to have visited this Peoria village, which was located on the site of the present Paola. With him the Catholic history of Paola begins. The station, however, was probably not maintained continuously for in 1845 the question of establishing mission-stations among these same tribes came up anew. On April 18 of that year Father De Coen, accompanied by two Indian interpreters, set out from Sugar Creek to visit the Peoria and Wea, among whom it was his intention to establish stations if he found the Indians favorably disposed. The Peoria and Wea chiefs met in council to hear De Coen and at the close of his address agreed to permit him to baptize their children. They asked him, moreover, to return after two weeks and instruct them, for they were willing to embrace the Catholic faith and bring up their children in its practice. At the expiration of two weeks two Peoria Indians appeared at Sugar Creek with a commission from their chief to make certain doctrinal inquiries. The inquiries were met with satisfactory answers and on the next day the Indians were dismissed, loaded with presents of meal and lard. Among the participants in the Christmas festivities of 1845 at Sugar Creek were a number of Peoria. On returning to their reservation, twenty-five miles distant, they were accompanied by Father Christian Hoecken, who remained with the tribe about ten days, during which time he baptized them all after due preparation and solemnized their marriages according to the Catholic rite. In March, 1847, accompanied by a Potawatomi Indian to assist him, he returned to the Peoria to

⁷⁷ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*. (F). The Chippewa reserve, very small in extent, adjoined the Potawatomi on the north. The Sugar Creek records show numerous baptisms among tribes other than the Potawatomi. Thus on June 20, 1839, "in the Wea village near Bull Creek" were baptized two Potawatomi children, the four-year old Marie, daughter of Nepetosia and Antapigwa (sponsor, Charles Chauret) and Ignace, eight days old, son of Lapenja and Petotonke. In the Peoria village "near the Osage River," was baptized May 21, 1839, Magdalene, daughter of Kirsone and Helene Duquoigue. In the same village there were four baptisms by Verreydt, January 26, 27, 1847, and nine by Hoecken, March 3, 1847. There were forty-four baptisms of "Piyankichas" in "Piyankicha village" by Hoecken, April 25-28, 1847 and eleven baptisms of persons of the same tribe at Sugar Creek, April 4-30, 1847, by Hoecken and Verreydt.

prepare them for their first holy communion. To the number of forty they received the sacrament on Trinity Sunday. During all this time the tribe was in the most destitute circumstances. In May, 1847, the fathers hired a carpenter to repair their mill, which had long been out of commission. Later in the same year they were furnished with articles of clothing which Father Verreydt had brought from St. Louis and with seed-corn for the autumn.⁷⁸

In February, 1846, Father Hoecken, in the hope of converting the Sauk Indians, visited the tribe in their new reservation along the Kaw

⁷⁸ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*. (F). Aelen ad Rosati, September 25, 1839. (C). De Coen à son père, Feb. 18, 1846. Archives of the Belgian Province, S.J. The Peoria and Wea lands lay north of the Potawatomi in the present Miami County. The present Paola (Piola i.e. Peoria), Miami County, was a Peoria village. A Baptist mission among the Wea was established a mile east of Paola by Dr. David Lykins about 1840. The Wea and Piankashaw were sub-tribes or bands of the Miami. The Wea or Ouaitenon had a village at Chicago at the end of the seventeenth century and a later village at Ouaitenon, the modern Lafayette, Indiana, while the Piankashaw were settled at one time on the site of Vincennes, Indiana. In 1832 both tribes sold their lands in the East and agreed to move to the Osage River district as one tribe. By the treaty of Castor Hill, St. Louis County, Missouri, October 27, 1832, the Peoria and Kaskaskia, with whom were united the remnants of the Mitchigamea, Cahokia and Tamaroa (the five tribes of the famous Illinois confederacy) also ceded their lands in Illinois and in lieu thereof accepted a reserve in the Osage River Valley. In 1854 the Wea and Piankashaw joined the remnant of the cognate Illinois, then known as the Peoria and Kaskaskia, the seven tribes then numbering together only 259, a large proportion of whom were of mixed blood. The confederated tribes reside at present in Oklahoma. (Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, art. "Wea," "Piankashaw.")

A list, compiled by Jesuit missionaries, of Miami County's first Catholic Indian settlers is in Kinsella, *The History of Our Cradle-Land* (Kansas City, 1921), p. 27. Forty-six names occur including those of Basile Boyer and Baptiste Peoria, the last-named reputed chief of the confederated "Kaskaskia and Peoria, Piankashaw and Wea Indians." The town of Paola was laid out on a tract of land 403½ acres conveyed by Baptiste Peoria and his wife in 1864 for a consideration of five thousand dollars to the Paola Town Company, the tract being part of the two sections of land acquired by them under the treaty of 1854. The first Catholic church in Paola, a one-story stone building, was built on land donated by him and his wife in 1859. Baptiste Peoria accompanied the confederated tribes to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in 1868, dying there in 1874. Kinsella's book also reproduces a "*status animarum*" or census-record and a baptismal register for "the Peorias and Piyankichas, 1846," a marriage-book of the "Miami, Weas, Peorias, Piankashaws, New York Indians" and a "baptismal register of the Miami Nation," the last-named document covering the period 1848-1861. Excepting six baptisms recorded by Father Ivo Schacht and one by Father Theodore Heimann, all the entries in this register are by Jesuit missionaries. The last Miami baptism recorded by a Jesuit is dated November 9, 1857, the officiating priest being Father Schoenmakers. The above mentioned census-book (Latin) records that "the patron of the church of the Peorias is St. Francis Xavier" and that "the title of the church of the Piyankichas is the Patronage of the Most Blessed Joseph." The Indian chapel of

River⁷⁹ In August he visited them again, as well as two other unconverted tribes, the Piankashaw and Miami. The Sauk chanced to be absent on a hunt, but he was welcomed by the other tribes, who asked him to return after some months, permitting him in the meantime to baptize their children. Before the end of August he was back among the Piankashaw, all of whom were now eager to embrace the Faith. In March, 1847, while on a missionary trip to the Peoria, he met a band of Piankashaw, who with their chief Wakochinga, had come to see him. He instructed the party, baptized them and blessed their marriages. In April the tireless missionary was again in the Piankashaw village, on this occasion remaining about ten days with the tribe and baptizing about sixty of them. After their conversion the Piankashaw took to farming, which was a new experience for them, and the missionaries, to encourage their efforts, made them presents of seed. In the fall of 1847, the Piankashaw and their neighbors, the Peoria, were being visited the first Sunday of each month by Father Charles Truyens, in pursuance of an arrangement made by the superior of the Sugar Creek Mission, Father Verreydt,⁸⁰ who wrote in his report to government for 1847:

Long since, we used to visit the Peoria, a destitute, forlorn tribe of Indians, who seemed not only to need our assistance, but to be truly worthy of it. The wretched state in which we first found them was really pitiful; but thanks to Him who calls Himself the father of the poor, no sooner had they begun to embrace the doctrines of the Catholic Church, than they began to emerge from their state of wretchedness; they became models of temperance and industry; and, I may say, that their condition both in a moral and temporal point of view, has been so admirably improved that they have excited their neighboring brethren to a laudable emulation, wherefore, almost the whole tribe of Piankashaw have commenced to tread in the footsteps of the former, and, like them, to live as good, sober, industrious members of our church; others are preparing likewise to quit and change their old modes of living; and, in fact, so favorable are the dispositions of many of the Indians towards a change for the better and the habits of civilization, that, in correspondence with this general manifestation of good will, we have determined upon extending and multiplying our missions as much as our means will allow; and that, if the government and its respectable officers should lend us the hand, and bear part of our expenses, we doubt not but we shall effect, St. Francis Xavier at the Peoria Village (Paola) erected sometime prior to 1846 is "supposed to have been at or near the famous old spring in the northwest part of the town." Kinsella, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁷⁹ The Sauk and Foxes of the Mississippi, in number over three thousand, and the largest tribe in the Osage River sub-agency, were settled on a reserve adjoining the Potawatomi reserve on the northwest. The Osage River sub-agency was at one time located on their reserve.

⁸⁰ Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*. (F).

ere long still more good amongst our Pottawatomies and their neighboring red brethren.⁸¹

Father Verreydt's account of the Peoria is borne out by the report (1847) of Agent Vaughn of the Osage River sub-agency:

The Peoria have, as usual, been very industrious and exemplary. With no annuity or pecuniary aid from government, it is surprising, to those acquainted with the listless habits of Indians, to observe how well these people have managed. I read with pleasure your remarks respecting this remnant of excellent people embodied in your last year's report.

But the work of the fathers was not confined to the Indians, whether Potawatomi or other tribes; it reached out in periodical missionary trips to the white settlements then in course of formation along the Missouri border. From the closing of the Kickapoo Mission in 1841 until the arrival of Father Donnelly at Independence in 1846 the only Catholic priests exercising the ministry along the Missouri-Kansas line were those from Sugar Creek. Father Aelen, superior of the mission, was holding services in "Chouteau's Church" on the site of Kansas City, Missouri, as early as June, 1839, and it was at his instance, it would appear, that the church first received the name of St. Francis Regis, which it bore thereafter. On November 17, 1839, he administered baptism, "*in ecclesia S. F. Regis prope oppidum Westport*," "in the church of St. Francis Regis near the town of Westport," which place with Independence he was visiting three times a year from Sugar Creek.⁸²

⁸¹ *RCIA*, 1847.

⁸² Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri*, Chap. V, "The Jesuit Ministry." Also *supra*, Chap. VIII, § 4.

Numerous baptisms of whites are recorded in the Sugar Creek registers. Father Aelen, seemingly on his way to Sugar Creek, baptized at Boonville, Mo., April 6, 1839, Mary Ann Weber and Sophie Fuchs. Three days later, April 9, at Fishing Creek, Ray Co., he baptized Mary Le Roy. There were seven baptisms by him at Lexington, Mo., January 23-26, 1842, the list including Maria Whelan, Evelina Maria Mountain, Basile Butard, Margaretha Holden, Marie Meyers, Cecile *dite* Cabeen, wife of J. Mulligan. There were two baptisms also at Lexington by Father Eysvogels, November 5, 1842, the names of the subjects, Philomene Digges Mountain and Ellen Mulligan. Eysvogels's circuit of July-November, 1842, in western Missouri, brought him through Clay Co., English Grove, Holt Co., Black-snake Hills, Weston, Kansas River, 3rd fork of Platte, Buchanan Co., Platte Co., Clay Co., Fishing River, Blow [Blue] Mills, Jackson Co., Lexington. Eleven baptisms by Hoecken are recorded for the Platte Purchase, May 28, 1843-July 9, 1843, among those listed being Marie Early, Jean Rodgers, Anne Elizabeth Murphy, Birgitte Martin, Elizabeth Buller, Louis Dussene, Stanislaus Peltier, Michael McCafferty. Irish names predominate among the sponsors. On October 16, 1843, Hoecken baptized at Weston Michael, son of Michael Hughes and Helen Brady. A second missionary trip by Hoecken September-October, 1843, resulted in twenty-

More closely identified even than Father Aelen with the early Catholic ministry in the Westport district was Father Verreydt, who succeeded Aelen as superior at Sugar Creek in 1841. His name is the only one signed to Westport baptisms from October 7, 1841, to September 28, 1845, if we except the names of Bishop Kenrick of St. Louis and Father Peter De Vos, the former of whom officiated at five baptisms and the latter at two. Father Verreydt was practically the Catholic pastor of Westport during the period 1841-1846. But this "jumping-off place" of the frontier, which was only some seventy miles to the northeast of Sugar Creek, did not terminate the range of the ministerial activities carried on from that center on behalf of the whites. Fathers Eysvogels and Hoecken visited the settlements on either bank of the Missouri north of Westport, the latter including Council Bluffs in his missionary circuit. The foundations of the Church along the Missouri border were laid by energetic religious pioneers who went forth on their apostolic rounds from Sugar Creek.

On the whole the net result of the ten years' effort of the Jesuit missionaries at Sugar Creek was satisfactory. The school reports of Father Verreydt dwelt upon the moral and social amelioration of the natives as an obvious fact. In 1845 he spoke in his report to Major Harvey of "the prosperous and happy condition of this Pottawatomie tribe under your superintendence."⁸³ To Agent Vaughn he wrote in 1846: "You are not unacquainted with the Indians amongst whom we reside; you perfectly know their state of improvement and with what earnestness the larger portion of them behave themselves as true Christians and as people of civilized manners."⁸⁴ In August, 1847, on the eve of the breaking up of the missions, he could still testify to the ex-

eight baptisms, twenty of them at Council Bluffs, the places visited being, besides the last named, Irish Grove, Nijnibotna (Nishnibotna), Savanah, Weston. In May-June, 1846, Hoecken conferred thirty-eight baptisms at Council Bluffs and eight at Bellevue, these last being the earliest known for Nebraska. At Council Bluffs were baptized on this trip children of George Mullin, Edward Parks, Therese Chevalier, Louis Pinnegar, Louis Bellair, Louis Ose (Ogee?), Antoine Tissier, Pierre Bourbonnais, Alten Harden, Joseph Laframboise, Darling Antoine Bruno, Michael Barnabé, Theodore Grondais, Louis Wilmet and Andrew Le Compte. At Harmony Mission in Missouri, Adeline, daughter of John Lynch and Anne O'Neal, was baptized May 5, 1846. The spelling of some of these names is uncertain.

Deepwater (now Germantown in Henry County, Missouri) was a German congregation. Father Verreydt administered three baptisms here on November 11-12, 1843. Here also was baptized March 20, 1846, Maria Elizabeth Fiemann and Henri Antoine Westhuse. (F). "May, 1847, Reverend Father Verreydt went to Deepwater to preach to the Germans and to afford the settlers an opportunity to gain the indulgence and privileges of the Jubilee." Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*. (F).

⁸³ *RCIA*, 1845.

⁸⁴ *Idem*, 1846.

emplary conduct of his Indian flock. "The Pottawatomies who live at our mission form a congregation of upwards of 1,300 members of the Catholic church, accustomed to sober, industrious habits, emulating the white man in the various duties and exercises of a civilized life; and being so remarkable for their piety and assiduous attendance to church duties, that our church, large as it is, is unable to contain the thronged multitude of Christians."⁸⁵ A picture in detail of conditions in the mission at about the same period was drawn by Verreydt in a communication to the Father General:

I can say that the piety of many among them and the innocent life they lead often touches me. It is true we have some who are weak, but I know several who can be compared with the first Christians. I am convinced that they never commit serious sin; yes, sometimes one has difficulty in giving them absolution for lack of matter. It is a great satisfaction to see the church almost every Sunday so filled with people that I can scarcely find room enough for giving the asperges with holy water. Though our church is quite large it is so filled with Indians that not a foot of it is left unoccupied. A number station themselves in the sacristy and many are to be found standing around outside the church like poor lost children. Some, after committing a rather serious sin, do not dare to enter the church for a long time after so great is the respect they have for the house of the Lord. All listen to the word of God with admirable attention. If during the sermon a child becomes noisy, the mother at once leaves the church. It is all silence there; nothing is heard except the strong voice of Father Hoecken who speaks to them in their own language like an Indian himself. If we only had a number of Fathers who spoke the language as he does, what an amount of good could be done! I am convinced more and more that unless one knows how to speak their language well one can never accomplish solid and permanent good. St. Francis Xavier was right when he said that the words which come from the mouth of an interpreter haven't the same force as words from the minister of God. But it appears to be difficult if not impossible to find many Fathers who can learn the language. Good Father De Coen, who was with us for two years, did not succeed; this is why Father Provincial recalled him. But we are promised another Father next August. I hope he will have a true vocation for these missions. Good Father Hoecken is truly to be pitied for the whole burden of the Mission falls on him. Every Friday and Saturday in every week of the year he does nothing except hear the confessions of the Indians, who naturally do not like to confess through an interpreter, especially when they are sick. It is necessary then for this poor Father, who already begins to grow gray and be worn out with work, to bear the burden of the Mission for two years longer, for one needs at least two years to learn the language so as to be able to hear confessions. If the one sent here has not the talent requisite for the mission, I fear its total ruin for Father Hoecken will not live long. I cannot give him much aid for I do not speak the language. I was very anxious

⁸⁵ *Idem*, 1847.

to learn it at Council Bluffs, but seeing the disorders prevalent among those Indians, I lost courage. I was sent here for only one year by Father Verhaegen. The year having slipped by I had still to remain here on account of great difficulties, which have scarcely been overcome and of which your Paternity has received an exact account. Having always the idea that I should not remain here long and being diffident of myself, seeing that I should never be able to learn the language, I remained here right along like a bird on a branch for it was always doubtful whether I should stay or not. I begin to regret that I have not exerted myself in order to be of use just now to the mission; but rheumatism and old age, which begin to take hold of me, make me despair of ever learning the language.

All that I do here is to act as *econome* of the house and hear the confessions of our Brothers and of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and a few other persons who speak English. I say High Mass every Sunday and during Father Hoecken's absence I preach through an interpreter. Three times a year I visit the Catholics of Westport and Independence 75 miles from here, but as they have a pastor at present, [Rev. Bernard Donnelly], I now have only one mission [Deepwater], 50 miles from here, where the Germans have built a pretty little church. From time to time I pay a visit to the Catholic soldiers at Fort Scott, 30 miles from here. This, Reverend Father, is all I am doing for God. Still I believe I can say that I desire nothing more than to be occupied in the service of God from morning to night and I hope that our Father Provincial will give me enough work in a few months. All I ask is that he send us this time a man of ability, so necessary among the savages if I can call them such. It seems that those who have never lived among the savages are unwilling to believe they are men like ourselves. But their black and piercing eyes show that they are. If a stranger comes among them, they don't need much time to know him thoroughly. In a short time they give him a name which fits him exactly. It seems that when they look at a person they penetrate to the depths of his soul. An Indian is perfect master of his passions. I have never seen him in anger. His eyes rarely indicate the movements of his soul. You can heap on him the greatest insults; he is unmoved. His eyes are fixed on you, but without emotion. Everything remains hidden in his heart until an occasion presents itself for vengeance.⁸⁶

Finally, Indian agents and other officials were not behindhand in witnessing to the success of the mission. A typical report is Agent Vaughn's, 1845:

It is gratifying to state that the Pottawatomies, generally speaking, have evinced a very laudable desire to cultivate the soil. Those on Sugar Creek

⁸⁶ Verreydt à Roothaan, April 23, 1847. (AA). "I noticed one [Sugar Creek Indian] in particular who was constantly engaged either in praying or in instructing others in the performance of their Christian duties. He was a true example of piety. When hearing Mass he told Father Hoecken that he had seen, even sometimes during holy communion, the visible presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist. We gave credit to his words on account of the pious life he led." Verreydt, *Memoirs*. (A).

have, within the last few years, mostly abandoned the bottom lands, which are subject to the annual periodical inundations in the spring of the year, and are now cultivating the prairie land with much success. This summer (in compliance with your instructions) one hundred and fifty acres of prairie have been broken up, viz: about one hundred acres at Sugar Creek and fifty at Pottawatomie Creek; seed wheat has been furnished for sowing, and from the efforts made by these people this season, I have hopes that next year their industry and perseverance will be amply rewarded. The Pottawatomies living on Sugar Creek, viz: the Wabash bands and nearly one-half the St. Joseph, have been as usual very exemplary. They have raised this season a considerable quantity of small grain—such as wheat, oats, buckwheat, corn and vegetables—they have laid in a good quantity of prairie hay, and are well furnished for the winter. It is pleasing to observe the general good conduct of these Indians;—they are industrious and moral; are comfortably fixed in good log houses; and their fields are well fenced, staked and ridged. They are communicants to the number of about eleven hundred, of the Roman Catholic Church; and too much praise cannot be awarded to the zealous fathers of this persuasion for the good they have wrought among this people. Two schools are in operation. The female one, under the direction of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, deserves particular commendation.^{86a}

While the general course of the mission at Sugar Creek was thus progressive in all that made for the material and moral welfare of the Indians, a condition of things eventually developed that boded ill for its future. Agent Vaughn commented in 1847 on the circumstance that the hitherto exemplary Sugar Creek Indians had been infected by the evil example of less conscientious sections of the tribe. In June the drink evil began to assume alarming proportions and appeared to have gone beyond control of agents and missionaries as well. Under the circumstances Father Verreydt and his fellow-workers welcomed the proposed transfer of the Potawatomi to a new reserve where the curse of intoxicating drink would be less likely to reach these helpless children of the soil.⁸⁷

^{86a} RCIA, 1845.

⁸⁷ The mission registers, now in the archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas, are sources of the first importance for the history of the Sugar Creek mission.

1. The Baptismal Register (*Liber Baptismorum in Missione ad Stam Mariam dicta inter Indiamos sub nomine Putawatomenses*) furnishes numerous personal and other data of interest. John Tipton, alias Pierre Kionum, Potawatomi school-teacher, himself a member of the tribe, was god-father to two infants baptized by Father Petit at the end of September, 1838. (This must have been on the way from Indiana as Father Petit arrived with his exiles at Potawatomi Creek only on November 4, 1838.) During October, 1838, nine Potawatomi were baptized by Father Hoecken, J. N. Bourassa being god-father to all. On July 10, 1842, was baptized Jean Francis Regis dictus Tokapowi, twenty-six years of age, the sponsor being

§ 8. THE MIAMI MISSION

Ministerial excursions from Sugar Creek paved the way in two instances for the establishment of independent missions. The Osage

Mother Duchesne. Very probably the name under which the neophyte received the sacrament was suggested by the nun, whose devotion to St. John Francis Regis was outstanding. Mother Duchesne also assisted in the capacity of god-mother at the baptism (on succeeding days) of Josephine Rose, *dicta* Anwanike, fifty-five years old, and of Marie Akogue, sixty years old. As god-parents figure also Madame Xavier, Father Verreydt, Brothers Miles and Van der Borcht and Pierre Pokegan. The total number of baptisms administered while the mission lasted was as follows:

	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Infants</i>	<i>Total</i>
1838	26	14	40
1839	42	74	116
1840	50	81	131
1841	77	86	163
1842	94	135	229
1843			123
1844	46	82	128
1845			113
1846	72	196	168
1847	66	76	142
1848	5	43	48

2. The Burial Register (*Register Sepulchrorum inceptus anno Dni 1838 inter Indianos sub Nomine Putawatomenses in terris suis prope flumen Osage degentes*) records that twelve Indians were buried by Father Hoecken "near the river commonly called Putawatomi Creek, *coemeterio nullo formato*, 'as no cemetery had been laid out.' " "In the beginning of March, 1839, nearly all the faithful moved to the river known as Sugar Creek, where a cemetery was laid out and the burial register began to be kept with accuracy." The number of burials for the successive years was as follows: 1840, 55; 1841, 72; 1842, 61; 1843, 78; 1844, 45; 1846, 79; 1847, 79; 1848, 28.

3. The Parish Census (*Liber Status Animarum Parochiae Conceptionis B. V. M. inter Potowatomies*) begins with 1841, at which time the parish counted 812 souls. The following year this number had risen to 940. Over three hundred heads of families are listed, with names, besides, of wife, children and other persons living under the same roof. Thus four Bertrands are named, Samuel, Laurent (Lawrence), Joseph, and Alexius, usually called Amable, who married Elisa McCarthy. Three Bourassas are listed as head of families, Jude, Joseph and Lazarus or Lazare. Jude had seven brothers Lazare, Etienne, Eloy, Alexander, Daniel, Jacques and Gabriel and a sister Elizabeth. Jude Bourassa, who is described as a "*vaut rien*," "a good-for-nothing," appears to have gone over to the Baptists and is mentioned by Father Van de Velde in a communication to Washington (February 8, 1844) as having been involved in a plot against the Sugar Creek Mission. *Supra*, note 71.

4. An additional census book (*Numerus Catholicorum in Parochia anno Domini nostri J. C., 1844 Sugar Creek*) covers the period 1844-1850.

5. Marriage Register (*Liber Matrimoniorum primo Missionis inter Kickapoos ab anno 1836 usque ad mensem Octobris 1838; deinde Missionis inter Putawatomenses prope flumen Osage nempe a mense Octobris 1838-1849*).

Mission was an outgrowth of Sugar Creek. The Miami Mission was likewise a scion of the same parent-stock, being originally but one of the numerous stations served from that busy missionary center. The Miami reserve lay northeast of the Potawatomi lands and close to the Missouri state-line, on which it abutted. The Miami had been settled there since 1846, having by various treaties sold their holdings in Indiana and agreed to move to the new lands along the Osage River reserved to them by the government.⁸⁸ The Jesuits were no strangers to this one-time powerful tribe. They had worked among them at the Mission of the Guardian Angel of Chicago, as also on the St. Joseph River near the southern limit of what is now the State of Michigan. Jesuit relations with the Miami in the nineteenth century were renewed by Father Van Quickenborne in a chance meeting with members of the tribe in his western excursion of 1835. Later, Christian Hoecken

At the trading-post of the American Fur Company, about fifteen miles east of the Sugar Creek Mission, Father Aelen joined in wedlock on October 26, 1840, Thomas Mongeon (Mongrain?), an Osage half-breed, and Helene Dehaitre "*dite veuve Bastien*," seven witnesses to the ceremony, Andrew Drips, the fur-trader among them, being named in the register. Marriages by Father Hoecken at Council Bluffs (e.g. Pierre Harnoir and Sally Holcomb, April 29, 1840) and English Grove, Mo. (e.g. Simon Fleury and Catherine Martin, May 3, 1842), are also recorded.

6. Parish Book (*Liber Parochialis Ecclesiae Conceptionis B.V.M. inter Putawatomenses*). In addition to the names of first communicants, the confirmed, members of the Association of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, the Confraternity of the Scapular, and heads of families belonging to the Society of Jesus and Mary, this register contains a Latin account of the Sugar Creek Mission apparently by Father Hoecken. This account is referred to above under the caption, "Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis*," to distinguish it from Father Hoecken's *Kalendarium*, a diary properly so-called, which begins only with 1848. A translation of the account in the *Liber Parochialis* as also of the diary appeared in the *Dial* (St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas), 1890. Cf. *supra*, note 33.

Familiar names in late Potawatomi affairs are met with in the Sugar Creek records. April 10, 1842, Hoecken baptized and then joined in wedlock Pierre Droyard and Therese Rose Kuese, the witnesses being Brother Van der Borcht and Mother Duchesne. February 16, 1843, Father Verreydt performed a similar double ceremony in favor of Abraham Burnet (Envashina) and Marie Knofoch, daughter of John and Elizabeth Knofoch. February 21, 1844, the same father married "at the Ottawa Village" Moise Paulin and Margureth [*sic*] Kwekotchi, witnesses, Joseph Loughton and Angelique Roi. April 14, 1844, Hoecken married at Sugar Creek, Daniel Bourassa and Elizabeth Pisita, daughter of Misabo, witnesses Thomas Watkins and John Tipton. Michael Nadau (Nadeau) had for his first wife Angelique Bertrand (died February 6, 1844) and for his second Therese Ketkwe, to whom he was married July 13, 1845. Pierre Pokegan and his wife Marie Otasowa had a child, Pierre Felix Pokegan, born March 7, 1843.

⁸⁸ For immediate neighbors the Miami had on the north the Wea and Piankashaw, on the west the Potawatomi and on the south the New York Indians or so-called Six Nations. The Missouri state-line bounded the Miami on the east.

made visits from Sugar Creek to the Miami reserve and planted some few mustard-grains of the Faith among members of the tribe. In a letter of March 18, 1847, Superintendent Harvey took up with Father Verreydt the question of opening a mission-school among the Miami.⁸⁹ Three days later fifteen chiefs of the nation assembled at the government issue-house and in presence of Agent Vaughn signed the following petition:

We, the chiefs and principal men of the part of the Miami nation located west of the State of Missouri, being deeply impressed with the great importance of educating our people and believing the provisions made by treaty to be inadequate for that purpose and being anxious to establish a manual-labor school under the direction of the Catholic church, do hereby agree, authorize and request the President of the United States to advance out of our annuities for the year 1847, \$1500 to be added to the fund of \$2062 which, we are informed by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, is now available, for the purpose of erecting buildings and other important improvements necessary for conducting a manual-labor school. The school to be located in our country by the principal men of the nation with the advice of sub-agent and such ministers as the Catholic church may designate.⁹⁰

In June, 1847, Father Van de Velde, having laid the project of a Miami mission before his advisers, was counseled by them to look over the ground on his contemplated visit to the Indian country, and, if he found it expedient, to accept the mission.⁹¹ The venture promised well and in November, 1847, Van de Velde signed a contract with the government to open a school among the Miami at their village on the east bank of the Marais des Cygnes, as the upper Osage River was called. Father Charles Truyens, who had served a two-year apprenticeship in Indian missionary life at Sugar Creek, was named superior of the "Residence of St. Francis Regis among the Miami." Father Duerinck had been the original choice of the superior as associate to Truyens; in the event Father Henry Van Mierlo was appointed to the post. He was without experience on the Indian missions and came to the Miami from the novitiate, where he had been employed in light parochial labor. No other fathers besides these two were attached to the Miami establishment during its brief career.

The mission was located on an elevated piece of tableland in the present Miami County about fifteen miles west of the town of West-point, Van Buren County, Missouri, and ten miles southeast of the site of Paola. The main buildings, two in number, standing fifty yards apart,

⁸⁹ Harvey to Verreydt, March 18, 1847. (H).

⁹⁰ (H).

⁹¹ *Liber Consultationum*. (A).

and made of hewn logs, were each two stories high, fifty-one feet long and eleven wide, and contained four rooms about twenty feet square. The soil around was said to be good and capable of producing fifty bushels of corn to the acre. Connected with the mission was a field of forty acres fenced and broken.

The labors of the fathers from their arrival in 1847 yielded but a very meagre measure of success. The school in particular proved to be a failure.⁹² Major Handy, the Indian agent, in a report to Superintendent Mitchell, attributed the failure chiefly to two causes: the school was not of the manual labor type and no provision was made in it for the education of girls though the majority of the Miami children were of that sex. The agent was, besides, clearly dissatisfied with the Catholic management and recommended that the school be given to the Baptists or Presbyterians, the Rev. Daniel Lykins, superintendent of the Wea Baptist Mission being proposed by him as a competent person to take the institution in hand.⁹³ As a matter of fact, Fathers Truyens and Van Mierlo would seem to have been at fault in the matter, at least so believed Father De Smet, who regretted their failure to manage the school to better purpose. This result he attributed to a lack on their part of energy and enterprise. At the same time the general wretchedness existing at the time among the Miami must be regarded

⁹² The maximum number of pupils was eight and most of the time averaged only three. In July, 1849, only one child was in attendance. Handy to Mitchell, July 1, 1849. (H). The first Miami baptism (by Father Truyens) is dated September 2, 1848, the last, July 1, 1849. Father Van Mierlo's last baptism in the same tribe was on August 5, 1849. Subsequent baptisms among the Miami are by Fathers Bax and Ponziglione, the secular priest Father Schacht beginning to visit the tribe only in 1859. (Kinsella, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-243.) Miami baptisms are also entered in the *Sugar Creek Baptismal Register*. There were three at "Miami town," December 17, 1848, by Truyens, and three at Miami Village, March 28, 1849, by Van Mierlo. On April 21, 1849, Truyens baptized at "Miami town," Pierre, son of Pierre Pemtikwidjik and Terese Wawakwe, god-father, Louis Wilson. (F).

⁹³ Handy to Mitchell, October 9, 1849. (H). Rev. Mr. Lykins, following up Major Handy's suggestion, made application for the management of the Miami school as appears from his letter in the files of the Indian Bureau, Washington. In a previous report submitted to Superintendent Mitchell (July 1, 1849, H) Handy lays the blame for the failure of the school on the incompetency of the persons in charge. The Major appears to have felt particular irritation over a statement made by Truyens in a report to the effect that there were only 87 Indians on the reserve. He calls Mitchell's attention to the fact that there are 284 Indians on the pay-roll, 100 of them being children, of whom 75 live in the immediate vicinity of the mission. In transmitting Major Handy's report to the Bureau, August 1, 1849, Mitchell made the following comment: "As an act of justice to the reverend gentlemen in charge of the school, from whom I have lately received a letter in relation to the number of Miami, I would state that when he put down 87 as the number of Miami, he merely referred to those of pure blood and who were settled in the immediate neighborhood of the mission."

as a circumstance that had much to do with the failure of the Catholic Miami school. A paragraph from Major Handy's report for 1849 deals with conditions among the tribe, which perhaps were not quite as bad as they are described:

The Miami tribe of Indians are located on the Marais des Cygnes and its tributaries, having the best country in my agency, both in point of soil and timber, neither of which is doing them much good. There is but a single field, out of the large number that has been broken up for them, that has been tilled this year, although they are almost starving for bread. A majority are living within fifteen miles of the State-line, all along which are placed, at convenient points, numbers of groceries, which so contrive to evade the law as to furnish the Indians with any quantity of whiskey, and receive from them, when their money is gone, blankets, horses and clothing of all descriptions. The Miamies are a miserable race of beings, and in consequence of their dissipated habits, are fast passing off the stage of being. Within the last year, thirty have died. They now number about two hundred and fifty, though I do not believe there are over two hundred Miamies proper. They are not only destroying themselves by liquor, but are continually murdering one another. There is less intelligence among these Indians than any in my agency; indeed, there is scarcely a sensible man among them. Their present wretched condition I conceive to be the result of excessive indulgence in drink. So as far as obedience to their agent and a strict compliance with the wishes of government is concerned, there is no fault to be found with them.⁹⁴

The odds against the missionaries were plainly heavy enough though probably greater resourcefulness on their part would have enabled them to carry on. At all events, Father Truyens, discouraged over what appeared to him the very slender hope of accomplishing anything on behalf of the liquor-loving Miami, urged upon Father Elet, the discontinuance of the mission. This the vice-provincial reluctantly agreed to, for there were no competent hands available to go on with the work. Accordingly Father De Smet as procurator of the vice-province and official intermediary in all business dealings between the government and the Indian missions appealed in May, 1849, to Superintendent of Indian Affairs Mitchell for a release of the Jesuits from the Miami school.⁹⁵ The superintendent, after correspondence with the Indian Bureau, acquiesced in the petition and instructed Major Handy of the Osage River Agency to take over from the missionaries the school-buildings and other public property of the mission. "For some cause," Mitchell wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Brown, August 1, 1849, "and probably as much as any other from the intemperance of

⁹⁴ *RCIA*, 1849.

⁹⁵ De Smet to Mitchell, May 11, 1849. (H).

the Miami, the school has not prospered.”⁹⁶ “I regret deeply the necessity which has compelled you,” Mitchell had written in May, 1849, to De Smet, “to abandon this laudable undertaking; but at the same time fully concur with you in the expediency of doing so. I sincerely hope that the benevolent and sincerely Christian exertions in other places may meet with a better reward. If Providence has ordained otherwise, you will at least have the heartfelt satisfaction of knowing that you have done your duty in this world—and the cherishing hope of a suitable reward in the next.”⁹⁷

The buildings of the mission were turned over in the summer of 1849 to Major Handy and the missionaries at once took their departure. Father Truyens was recalled to St. Louis, Father Van Mierlo was sent to Washington, Mo., to assist Father Eysvogels, while Brother Toelle was assigned to the Potawatomi mission of St. Mary’s.

Despite the ill-success of the Catholic mission among the Miami, 1847-1849, it is clear that the Indians did not lose their desire for Catholic missionaries as appears from the fact that in 1851 they were asking for them again. In a letter dated “Miami Nation, November 2, 1851,” Father Bax, the Osage missionary, then on a visit to the tribe, wrote to Major Coffey:

They tell me that a large majority of the nation want to have a Catholic mission. If this would be the case, I think they would have the right to have one. I communicated to [with] the General Superintendent of our Indian Missions and he tells me that although the tribe is small, still, as all the half-breeds and also some of the Indians were Catholics, he would take charge of it when offered by the Government. What I would kindly ask of you is to ascertain the above statement impartially by vote or otherwise so that all undue influence may be avoided in those for or against. I could have ascertained it by petition, but was unwilling to try it without consulting you.

If the majority of the nation be found in favor of any other Society, they have likewise the right to have it and as for my part, I will be perfectly satisfied, when it will be given them. I will not mention the subject any more nor wish to have it mentioned by them.

Major Chenaut told me last summer that the Government is bound in justice to give the Indians the missionaries of a Society for which the majority of the nation calls and also that the Society has the right that the mission should be entrusted to it.⁹⁸

Major Coffey in his letter transmitting Bax’s communication to Superintendent Mitchell expressed the opinion that while the half-breed Miami, being perhaps all Catholics, would no doubt prefer Catholic

⁹⁶ Mitchell to Brown, August 1, 1849. (H).

⁹⁷ Mitchell to De Smet, May, 1844. (H).

⁹⁸ (H).

missionaries, the full-blooded part of the nation, who were distinctly in the majority, had no preference as between the missionaries of the different denominations.⁹⁹ Whether or not the matter was ever voted on by the tribe, as Father Bax suggested should be done, does not appear. In April, 1852, the father was still urging the reopening of the mission, having obtained Bishop Miége's approval for the step. "I received a letter of F. Bax dated 14 March," wrote De Smet to the vice-provincial, Father W. S. Murphy, "in which he expresses a great desire with the consent of B[isho]p. Miége, of recommencing the abandoned Mission among the Miami—and that the Bp. had declared then that he would take that Mission if offered him by Government. This mission was formerly attended to, but without success, by FF. [Fathers] Truyens and Van Mierlo. I must add at the same time that the non-success was more to be attributed to the two FF. [Fathers] than to the Indians. Such was the opinion of Father Bax and others. This affair is to pass through the Agency of Col. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis, and which I shall communicate to him at his return from Washington."¹⁰⁰ In the event the Catholic Miami mission for whatever reason was not reestablished. As a sequel to the whole episode it may be noted that in 1866 a number of Miami boys were received at the Potawatomi school of St. Mary's on the Kansas River, the Indian parents having frequently expressed a desire to send their children to that Catholic institution.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ (H).

¹⁰⁰ De Smet to W. S. Murphy, April 1, 1852. (A).

¹⁰¹ "[Rev.] Mr. Ivo Schlacht [Schacht]" having offered to take over the school in November, 1858, the Miami Indians signed a petition to be allowed to use the mission buildings at the Miami village "for a school to be conducted in accordance with the wishes of the Catholic population." (H). The "Miami have expressed a desire to send the older children of the nation to St. Mary's and to have the younger children educated at home." "The terms proposed by the Superintendent of St. Mary's are satisfactory to the nation." C. A. Colton (Osage River Agency, Paola) to Dole. (H). "The Kickapoo and Miami have frequently expressed their desire to send their children to the St. Mary's Mission school among the Potawatomes. I understand that these tribes have a school fund for the education of their children, but no schools. (I am requested by the Superintendent of St. Mary's to know if the school funds of those tribes would be applied for the education of children sent.) The best way to learn English is to have children of the different tribes together, then they must speak a common language." Palmer to Cooley, March 7, 1866. (H). C. C. Taylor, special agent of the Indian Office, reported July 5, 1866, that though the Miami had an education fund of fifty thousand dollars with accrued interest of seventy thousand dollars they were still without schools, though they had repeatedly asked for them. "This neglect is inexcusable." (H). Mapshinga, "first chief" of the Miami, was baptized at St. Mary's Mission in 1858. "He is a good sensible man. At every council of the nation he tried hard to get a Catholic school and Catholic missionaries. He is the only man of his tribe that has not fallen a victim to whiskey." Father Gailland in *WL*, 6: 73.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE OREGON MISSIONS, I

§ I. THE FLATHEAD DEPUTATIONS TO ST. LOUIS

The diocese of St. Louis from its erection in 1826 until 1843 not only reached as far as the Rocky Mountains but passed in some vague way at least beyond the Continental Divide into what was generally known as "the Oregon Country."¹ This latter area included within its limits what is now Oregon, Washington, Idaho and western Montana. Here was a spiritual jurisdiction of truly imperial range, extending as it did from east of the Mississippi, where it embraced the western moiety of the state of Illinois, to the Pacific Northwest.² As early as 1811 or 1812 a group of Canadian trappers and traders, employees or ex-employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, were settled in the lower Columbia basin.³ They were the pioneer Catholics of that region and as early as 1821 a petition for spiritual aid on their behalf was forwarded thence to Father Rosati, vicar-general of upper Louisiana.⁴ When the vicar-general was so short-handed for help that parishes in

¹ "Oregon territory is that important part of North America which extends from the 42nd to the 50th [?] degree of N. latitude and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. It is bounded on the north by the Russian possessions and on the south by California; forming a kind of parallelogram about seven hundred miles in length and five hundred in breadth and containing 375,000 miles." P. J. De Smet, *Oregon Missions and Travels in the Rocky Mountains in 1845-1846* (New York, 1847), p. 14.

² Apparently Bishop Rosati considered the Oregon country as lying, partly at least, within the limits of his jurisdiction. De Smet and his associates received from him "faculties" or licenses to exercise the ministry in the country "beyond the Rocky Mountains" although in 1838 the Bishop of Quebec had begun to be represented in the lower and even upper Columbia Valley by a vicar-general. It is conceivable that the faculties granted by Rosati were by delegation from the Bishop of Quebec. Still, Bishop Signay of Quebec in a letter of November 20, 1840, distinguished between the American and the British possessions west of the Rockies, the former belonging ecclesiastically to St. Louis, the latter to Quebec. It is difficult to see how lines of jurisdiction could be drawn at this time on a political basis as the entire and undivided Oregon country prior to 1846 was held jointly by the United States and Great Britain. There was no such thing as distinct American and British possessions in Oregon before that date.

³ CR, *De Smet*, I: 23.

⁴ *Ann. Prop.*, I:(n. 2) 52.

the neighborhood of St. Louis could not be adequately cared for, it was impossible for him to meet the wishes of the handful of Oregon Catholics by providing them with a pastor. Ten years later, in 1831, an incident occurred that again turned the attention of Rosati, now become Bishop of St. Louis, to the spiritual needs of distant Oregon. About October 17 of that year a party of four Indians of either the Flathead or Nez-Percé nation appeared in St. Louis, having according to a traditional account travelled all the way from their home in the upper Columbia Valley to ask for Catholic missionaries. The details of the incident were embodied by Bishop Rosati in a letter of December 31, 1831, which appeared in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*:

Some three months ago four Indians who live across the Rocky Mountains near the Columbia river [Clark's Fork of the Columbia] arrived at St. Louis. After visiting General Clark, who, in his celebrated travels, has visited their nation and has been well treated by them, they came to see our church and appeared to be exceedingly well pleased with it.⁵ Unfortunately, there was not one who understood their language. Some time afterwards two of them fell dangerously ill. I was then absent from St. Louis.

Two of our priests visited them and the poor Indians seemed to be delighted with the visit. They made signs of the cross and other signs which appeared to have some relation to baptism. The sacrament was administered to them; they gave expressions of satisfaction. A little cross was presented to them. They took it with eagerness, kissed it repeatedly and it could be taken from them only after death. It was truly distressing that they could not be spoken to. Their remains were carried to the church and their funeral was conducted with all the Catholic ceremonies.⁶ The other two attended and acted very becomingly. We have since learned from a Canadian, who has crossed the country which they inhabit, that they belong to the nation of Flat-Heads, who, as also another called Black Feet, had received some notions of the Catholic religion from two Indians who had been to Canada and who had related what they had seen, giving a striking description of the beautiful ceremonies of the Catholic worship and telling them that it was also the religion of the whites. They have retained what they could of it, and they have learned to make the sign of the Cross and to pray. These nations have

⁵ General William Clark, principal with Meriwether Lewis in the overland expedition of 1804-1806 to the Pacific and at this period (1831) superintendent of Indian affairs west of the Mississippi. His residence in St. Louis was at the southeast corner of Olive and Fifth Streets, the site being now marked by a memorial tablet affixed to the building of the National Bank of Commerce. The church visited by the Indians was Bishop Du Bourg's cathedral of brick on the west side of Second Street between Market and Walnut.

⁶ One of the Indians, described in the Old Cathedral burial-register as "*Kee-peellélé ou Pipe Bard du Nez Percé de la tribu de Chopoweeek Nation appelé Têtes Plates âgé d'environ quarante ans*," died October 31, 1831. The other, Paul, "*sauvage de la Nation des Têtes Plates venant de la rivière Columbia au dela des Rocky Mountains*," died November 7 following.

not yet been corrupted by intercourse with others. Their manners and customs are simple and they are very numerous. Mr. Condamine [diocesan priest of the St. Louis Cathedral] has offered himself to go to them next spring with another priest. In the meantime we shall obtain some further information of what we have been told and of the means of travel.⁷

To explain how these Indians of the Northwest came by the knowledge they seemed to possess of the Catholic religion, one must turn to an episode in the history of the Iroquois Indians. It was this famous tribe that laid waste the Huron Mission of New France, and sent Lallemand, Brébeuf and other Jesuit priests to martyrdom. Yet from the beginning some fruits of conversion had been gathered among them, chiefly those of the Mohawk and Onondaga branches, and there were Catholic Iroquois settlements at Caughnawaga and other points before the close of the seventeenth century. About 1816 a party of twenty-four Iroquois went out from Caughnawaga on the south bank of the St. Lawrence a few miles above Montreal to seek a new home in the distant West. Their wanderings brought them into the country of the Flatheads in the upper reaches of the Columbia Valley immediately west of the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains. Here, finding themselves welcome visitors, they settled down, intermarried with the Flatheads and were adopted into the tribe.⁸

⁷ Tr. from *Ann. Prop.*, in Lawrence Palladino, S.J., *Indian and White in the Northwest* (2nd ed., Lancaster, Pa., 1922), p. 11. The various Flathead deputations to St. Louis are often confused. They were four in number and are correctly stated by De Smet, CR, *De Smet*, 1:290. Cf. also Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon* (San Francisco, 1888), 1:54, 55.

⁸ Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 8. The Iroquois probably arrived among the Flatheads later than 1814. According to Bishop Rosati's diary the two Flatheads of the 1839 deputation reached the Flathead country from Canada in 1816. (*SLCHR*, 2:188). Ross Cox, an employee of the Northwestern Fur Company, who was among the Flatheads early in that year and left an account of their religious beliefs in his *Adventures on the Columbia River* (New York, 1832), makes no mention of any acquaintance on their part with Christianity, though he comments with praise on their virtuous habits. Father Mengarini in an unpublished Italian ms. (*Memoria delle Missioni delle Teste Piatte*, 1848, 22 pp., AA) states that the Iroquois "who were called whites only because they spoke French" arrived among the Flatheads in 1828. He says further that the first genuine whites to reach the Flatheads were Americans and these came in 1812(?). Mengarini, though writing at a date when the events in question were no doubt fresh in the memory of the tribe, confuses the various Flathead deputations. But he supplies some interesting details not found in Palladino. He names three Iroquois, Big Ignace (*Ignazio grande*), Little Ignace, so called to distinguish him from the preceding, and Peter. Besides these there was an elderly Canadian, Jean Baptiste Gerve (Gervais), and a "Creole." "As soon as these [five] had acquired some knowledge of the Indian language, they undertook to tell them [the Flatheads] a thousand things about the ways of the country of the whites and gave them their first knowledge of the true God and of our holy reli-

The Flathead or Salish tribe, the *Têtes-plats* of the Canadian trappers and traders, belong to the widely extended linguistic family known as the Salishan, to which they gave their name.⁹ At the dawn of the period of exploration tribes of Salishan stock occupied a territory that stretched from what is now western Montana across Idaho and Washington into British Columbia. The Salish proper or Flatheads were once

gion; then it was that the Flatheads began for the first time to distinguish right from wrong." (This last statement would seem to be at variance with Cox's testimony). Father Joset, complying with a request from the Jesuit General, Peter Beckx, wrote a narrative (not altogether accurate as regards the deputations to St. Louis) of the beginnings of the Rocky Mountain Missions. (Joset à Beckx, December 29, 1868). "*Elles sont un des fruits des missions de l'ancienne Compagnie.*" For details on the condition of the Flatheads before the arrival of the missionaries, cf. W. S. Lewis and P. C. Phillips (eds.), *The Journal of John Work, a chief-trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, during his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest* (Cleveland, 1923).

Catholic Iroquois Indians find occasional mention in church records of the pioneer period. A group of them emigrated from the Rocky Mountain region to the site of Kansas City, Missouri, where they settled in the district subsequently known as the West Bottoms. Of the thirteen baptisms administered by Father Benedict Roux on February 23, 1834, the first recorded in the history of Kansas City, two were of Iroquois-Flatheads (as the register describes them), Francis Sasson Essassinary and Louis Sasson Essassinary. Moreover, the earliest recorded marriage within the limits of what is now Kansas City, Missouri, July 18, 1836, Father Van Quickenborne being the officiating priest, was that of two Iroquois Indians (or mixed-bloods), Benjamin Lagautherie and Charlotte Gray. Cf. Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri* (Chicago, 1919), pp. 67, 93. At the Kickapoo Mission Van Quickenborne was informed as early as 1836 of the Flathead desire for a Catholic priest. He wrote thence to some unknown correspondent: "In that country, so I am told, the Flathead nation, after receiving instruction from a Canadian doctor, observes a number of Christian customs, for example the keeping holy of Sunday and the prescribed fasts and abstinences of the Church. They have asked for a Catholic priest to instruct them in religion. With them are also living a great number of Algonquins and Catholic Iroquois come from Canada. They have married in that country and would like to have their marriages blessed and their children baptized. In spring they come together in a sort of fair [rendezvous] to make purchases from one another for the whole year. Then they scatter to live in family-groups. Every year a steamboat leaves St. Louis to penetrate into the heart of these Mountains, taking only three months to make the journey up and down. We regard it as an indispensable duty to profit by this occasion to send some one of Ours to encourage these good dispositions, until such time as we can do more in their behalf." Van Quickenborne à ———, Oct. 4, 1836. (AA).

⁹ Other Salishan tribes who figure in the history of the Rocky Mountain Missions are the Spokan (Zingomenes) and Kalispels, the latter popularly known as the Pend d'Oreilles ("Ear Drops"), both closely allied to the Flatheads and speaking practically the same language; the Coeur d'Alénes (Awl-Hearts or Pointed Hearts); Okinagans, Sanpoil (Sinpoil), Shuswaps (Shushwap), and the Colville or Kettle Fall (Chaudière) Indians.

an influential tribe in the present western Montana, settled chiefly around Flathead Lake and along the Flathead and Bitter Root Valleys. Lewis and Clark, who passed through their country in 1805 and again in 1806, estimated their population at six hundred; but in 1853 this number had dwindled to three hundred.¹⁰ Strangely enough, the Flatheads did not practice the peculiar artificial deformation from which they take their name, though the custom was in vogue among the tribes further west, especially the Chinooks.¹¹ One may read in Irving's *Astoria* an account of the method employed by the Chinook Indians in flattening their children's heads.¹² How the tribe officially known as the Flatheads came to have the epithet applied to them without any apparent foundation in fact has never been satisfactorily explained. It has been conjectured that it was "given to them by their neighbors not because they artificially deformed their heads, but because, unlike most tribes farther west, they left them in their natural condition, flat on top." Again, it has been suggested that the name was bestowed upon them by the first Canadian visitors for the reason that slaves from the Pacific coast with flattened heads were found among them.

Prior even to the coming of the missionaries the Flatheads had made a remarkable advance in ethical perception and practice. An interesting glimpse into conditions in the tribe as far back as 1814 is afforded by the narrative of Ross Cox, who was impressed by its comparative freedom from the ordinary vices of Indian life.¹³ It thus gave promise of a ready acceptance of the gospel message as soon as it should come within its reach. The message came with the arrival among the Flatheads about 1816 of the above-mentioned party of Christian Iroquois from Canada. The leader of this party, according to a well-authenticated Flathead account, was Ignace La Mousse, called also Big or Old Ignace, to distinguish him from a younger Indian of the same name who also finds mention in Flathead history. Ignace La Mousse gave the Flatheads their first notions of Catholic belief and practice. He repeatedly went over with them the leading points of Catholic doctrine and taught them to say the Lord's Prayer, make the sign of the Cross, baptize their children and sanctify the Sunday.¹⁴ The

¹⁰ Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1912), 2:415, art. "Salish."

¹¹ Hodge, *op. cit.*, 2:465, art. "Flathead"; Cox, *op. cit.*, Chap. XI.

¹² Washington Irving, *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia, 1836), Chap. VIII.

¹³ Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 127 ff. Cox went to Oregon in 1811 to enter the service of the Astors. He was subsequently connected with the Pacific Fur Company and the Northwest Fur Company. Washington Irving in his *Astoria* drew largely on Cox's narrative. Cf. also Bancroft, *Oregon*, 1:116.

¹⁴ Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Cf., however, note 15. Father Ferdinand Helias,

Indians took up his teaching with eagerness and made earnest efforts to put it into practice. Upon one point Ignace was particularly insistent, the urgency of having black-robcs in their midst to teach them the white man's prayer. The result was that a quest for Catholic priests to bring among them the blessings of the religion they had learned about from their Iroquois instructor was eagerly taken up by the Flatheads.¹⁵

who met Old Ignace in St. Louis in 1835, witnesses to his accurate knowledge of the catechism. Chittenden and Richardson (*De Smet*, 1:20) note the likelihood that the Flatheads in their intercourse with the Canadian half-breed traders and trappers, who were all Catholics, at least nominally so, had received from the latter their first knowledge of the Catholic Church. This view is also the one adopted by Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington: the Rise and Progress of an American State* (New York, 1909), 2:95. "The instruction given these people [Nez Percés at Walla Walla] by Pambrun is therefore quite sufficient to account for the visit of their representative to St. Louis. But whether this famous delegation was prompted to go east in search of religious light—as all other seekers for it have done—by the teachings of Pambrun or by the visit of "Old Ignace," it is reasonably clear that it was by the teaching of some Catholic or by suggestion of some one who was familiar with the Catholic form of worship. They habitually sought for robed priests and the ceremonies which had been described to them and readily recognized them when they saw them." In view of Mengarini's explicit statement resting on the testimony of the eye-witness, J. B. Gervais, there would seem to be no doubt that Old Ignace was the first religious teacher of the Flatheads.

¹⁵ Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Whether Ignace La Mousse was the Ignace Shonowane of Irving's *Astoria* (C. XII) does not appear. Father Mengarini's Italian memoir of 1848 contains the earliest version (apart from De Smet's brief notice) which we possess of the traditional account, which he obtained by word of mouth from contemporary witnesses, especially J. B. Gervais. The memoir, which is not free from inaccuracies, has these particulars about Big Ignace: "Big Ignace especially may be considered to be the first whom God made use of to dissipate the thick darkness which up to that time had enveloped the minds of our Indians. His words, reenforced by very virtuous behavior (this latter being a thing quite difficult, I should almost say impossible to find among whites who live with the Indians), made a breach in the hearts of several, especially among the older ones, who spent not only days but sometimes entire nights in the tent of this precursor, as I may call him, in order to hear him talk of God, religion and especially baptism. Then it was that the Flatheads heard of certain white men clothed in black whose practice it was to instruct people, bring them to know God and all good things, and enable them to live after death. Every time he spoke to the Indians (so old Gerve [Gervais] told me recently), he would finish by saying 'what I tell you is nothing compared with what the black-robcs (*robe nere*) know.' Ignace would not teach the Indians any prayers, as he was asked to do, for fear, as he said 'of changing the word of God.' [Palladino, p. 9, says the contrary.] Asked one day 'Why don't the black-robcs come here,' Ignace replied, 'You must go and find them.'" Then turning to old Peter, principal Flathead chief, who died in 1841, Ignace petitioned him to send some of his nation to St. Louis for priests. This was done in the spring of 1831, the party consisting, according to Mengarini, of four Flatheads and two Nez Percés. At Independence two Flatheads and the two Nez Percés died;

To return, now, to the visit to St. Louis in 1831 of the party of Indians from the Northwest. An account current among the Flatheads represents them to have been a deputation from this tribe, who, at the instance of Old Ignace, had commissioned four of their number to undertake the perilous journey to obtain a Catholic priest. This version of the incident, resting apparently on a solid basis of Flathead tribal tradition cannot easily be set aside. On the other hand, there are indications that the Indians in question were not Flatheads at all but Nez Percés.¹⁶ Two of the party, it will be recalled, died in St. Louis. The burial record of one of the two who died in St. Louis describes him as a "Nez Percé of the Chopoweeke tribe called the Flathead nation." Moreover, William Walker, an educated Wyandot Indian, who, however, does not appear to have been in St. Louis at the time of the Indians' visit, though the contrary has been stated, but obtained his information about them at secondhand, described them as actually having flattened heads, a practice unknown among the Flathead or Salish tribe, though found to some extent among the Nez Percés. A third account represents the deputation as having come under a joint commission from Flatheads and Nez Percés together. The Nez Percés, it may be noted, were neighbors of the Flatheads, with whom they often came into contact. They are the main tribe of the Shapatian stock of Indians and were known in early times as the Chopunish or Shapatians. As in the case of the Flatheads, the name they bear is a misnomer, for the practice, common among some other Indian tribes, of piercing the nose to insert a piece of dentalium did not, as far as is known, obtain among them.¹⁷

What became of the two surviving members of the party of 1831 and whether they ever reached their home beyond the Rockies has never been ascertained.¹⁸ Inquiries made later on among the Flatheads failed to elicit any information concerning them. As to the whole affair, one thing seems reasonably certain. On the supposition that the four Indians came to St. Louis to ask for missionaries, they must have had in view Catholic ones and not those of any other denomina-

the rest returned in discouragement. These latter particulars are not accurately stated, as the deputation of 1831 or a part of it reached St. Louis.

¹⁶ "A letter written by one H. McAllister of St. Louis, April 17, 1833, in reference to this deputation [of 1831] states that it was 'from the Chopunnish tribe, residing on Lewis River, above and below the mouth of the Koos-koos-ka (Clearwater) river and a small band of Flatheads that live with them.' This information was apparently derived from General Clark. There are other authorities to the same end. The question is, therefore, a doubtful one as to who these Indians really were with the weight of evidence in favor of the Nez Percé identity, instead of the Flatheads of Father De Smet." CR, *De Smet*, 1: 23.

¹⁷ Hodge, *op. cit.*, 2: 65, art. "Nez Percés." Francis Haines, "The Nez Percé Delegation to St. Louis in 1831," *Pacific Historical Review*, 6: 71-78 (1937).

¹⁸ The point is discussed in CR, *De Smet*, 1: 24. Cf. also *supra*, note 15.

tion. The death of two of their number under the circumstances narrated in Bishop Rosati's letter points to some previous acquaintance on their part with Catholic belief. Moreover, Catholicism was the only form of Christianity they could possibly have become acquainted with in their native habitat, whether we suppose them to have been Flatheads or Nez Percés. The only white people they freely came in contact with were Canadian trappers and traders, such as Nicholas Pambrun at Fort Walla Walla, and these were all Catholics, at least in name. Moreover, as has been seen, Iroquois Indians or half-breeds from Canada brought among the Flatheads a knowledge of Catholic belief and practice and this knowledge could easily have been communicated to the near-by Nez Percés. As to clergymen, whether Catholic or Protestant, none at this date, 1831, had as yet set foot in either the Flathead or Nez Percé country. All the circumstances indicate, therefore, that the expedition of Rocky Mountain Indians to St. Louis in 1831, as far as one may suppose it to have had any religious purpose at all, was motivated by a desire to secure Catholic missionaries.¹⁹

¹⁹ For further details on the Indian expedition of 1831 to St. Louis, cf. the following: (1) Palladino, S.J., *op. cit.* The traditional and apparently trustworthy Catholic version put on record by one who knew the Flatheads by long and intimate contact in the capacity of missionary, Francis Saxa, eldest son of Old Ignace and well known to Palladino, having no doubt been one of his informants. (2) Chittenden and Richardson, *De Smet*, 1: 22-28. A scholarly discussion tending to support the Catholic side of the question and presenting evidence from non-Catholic sources not to be found in Palladino. (3) Edward Mallet, "The Origin of the Flathead Mission of the Rocky Mountains," *RACHS*, 2: 174-205. A careful and well documented treatment reaching the conclusion that the deputation of 1831 was not motivated by religious considerations but had a commercial or other secular purpose behind it. (4) John Rothensteiner, "The Flathead and Nez Percé Delegation to St. Louis," in *SLCHR*, 2: 183 *et seq.* A thoroughgoing analysis of the conflicting evidence bearing on the subject, the author establishing on a sound basis the religious character of the delegation of 1831, as having for its object the procuring of Catholic priests. Two important testimonies cited by the author in support of his conclusion are those of Marcus Whitman and Gen. William Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis. Whitman in his journal of 1835 witnesses that the Indians came to St. Louis in 1831 "to gain a knowledge of the Christian religion, as I received it from the traders under whose protection they came and returned. He says their object was to gain religious knowledge. For this purpose the Flathead tribe delegated one of their principal chiefs and two of their principal men, and the Nez Percé tribe a like delegation, it being a joint delegation of both tribes." General Clark's account is contained in a letter of E. W. Sehon, a St. Louis resident, reproduced in Bashford, *The Oregon Missions*, p. 13. "General Clark informed me . . . that the cause of the visit of the Indians was: Two of their number had received an education at some Jesuitical School in Montreal, Canada; and had returned to the tribe and endeavored, as far as possible, to instruct their brethren how the whites approached the Great Spirit. A spirit of enquiry was aroused, a deputation was appointed and a tedious journey of three thousand miles

And yet by a curious issue of events a Protestant character was eventually given to the incident of 1831 with the result that a wave of non-Catholic missionary enterprise was soon set up in the direction of the Rocky Mountains. In the *Christian Advocate* of New York appeared under date of February 18, 1833, a letter from G. P. Disoway enclosing another from William Walker, the Wyandot interpreter, describing his alleged meeting with the Rocky Mountain Indians in November, 1831. Further correspondence on the subject appeared in the same journal, which was soon sending out fervid appeals to the Protestant religious world to dispatch missionaries to the benighted savages of Oregon. The form which the incident of 1831 now took in the Protestant press was that the Indians had come to St. Louis in search of the Bible, the "White Man's Book," which, to their great disappointment, they failed to find. In this connection there grew up a myth that on the eve of their departure from St. Louis the two surviving members of the party were given a banquet, at which one of them made an address deploring their failure to meet with the coveted book. The story was given wide currency in the Protestant press of the country though no trace of evidence for the genuineness of the address has ever been produced.²⁰ The fanciful oration, cleverly devised with a view to stimulate Protestant support for missionary enterprise beyond the Rockies, had its desired effect. Of its two paragraphs the second ran as follows:

My people sent me to get the "White Man's Book of Heaven." You took me to where you allow your women to dance as we do not ours and the book was not there. You took me to where they worship the Great Spirit with candles and the book was not there. You showed me images of the good spirits and the pictures of the good home beyond, but the book was not among them to tell us the way. I am going back the long and sad trail to my people in the dark land. You make my feet heavy with gifts and my moccasins will

was performed to learn for themselves of Jesus and Him crucified." (5) Cf. also Archer B. Hulbert, "Undeveloped Factors in the Life of Marcus Whitman," in James F. Willard and Colin B. Goodykoontz (eds.), *The Trans-Mississippi West*, (Boulder, Colo., 1930), p. 90. "[Rev. Samuel Parker's] Journal states that the so-called 'Four Wise Men of the West' were not commissioned by their tribes to go to St. Louis for a 'Book,' but went out of curiosity. This important piece of information was received direct from the Nez Percés. *It was omitted from the published volume* [italics Hulbert's own]." A. B. Hulbert discusses the topic further in *The Oregon Crusade: Across Land and Sea to Oregon* (Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1935), p. 87 *et seq.*

²⁰ "It is said upon the questionable authority of Rev. H. H. Spalding, who went to Oregon with Marcus Whitman, that a clerk of the American Fur Company in St. Louis overheard the speech and wrote it up and sent it to his friends in Pittsburgh." CR, *De Smet*, I: 24.

grow old in carrying them, yet the book is not among them. When I tell my poor blind people after we have snow, in the big council, that I did not bring the book, no word will be spoken by our old men or by our young braves. One by one they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness and they will go a long path to other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them and no White Man's Book to make the way plain. I have no more words.²¹

In 1834, the year after the call for missionary aid to the Rocky Mountain tribes was first sounded in the columns of the *Christian Advocate* of New York, the Methodists sent out two missionaries, Jason and Daniel Lee, who arrived in the Flathead country, but without making a settlement there, as they proposed to do. This change of plan was occasioned by the reluctance of the Flatheads to accept Protestant missionaries in lieu of Catholic ones.²² The Lees, proceeding further West, opened a mission among the Canadians on the Willamette. They were followed in 1835 by Reverend Samuel Parker and Marcus Whitman, who were commissioned by the Presbyterian Board of Missions to investigate the prospects offered by the new missionary field in the Pacific Northwest.²³ At the Green River rendezvous Whitman turned back to carry to the board a report recommending the immediate dispatch of missionaries. In the following year, Whitman, who was a physician, and the Rev. H. H. Spalding, both of them accompanied by their wives, started from the East for Oregon. Dr. Whitman took up his residence among the Cayuse at Waiilatpu near the Walla Walla River while Spalding established himself among the Nez Percés at Lapwai. These non-Catholic missions among the Oregon Indians failed to realize the hopes entertained by their founders and were subsequently suspended.

The historic visit of the Flathead or Nez Percé Indians to St.

²¹ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 25.

²² Palladino, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22. Daniel Lee and Joseph H. Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon* (1844), p. 127, give other reasons for the failure of the Lees to take up work among the Flatheads. "Subsequent inquiries had furnished reasons to the missionaries that could not justify any attempt to commence among them [the Flatheads]. First, the means of subsistence in a region so remote and difficult of access were, to say the least, very difficult. Second, the smallness of their number. Third, the vicinity of the Black Feet, as well the white men's enemies as theirs, and who would fall upon the abettors of their foes with signal revenge. Fourth, a larger field of usefulness was contemplated as the object of the mission than the benefiting of a single tribe."

²³ Cf. Edward G. Bourne, *Essays in Historical Criticism* (New Haven, 1913); William Marshall, *Acquisition of Oregon and the Long Suppressed Evidence about Marcus Whitman*, 1911; Archer B. Hulbert, "Undeveloped Factors in the Life of Marcus Whitman," in *The Trans-Mississippi West*, 87-102.

Louis in 1831 had therefore for its direct result the establishment of Protestant missions in Oregon. It led to no immediate outcome on the Catholic side, though Father Matthew Condamine of the St. Louis cathedral had offered his services to Bishop Rosati for missionary work among the Flatheads. As to the St. Louis Jesuits, there is no evidence of any attempt having been made to engage their missionary services on this occasion. If such attempt were actually made, one can understand how it met with no success. The number of fathers available for the various activities of the Missouri Mission fell altogether below actual needs especially since the opening of the new St. Louis College in 1829. Hence, for the moment, distant missionary enterprise was not to be thought of. But the second deputation of Rocky Mountain Indians to St. Louis, that of 1835, brought the Jesuits distinctly into the movement. The two outstanding features of this deputation were that it certainly came from the Flatheads and that its avowed object was to procure Catholic priests.

When Dr. Whitman and the Rev. Samuel Parker arrived at the Green River rendezvous in 1835, they were met by a Flathead chief, Michael Insula, who had been deputed by his people to go forward and give the expected clergymen welcome. On finding these to be Protestant missionaries instead of the Catholic black-gowns he had expected to meet, Insula returned in great disappointment to his tribe.²⁴ The Flatheads now determined to send an agent to St. Louis who could plead in person with the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities for the favor of a priest. Their choice for the commission fell on Old Ignace, the Iroquois Indian who had given them their first lessons in Christianity. Ignace, who seems to have volunteered for the perilous commission, journeyed to St. Louis in the fall of 1835 without other company than that of his two little sons. The sons were baptized December 2 of the same year by Father Ferdinand Helias, S.J., who relates the incident in an autobiographical memoir:

At this juncture there arrived from the ends of the continent, from beyond the Rocky Mountains, from the country of the Pacific coast, an Iroquois with his sons, whom he wished to have instructed and baptized by our Fathers. This Indian ambassador from seven savage nations was very tall of stature and of grave, modest and refined deportment. Father Helias instructed the two sons, one 14, the other 10 years of age, who were of handsome figure and very intelligent. They understood a little French and their father, who was perfectly instructed, served them as interpreter. Their own language was that of the Flathead nation, their mother being of this tribe. She was married

²⁴ Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Parker in his journal (Auburn, 1846, pp. 81, 82) gives a different version of the reception accorded the Protestant missionaries at Green River.

to their father Ignace Petruì according to the manner and rite of the Flathead nation. Father Helias baptized them in our chapel in the presence of Rev. Father P. J. Verhaegen, Rector of the College, and the professors Van Sweevelt and Pin, Father Isidore Boudreaux, then a student of the University, acting as god-father. They received the sacrament of regeneration with much devotion, their father on his knees in tears . . . at the father's request he [Helias] had given the name Charles to the older of the two and Francis Xavier to the other. The two youths were then brought to the refectory, while Father Helias remained alone in the church with Ignace, who confessed to him and edified him greatly by the fervent devotion with which he adored on his knees the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. He told Father Helias there were seven nations who had asked him to bring them a priest, namely, the Flatheads, Onapersé [Nez Percés], Panthères[?], Cottonais [Kutenai], Lespokans [Spokan], Cajous [Cayuse], Ochazères[?], in all about 6000 souls. Having partaken of a frugal meal, and carrying with them a load of presents from Father Rector, and a rosary and a medal from Father Helias, they returned to Liberty, Missouri, on the frontier of the state, where they counted on spending the winter with their [own] people[?]. He was very anxious to leave the two boys at college. Father Helias would very willingly have lodged them in his own room, but Father Rector did not think himself authorized to grant this favor. He [Ignace] offered Father Helias a dollar, which being refused, he made the same offer to Father Rector and with like result. Then, having earnestly recommended himself to our prayers and sacrifices, he took affectionate leave of the fathers, walking modestly out of the house without stopping through curiosity to look at anything on the way. This gave great edification to the students of the college.²⁵

Thus no priest accompanied Old Ignace when he left St. Louis with his two sons to return to his distant Rocky Mountain home.²⁶ His mission, beyond a promise received that a black-robe would be sent to the Flatheads if circumstances permitted, had been without success. Months passed and found the expectant Indians still disappointed. A fresh deputation to St. Louis was finally determined upon and dispatched in 1837. At its head went Old Ignace again, this time accompanied by three Flatheads and one Nez Percé. At Fort Laramie they were joined by a party of white men travelling east, one of them a lay helper in the Protestant missions, W. H. Grey, who was returning from Oregon. On reaching Ash Hollow on the North Platte, they met a band of hostile Sioux, who immediately attacked them. The whites were ordered to stand aside, as the Sioux had no intention of molesting them. Old Ignace, attired in civilized garb, was not recognized as an Indian and was ordered, accordingly, to stand off with the

²⁵ *Mémoires du R.P. Ferdinand Helias d'Huddeghem.* (A).

²⁶ One of the two sons, Francis Saxa (i.e. Iroquois) or La Mousse, was living as late as 1903 on his ranch near Arlee, Montana.

whites. This he refused to do as he was unwilling to abandon his Indian companions of the deputation. Sharing in the resistance they made to the Sioux attack, he was with the three Flatheads and the Nez Percé massacred on the spot. Thus perished by what one may fairly regard as a martyr's death Old Ignace, the Iroquois who had sown the seeds of Catholic faith among the Flatheads and merits accordingly the name of the Apostle of that tribe.²⁷

In the summer of 1839 a fourth and final attempt was made by the Flatheads to obtain a Catholic priest. In a tribal council two young warriors, Pierre Gauché or Left-handed and Young Ignace, rose to their feet and offered to discharge the hazardous mission. The offer accepted, they travelled to St. Louis in company with a party of trappers apparently by way of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. Descending the Missouri, they passed by the Jesuit Potawatomi mission at Council Bluffs, where they made the acquaintance of Father De Smet, the man who in the designs of Providence was to realize the long-standing desire of the Flatheads for Catholic priests. They then continued their journey to St. Louis, which they reached in safety. Here they succeeded in interesting Bishop Rosati and the Jesuits in the object of their visit. Assured that a missionary would be sent out to the Rocky Mountains the following spring, they began their return journey from St. Louis on October 20, 1839. Young Ignace halted at Westport to await the arrival of the promised missionary, while Pierre Gauché, journeying on all through the winter, arrived among the Flatheads in the spring of 1840 and announced to them the tidings of the coming of the black-robe.

§ 2. DE SMET'S FIRST JOURNEY TO THE ROCKIES

On the day which followed the departure of the Indians from St. Louis for their Rocky Mountain home Father Verhaegen wrote to Bishop Rosati:

The two Indians from the Mountains have no doubt contributed to make your return to our midst pleasant and consoling. They have come from so great a distance to beg for aid, which I cannot give with our slender personnel. This circumstance, Monseigneur, might furnish you an occasion for

²⁷ Palladino, *op. cit.* Father Mengarini in his memoir on the Flatheads written in 1848 gives further details of the death of Old Ignace. (AA). He adds the circumstance, not found in other accounts, that the American members of the party, on being questioned by the Sioux as to the identity of the Indians, replied that they were Snakes, not knowing that these were mortal enemies of the Sioux. Cf. also CR, *De Smet*, p. 29. Father De Smet learned the particulars of Old Ignace's death from traders at Fort Laramie.

addressing to our Very Rev. Father General a letter recommending to him the nations who dwell on the banks of the Columbia and who were formerly evangelized by our Fathers, whose memory they preserve.²⁸

The letter which Rosati in compliance with Verhaegen's request addressed to the Jesuit General, John Roothaan, ran as follows:

Eight or nine years ago [1831] some of the Flat-Head nation came to St. Louis. The object of their journey was to ascertain if the religion spoken of with so much praise by the Iroquois warriors was in reality such as was represented, and above all if the nations that have white skin had adopted and practised it. Soon after their arrival in St. Louis they fell sick (two of them), called for a priest and earnestly asked to be baptized. Their request was promptly granted and they received holy baptism with great devotion. Then holding the crucifix they covered it with affectionate kisses and expired.

Some years after [1835] the Flat-Head nation sent again one of the Iroquois nation [Old Ignace] to St. Louis. There he came with two of his children, who were instructed and baptized by the Fathers of the College. He asked missionaries for his countrymen and started [back] with the hope that one day the desire of the nation would be accomplished, but on his journey he was killed by the infidel Indians of the Sioux nation.²⁹

At last a third expedition [Left-handed Peter and Young Ignace] arrived at St. Louis, after a voyage of three months. It was composed of two Christian Iroquois. Those Indians, who talk French, have edified us by their truly exemplary conduct and interested us by their discourses. The Fathers of the College have heard their confessions and today they approached the holy table at high Mass in the Cathedral church. Afterwards I administered to them the sacrament of Confirmation and in an address delivered after the ceremony I rejoiced with them at their happiness and gave them the hope to have soon a priest.³⁰

They will depart tomorrow; one of them will carry the good news promptly to the Flatheads; the other will spend the winter at the mouth of Bear River, and in the spring he will continue his journey with the missionary whom we will send them. Of the twenty-four Iroquois who formerly emigrated from Canada, only four are still living. Not only have they planted the faith in those wild countries, but they have besides defended it against the encroachments of the Protestant ministers. When these pretended missionaries presented themselves among them, our good Catholics refused to accept them. "These are not the priests about whom we have spoken to you," they would say to the Flatheads, "these are not the long black-robed priests who have

²⁸ Verhaegen à Rosati, Oct. 21, 1839. (C). Verhaegen's reference to the Columbia River Indians as having been evangelized by Jesuit missionaries was true only of the Iroquois.

²⁹ Incorrect. Old Ignace was killed on his way to St. Louis in 1837.

³⁰ The Old Cathedral of St. Louis on Walnut between Second and Third Streets is still standing.

no wives, who say Mass, who carry the crucifix with them!" For the love of God, my Very Reverend Father, do not abandon these souls!³¹

Father Verhaegen's own letter to the General on this occasion was an earnest plea for help with which to seize the great missionary opportunity now at hand:

I was visited very recently by two Iroquois Indians of a group who have joined the Flatheads and four other tribes and now reside with them on the banks of the Columbia River. . . . One of them carried about with him a little printed book in his own language which was got out by the enterprise of a certain priest.³² From this book he sang for us, and very well too, a number of sacred songs. Both made confession of their sins to one of our Fathers in French, as they were able to do, and on the same day on which they received Holy Communion from our Right Reverend Bishop they were strengthened in the faith by the reception in the Cathedral of the Sacrament of Confirmation. What I had very often heard from others these good men corroborated, namely, that the Indians dwelling beyond the Rocky Mountains are well affected towards our holy religion and could with little trouble be brought within the bosom of the Church. Considering the very great scarcity of priests among us I scarcely knew what to answer. Finally, after weighing the matter carefully and asking the opinion of the consultors, I promised them that next spring two Fathers would undertake a journey to that distant region in order to dwell for a space at least among those nations cultivated of old by our Fathers and bring them the aid they so sorely need. One of them immediately left to carry the glad tidings to his people; the other [Young Ignace] will pass the winter near Fort Leavenworth where he will await the coming of the Fathers. He will receive them on their arrival there by steamboat and will conduct them to a spot agreed upon where the other one has promised to be at hand at a designated time with a band of young warriors. I am desirous therefore to know of your Paternity what he wishes done by us on behalf of those poor creatures.³³

Writing at the end of 1839, Father Roothaan informed Verhaegen that he had already replied to the communication from the Bishop of St. Louis, assuring him he would make efforts to send the spiritual relief petitioned for. "Perhaps," so he wrote, "there are Fathers among you much better fitted to go on such an expedition than those who recently came to you from Europe."³⁴ As a matter of fact there was no lack of volunteers at St. Louis for the new missionary venture. Father Van de Velde, procurator of the Missouri Vice-province, as also Father

³¹ Tr. in Palladino (p. 28), from *Ann. Prop.* Though dated a day before Verhaegen's letter, it was apparently written to carry out the latter's previous request.

³² The prayer-book was probably of Canadian origin.

³³ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, November 8, 1839. (AA).

³⁴ Roothaan ad Verhaegen, December 26, 1839 (AA).

Elet, rector of St. Louis University, had offered their services directly to the General. "Your Reverence's desire of going to this new mission of the Rocky Mountains," Father Roothaan replied to Van de Velde, "pleases me greatly, nor have I anything against it, if only the business accounts of your Vice-Province permit it."³⁵ The petition of Van de Velde was all the more significant that a few years later, when vice-provincial of Missouri, he was thought by De Smet to be lacking in sympathy for the Indian missions. Elet's appeal to the General was in characteristic vein. "Ever since the visit of the two Iroquois," he declared, "I began to be inflamed with my old desire of twelve years' standing, which weak health had indeed repressed but not extinguished, the desire, namely, of laboring for the salvation of the Indians. Having resorted to the method of election and to meditation on the rules for the discernment of spirits, in order that I might ascertain the divine will, I came to the conclusion that God's Spirit is moving me."³⁶ Your Paternity has no lack of men to supply my place in the University, especially since nearly everything here is now ordered according to the standards of our Society. Let your Paternity call to mind the difficulties we labored under in the beginning of the Mission and what things we endeavored to bear with patience through the heat and burden of the day, and so deign to accede to my request."³⁷ In the event neither Van de Velde nor Elet was to realize his desire for missionary service among the Indians.

Meantime, the appeal of the Bishop of St. Louis for missionaries to evangelize the Flatheads was being circulated in the Jesuit communities of Rome. Read in the refectory of the Roman College, it inspired Father Gregory Mengarini to offer himself to the Father General for the Rocky Mountain Mission. Father Roothaan's answer to Bishop Rosati assuring him of his willingness to furnish recruits for the new enterprise reached St. Louis in the course of 1840. But even before its arrival Verhaegen had taken steps towards the actual assignment of missionaries to the Flatheads. In November, 1839, the scholastics Duerinck and Van Mierlo were instructed to dispatch their theological studies in haste so as to be in readiness for ordination at an early date, after which they were to set out for the Rocky Mountains.³⁸ This choice was subsequently rescinded in favor of Father De Smet, who had been associated with Father Verreydt at the Potawatomi Mis-

³⁵ Roothaan ad Van de Velde, May 12, 1840. (AA).

³⁶ The *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius contain certain so-called "methods of election" and "rules for the discernment of spirits" which enable one to come to a correct decision in matters of importance affecting one's spiritual interests.

³⁷ Elet ad Roothaan, November 19, 1839. (AA).

³⁸ *Liber Consultationum Missionis Missourianae*. (A).

sion of Council Bluffs since June, 1838. Ever since the Indians passed by Council Bluffs on their way to St. Louis De Smet had been cherishing the hope that the choice of a missionary for the Flatheads would fall on him. Without waiting for instructions from St. Louis, he at last decided, with a view, it would seem, to receiving some needed medical attention, to descend from Council Bluffs to that city, where he arrived the last day of February, 1840, after a journey replete with hazards and hardships.³⁹ He now received instructions from his superior to start out at the opening of spring for the Rocky Mountain country in order to ascertain the prospects held out for a permanent mission in that remote quarter.

In the houses of the Missouri Mission this initial effort of the Society of Jesus to get in touch with the Rocky Mountain tribes, around whom a certain atmosphere of holy romance had now begun to gather, awakened the liveliest interest. The house-chronicler at the novitiate records a visit which De Smet paid to its community on March 19.

We were privileged to have again in our midst that strenuous worker, Father De Smet, so that we might bid him goodbye, not, however, for the last time, as far as the novices are concerned, for they hope to obtain permission some day to go to the Rocky Mountains. The Father entered into a contract with our Reverend Father Rector and through him with the entire community, by the terms of which the priests are to say a Mass every week for him and his new mission, while two of the scholastics are to recite the rosary every day for the same intention. He, on his part, has pledged us, not vocal prayers, but a share in the fruit of his hard labors and a recompense in heaven. The contract was mutually sealed by the religious embrace.⁴⁰

Eight days later, March 27, 1840, De Smet set out from St. Louis University on his first trip to the Rockies. The University diarist is stirred with emotion as he records the event. "The day eagerly desired of the Indians that dwell beyond the Rocky Mountains has dawned at last! For today Rev. Father De Smet departed alone to carry to them the light of faith and announce to them the way of salvation. . . . Fortunate Indians! Thrice fortunate Father to be chosen by God from all eternity as the instrument of his mighty work! He will make smooth and open up the way not only, as I hope, for myself, slight and unworthy thing that I am, but for such others also as may be aflame with zeal for the honor and glory of God and the salvation of souls."⁴¹

³⁹ *Historia Domus Universitatis S. Ludovici.* (A).

⁴⁰ *Historia Domus Probationis S. Stanislai.* (E).

⁴¹ *Hist. Dom. Univ. S. Lud.* Father Roothaan expressed surprise that Father De Smet was allowed to go without a companion-priest. But the additional thousand dollars needed to meet the expenses of another priest could not be raised.

The letters-patent from Bishop Rosati which De Smet carried with him set forth briefly the object of his mission:

To all and several who shall examine these presents we make known and witness that Father Peter De Smet, priest of the Society of Jesus, most dear to us in Christ, deserving most highly of our diocese and influenced by zeal for the salvation of souls and the greater glory of God, has been chosen by Rev. Father Peter Verhaegen, Superior of the Missions of the same Society in Missouri and sent by us with all necessary faculties to visit and evangelize the various tribes of aborigines living beyond the Rocky Mountains, some of whom, in particular those called the Flatheads, have through deputies dispatched repeatedly to St. Louis signified a most ardent desire for the Catholic faith and have earnestly begged for a priest by whom they might be instructed. Therefore, in order to accede to the wishes of the little ones asking for bread and for a minister to break it unto them, we send this strenuous herald of the Gospel in very truth even to the ends of the earth, in the footsteps of the illustrious Apostle of the Indies, without sack or scrip, for he undertakes a most difficult journey replete with perils and is ready to lay down his life for his brethren; and we earnestly commend him to all the faithful and especially to our fellow-priests whom he shall happen to meet and we pray them lovingly to receive our most beloved missionary and in Christian charity cherish him in every possible way.⁴²

The first leg of the journey, St. Louis to Westport, was made by Missouri River steamer. At Westport, "jumping-off place" for the long journey across the plains, he joined the annual expedition of the American Fur Company. The party numbered about forty and was in charge of Captain Andrew Drips, well-known fur-trader and frontier figure of the day.⁴³ The route was over the Oregon Trail, "the Great Medicine Road of the whites"—in De Smet's words, "the broadest, longest, and most beautiful road in the whole world—from the United States to the Pacific Ocean."⁴⁴ The most characteristic sights in scenery, fauna and flora to be witnessed along the famous highway were seized by De Smet, who had a flair for description, and given place in his graphic narrative of the journey. Thus are pictured the sagebrush, the buffalo, the prairie-dog, the prairie-wolf, Chimney Rock, Independence Rock, and the great Rockies themselves. These are "nothing but rocks heaped upon rocks; you think you have before your eyes the ruins of a whole world, covered with the eternal snows as with a shroud."⁴⁵ On June 23 the caravan crossed by the South Pass from the east to the west side of the Continental Divide. "On the day following we passed from the

⁴² (A). The original text is in Latin.

⁴³ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 193.

⁴⁴ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 671.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, 1: 214.

waters tributary to the Missouri to those of the Colorado which flows into the Pacific Ocean by way of California.”⁴⁶ On June 30 the travellers arrived at the American Fur Company rendezvous on the Green River in what is now southwestern Wyoming. Here ten Flathead warriors were waiting to serve as an escort for the missionary to the main camp of the Flatheads and Pend d’Oreilles in Pierre’s Hole, famous as a rendezvous for participants in the fur-trade. Somewhere in what was subsequently known as “the prairie of the Mass,” on the banks of the Green River, De Smet said Mass on July 5, the first recorded celebration of the rite within the limits of Wyoming.

On Sunday the 5th of July I had the consolation of celebrating the holy sacrifice of the Mass *sub dio* [in the open air]. The altar was placed on an elevation and surrounded with boughs and garlands of flowers; I addressed the congregation in French and in English and spoke also by an interpreter to the Flatheads and Snake Indians. It was a spectacle truly moving for the heart of a missionary to behold an assembly composed of so many different nations, who all assisted at our holy mysteries with great satisfaction. The Canadians sang hymns in French and Latin and the Indians in their native tongue. It was truly a Catholic worship. . . . This place has been called since that time, by the French Canadians, *la prairie de la Messe*.⁴⁷

De Smet’s reception by the Indians was an enthusiastic one. Nearly six hundred of them including the two head chiefs of the Flatheads and Pend d’Oreilles, both octogenarians, were baptized; the rest of the Indians were eager for the sacrament, but De Smet, not quite assured of their dispositions, put them off to a later occasion.⁴⁸ But he was strong in the conviction that the Flatheads offered every prospect for a superabundant spiritual harvest. He therefore assured them that they might look for a resident missionary the following spring and so began his homeward journey. A remarkable passage in his journal tells of his ascent of a high mountain whence one could clearly view Henry’s Lake and Mosquito or Red Rock Lake, ultimate sources respectively of the Columbia and Missouri Rivers. He sat astride, as it were, of two of the great watersheds of North America and the situation stirred him to pious reflection:

On the 22nd of July the camp came to Henry’s Lake, one of the principal sources of the Columbia; it is about ten miles in circumference. We

⁴⁶ *Idem*, I: 215.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, I: 262. A marker has been set up by the Knights of Columbus on the spot as approximately determined. De Smet records that he said Mass regularly Sundays and feast days all the time he was in the mountains. (CR, *De Smet*, I: 230). He very probably said Mass at Fort Laramie.

⁴⁸ CR, *De Smet*, I: 226.

climbed on horseback the mountain that parts the waters of two great rivers; the Missouri, which is properly speaking the main branch of the Mississippi and flows with it into the Gulf of Mexico, and the Columbia, which bears the tribute of its waters to the Pacific Ocean. From the elevated spot at which I was I could easily distinguish Mosquito Lake [Red Rock Lake], source of one of the main branches of the north fork of the Missouri, called Jefferson River.

The two lakes are scarce eight miles apart. I started for the summit of a high mountain, for a better examination of the fountains that give birth to these two great rivers; I saw them falling in cascades from an immense height, hurling themselves with uproar from rock to rock; even at their source they formed already two mighty torrents, scarcely more than a hundred paces apart. I was bound to get to the top. After six wearisome hours, I found myself exhausted. I think I must have climbed more than 5,000 feet; I had passed snow drifts more than twenty feet deep, and still the mountain top was at a great height above me. I therefore saw myself compelled to give up my plan, and I found a place to sit down. The fathers of the Company who are in the missionary service on the banks of the Mississippi and its tributaries, from Council Bluffs to the Gulf of Mexico, came to my mind. I wept with joy at the happy memories that were aroused in my heart. I thanked the Lord that He had deigned to favor the labors of his servants, scattered over this vast vineyard, imploring at the same time his divine grace for all the nations of Oregon, and in particular for the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles, who had so recently and so heartily ranged themselves under the banner of Jesus Christ. I engraved upon a soft stone this inscription in large letters: *Sanctus Ignatius Patronus Montium. Die Julii 23, 1840* ["St. Ignatius, Patron of the Mountains, July 23, 1840"]. I said a Mass of thanksgiving at the foot of this mountain, surrounded by my savages who intoned chants to the praise of God, and installed myself in the land in the name of our holy founder.⁴⁹

Pursuing his journey De Smet travelled by way of the Yellowstone and Missouri with a single companion for guide, Jean-Baptiste de Velder, a Belgian of Ghent and erstwhile grenadier under Napoleon who had spent fourteen years trapping beaver in the mountains. December 31, 1840, the missionary was back again in the kindly shelter of St. Louis University, having left it for his first journey to the Rocky Mountains nine months before.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ *Idem*, 1: 229. This would appear to have been the first recorded Mass in Montana. According to the Rev. Michael A. Shine in *Nebraska State Historical Collections*, 16: 212, De Smet said the first Mass in Nebraska Sunday, September 14, 1851, on the Great Council Plain in Scotts Bluff County. The statement probably needs correction. Father Christian Hoecken baptized at Bellevue, on the Nebraska side of the Missouri, as early as June, 1846 (*infra*, Chap. XXVI, note 88), on which occasion he also in all likelihood celebrated Mass.

⁵⁰ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 258.

§ 3. ST. MARY'S MISSION AMONG THE FLATHEADS

The report which De Smet delivered to Bishop Rosati and Father Verhaegen on his return to St. Louis recommended strongly a permanent mission among the Flatheads. Everything indeed seemed to indicate that the time was ripe for such an enterprise and steps were accordingly taken to begin it in the spring of 1841. On January 15 Father Verhaegen discussed with his consultors the staff of the projected mission. The names of Fathers De Smet, Point, Mengarini, Walters, Verheyden and Cotting were canvassed, but no definite choice was made as it was thought expedient to give the matter further consideration. On March 4 the superior again laid the question before his consultors with the result that Fathers De Smet, Point and Mengarini were designated to begin the Rocky Mountain Mission, the first-named being appointed superior of the group. Father Cotting was also to be sent should De Smet decide to employ his services. Moreover, three coadjutor-brothers, Joseph Specht, William Claessens and a third to be selected by De Smet, were to be of the party.⁵¹ As the financial side of the venture presented grave difficulties, De Smet was permitted to go to New Orleans to solicit aid, and for the same purpose to enter into correspondence with some of the American bishops. He wrote to Father Roothaan on February 7: "I shall leave tomorrow for Louisiana, to beg there for the Mountain mission: on this begging depends in great measure the beginnings of the enterprise. Journeys to the Mountains are very expensive. Each missionary needs a good horse, which costs from sixty to eighty dollars. Then pack-horses are needed to carry provisions and things. Arrived on the ground we shall have to build, start a farm and procure for the Indians whatever is absolutely necessary to work it." How successful were his efforts for aid De Smet made known to a correspondent:

On my arrival at St. Louis, I gave an account to my superior of my journey and of the flattering prospects which the mission beyond the Rocky Mountains held out. You will easily believe me what I tell you that my heart sank within me on learning from him that the funds at his disposal for missionary purposes would not enable him to afford me scarcely the half of what would be necessary for the outfit and other expenses of an expedition. The thought that the undertaking would have been given up, that I would not be able to redeem my promise to the poor Indians, pierced my heart and filled me with deepest sorrow. I would have desponded had I not already experienced the visible protection of the Almighty in the prosecution of this great

⁵¹ Brother George Miles, then stationed at the Potawatomi Mission, Council Bluffs, Iowa Territory, seems to have been Father De Smet's choice. Brother Charles Huet was to be the third coadjutor-brother attached to the party.

work. My confidence in him was unabated. Whilst in this state of mind one of my friends encouraged me to appeal to the zealous and learned coadjutor of Philadelphia [Francis Patrick Kenrick] and to his indefatigable clergy. I immediately acted upon the thought. I did appeal and with what success the Catholic public already know. To the Bishop, who gave his sanction to the plan of a general and simultaneous collection throughout his diocese; to the clergy of the different churches of the city, who so kindly interested themselves in this good work and proposed it to their congregations; to the generous people of Philadelphia, who so liberally responded to the call of their pastors, I return my sincere thanks and will daily beg the father of mercies to reward them with his choicest blessings.

I must not omit to [make] mention of other generous contributors. After having written to Philadelphia I was advised to visit New Orleans and recommend the cause of the Indians to the good Bishop [Blanc] of that city and to his clergy and people. I did so. The Bishop received me with great kindness; gave his approbation to a collection, and placed his name first on the list. His clergy followed his example. As I had only a few days at my disposal, I thought it was best to solicit subscriptions through several generous ladies who offered themselves for this purpose. In the space of three or four days they collected nearly \$1,000. You have no idea with what spirit the pious portion of the people entered into the affair. Almost every moment of my stay persons came to offer me something for the Indian mission. Several ladies gave me various trinkets, such as ear-rings, bracelets, and ornaments of every description; others brought implements and articles, which will be of great use in the Indian country. In a word, Reverend Sir, I left New Orleans with \$1,100 in cash and six boxes full of various and most useful articles. From the Reverend Mr. Durbin of Kentucky I received \$300, and the Reverend Jno. O'Reilly remitted \$140, the amount collected in St. Paul's Church, Pittsburg. St. Louis supplied the balance of what was necessary for the outfit, the expenses of the journey and the commencement of the establishment in the Indian country. To the Bishops and to the zealous clergy and laity of Philadelphia and New Orleans; to the clergy and laity of other places who aided the good cause; in a word, to all the benefactors of the mission beyond the Rocky Mountains, I again return my sincere thanks.⁵²

Under the caption, "Directions for the new mission in the Rocky Mountains," Father Verhaegen drew up a memorandum for De Smet:

A. M. D. G.

I do hereby constitute Rev. Fr. De Smet Superior of all the members of our Society that will accompany him to the above region.

⁵² CR, *De Smet*, 1: 273. De Smet speaks elsewhere of his success in collecting in New Orleans, "which place I visited in person and which is always at the head of the others when there is question of relieving the necessities of the poor or showing compassion or munificence to any who may be in need of assistance." CR, *De Smet*, 1: 277.

For the present I think that but one permanent residence should be formed among the Indians. I desire, of course, that all the members remain together and form but one community. However, should it be found necessary to establish two residences, I would permit only Father Point to reside with a brother at a distance from the main residence. Fr. Mengarini has but little experience in the ministry and should be applied to the study of the language and remain, of course, as much as possible, at home. I entreat all my Brethren in Xt. to be linked together by the strongest bonds of love and union; to be very punctual in the exercise of their religious duties and not to retard or impede by their faults the happy result of their glorious enterprise. If all keep their respective rules punctually, their labors will be crowned with the most glorious success.

I finally entreat them to remember me frequently in their fervent prayers.

P. J. Verhaegen, S.J.
Vice Prov. of the V[ice] Province
of Missouri⁵³

The faculties granted to the FF. [Fathers] by the right rev. Bp. of St. Louis are also granted by the right rev. Bp. Loras for such parts as belong to his diocese.⁵⁴

For a while it looked as though the expedition would not get away for another year. Verhaegen wrote to the General on April 15:

Fathers De Smet, Point and Mengarini and the coadjutor-brothers, Miles, Huet and Specht are all ready for the journey and are anxiously awaiting news of the party of hunters without whose company they should be unable to travel owing to the snares and treachery of the Indians. It is doubtful whether such a party will go out to the Rocky Mountains this spring according to annual custom and so I fear we shall have to defer the expedition to autumn or next spring. Our mission meets with great favor here and there in the United States and in several places collections are being made to aid us. In the single city of New Orleans Father De Smet, besides receiving gifts having a money value, collected \$1,000. This affair, so glorious to our holy religion, must be left then to Divine Providence. We for our part will leave nothing undone to give it effect as soon as possible.⁵⁵

At length, on April 24 De Smet with Fathers Mengarini and Eysvogels, the last-named bound for the Potawatomi Mission of Council Bluffs, and Brothers Huet and Specht left St. Louis.⁵⁶ That

⁵³ (A).

⁵⁴ As a matter of fact the missionaries were not to traverse any part of the diocese of Dubuque (or Iowa Territory), of which Loras was bishop.

⁵⁵ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, April 15, 1841. (AA).

⁵⁶ Father Point and Brother Claessens joined the party at Westport. *Diarium Universitatis S. Ludovici*. (A).

day Mengarini penned a brief note to Father Roothaan: "The caravan has been found and today, April 24, feast of St. Fidelis [of Sigmaringen], Protomartyr of the Propagation of the Faith, we are setting out for Westport where we shall find Father Point and thence proceed to the Rocky Mountains." ⁵⁷ After a seven-days' trip up the Missouri by steamer Westport was reached on April 30; it was left behind on May 10. Five days out on the Oregon Trail, May 15, De Smet wrote from the Kaw River to the General: "Here I am five days on the way to the good Flatheads. I come to throw myself with my dear brothers in Jesus Christ, Fathers Point and Mengarini and Brothers Huet, Claessens, and Specht, at the feet of your Paternity to beg a blessing on ourselves and our labors. Aided by the grace of God, supported by the Holy Sacrifices of our Fathers and the good prayers of all our brethren, we shall brave every obstacle to fly to the conquest of souls." ⁵⁸

A letter of De Smet supplies a few personal data about his Jesuit colleagues. Father Nicholas Point, forty-two, was a native of Rocroy in the Ardennes, France. De Smet, mistakenly taking him to be a Vendean, wrote that he was, "as zealous and courageous for the salvation of souls as his compatriot La Roche Jacquelin was in the service of his lawful sovereign." Father Gregory Mengarini, twenty-nine, an Italian, "was specially selected by the Father General himself for this mission on account of his age, his virtues, his great facility for languages, and his knowledge of medicine and music." William Claessens, a Belgian, twenty-nine, was a blacksmith; Charles Huet, also a Belgian, thirty-five, a carpenter; and Joseph Specht, a German, thirty-two, a tinner and factotum. The lay brothers, added De Smet, "were all three industrious, devoted to the missions and full of good will." ⁵⁹

For a space of four days the missionaries camped on Soldier Creek, an affluent of the Kaw, in the immediate neighborhood of the Kaw Indian village. Here they had Mass in their tent, this satisfaction not having previously been theirs since they left Westport. On a visit to the Kaw village De Smet made the acquaintance of White Plume, the Kansas chief pictured by Washington Irving in his *Adventures of Captain Bonneville*. The missionaries counted in their party Thomas Fitzpatrick, well-known scout and mountain-man and a former head of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, who had conducted Marcus Whitman and his wife across the plains in 1836; John Gray, hunter;

⁵⁷ Mengarini à Roothaan, April 24, 1841. (AA).

⁵⁸ De Smet à Roothaan, May 15, 1841. (AA).

⁵⁹ CR, De Smet, 1: 278. Huet and not Specht was probably the tinner of the party; at any rate the former was an expert tinner and did notable work on the St. Louis cathedral as also on the St. Louis court-house.

an Englishman named Romaine, and five teamsters.⁶⁰ At the Kaw River John Bidwell's party, some fifty strong, with which the Jesuits were to travel, completed its organization. All in all the caravan that was now to set out for the Rockies numbered seventy souls, "fifty of whom were capable of managing the rifle." "It will be understood," Bidwell wrote in his journal, "that Fitzpatrick was captain of the missionary party and pilot of the whole." It is interesting to note that of those making up the personnel of this expedition at least five wrote accounts of it which are now in print, namely, the three Jesuit priests, Bidwell, and Joseph Williams, a Methodist clergyman bound for lower Oregon. Bidwell went to California and there as pioneer, philanthropist and statesman made a distinguished record in the history of the state.

It was customary for parties crossing the plains to organize into an association of some sort with officers. This was done by the present group on May 18, the result being that T. H. Green was elected president, John Bidwell, secretary, and John Bartleson, a Missourian, captain. Bidwell's journal has this entry for May 14: "This morning the wagons started off in single file; first the four carts and one small wagon of the missionaries; next, 8 wagons drawn by mules and horses and lastly five wagons drawn by seventeen yoke of oxen." On June 2 a meeting was held at which complaint was made that the missionaries were going too fast; but it was impossible, so Bidwell reported, "to leave Mr. Fitzpatrick." His journal for July 30 records: "Travelled about five miles and camped. Guess what took place. Another family was created! Widow Gray, who was a sister to Mrs. Kelsey, was married to a man who joined our company at Fort Laramie; his right name I forget, but his everywhere name in the mountains was Cocrum. He has but one eye. Marriage ceremony performed by Father De Smet." This would seem to have been the earliest known marriage performed by a clergyman within the limits of Wyoming.

The relations between Father De Smet and the non-Catholic members of the party were of the pleasantest. Bidwell in particular conceived the highest opinion of him and in later years recorded this ap-

⁶⁰ "A Journey to California" reproduced in C. C. Royce (ed.), *John Bidwell, pioneer, statesman, philanthropist. A biographical sketch* (Chico, California, 1906). Bidwell's journal is dated March 30, 1842. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), 4: 265-272, has an account of the overland party of 1841, which, he says, consisted of "about 48 men in all with some 15 women and children." He lists several narratives of the journey, most of them manuscript, written or dictated by members of the party, including John Bidwell, Josiah Belden, Joseph B. Chiles and Charles Hoffer. The Bancroft list does not include the printed accounts by Williams, De Smet (CR, *De Smet*, 1: 272-288), Point (WL, 12: 4-22, 133-137) and Mengarini (WL, 17: 302-306).



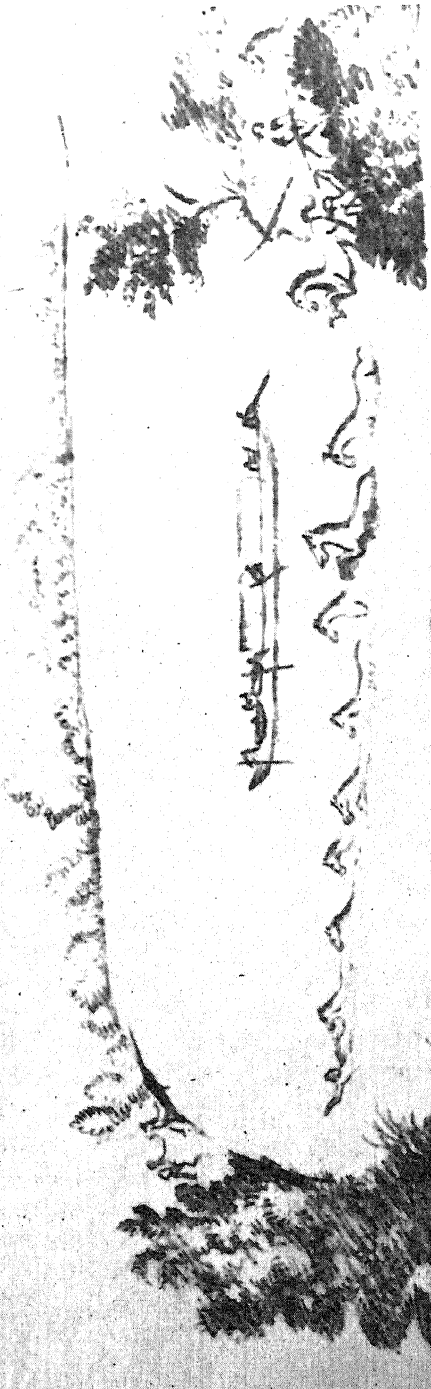
On the Oregon Trail, 1841. Negotiating a muddy ravine. From book of original drawings by Nicholas Point, S.J. Archives of the Missouri Province, S.J., St. Louis.

8 15. Jan.

Passage de la rivière des Kanto

voy. le passage de la plate, ruy.

avant par de Des Kanto
Né à l'Est de la nation
Cavalier au voyage
Né à l'Est de la nation



Les choses et toutes parties à la suite d'un voyage - une 40^e de savages nous attendent
de l'autre côté ... après nous avoir vu débarquer d'après, ils se retournent à leur village
indien pour aller le grand chef de notre arrivée

On the Oregon Trail, 1841. Crossing the Kansas River. From book of original drawings by Nicholas Point, S.J. Archives of the Missouri Province, S.J., St. Louis.

preciation: "[He was] genial, of fine presence and one of the saintliest men I have ever known, and I cannot wonder that the Indians were made to believe him divinely protected. He was a man of great kindness and great affability under all circumstances; nothing seemed to disturb his temper."⁶¹ Joseph Williams, the Protestant minister from Indiana on his way to Oregon, was also impressed with De Smet's courtesy and kindness. He wrote in his journal: "There were about 20 wagons belonging to the expedition drawn by oxen. One of the company was a Catholic priest, a Mr. De Smidt [De Smet], who was extremely kind to me and invited me to come and eat supper with him that night and next morning brought me some venison. He appeared to me to be a very fine man."⁶² Mr. Williams, so De Smet describes him, was a man of "ingenuous simplicity." He was "neither a Methodist, a Protestant, nor a Catholic—not even a Christian," maintaining that all religions or no religion at all might be equally pleasing in the eyes of God. "For the proof of his doctrine he relied (strange to say) on the authority of St. Paul, and particularly on this text: *Unus Dominus, una fides* [one Lord, one faith]. In fact, these were the very words with which he greeted us the first time he saw us, and which formed the subject of a long valedictory discourse which he delivered in one of the meeting-houses of Westport, previous to his departure for his western Mission. By whom was he sent? We have never ascertained. His zeal frequently induced him to dispute with us; it was not difficult to show him that his ideas, with the exception of one, were vague and fluctuating."⁶³ Though the Jesuits made no converts among their associates on the journey, they had accomplished some gratifying results. "Though Americans are slow to change their creed," records De Smet, "we had the consolation to relieve our travelling companions of a heavy load of prejudice against our holy religion. They parted from us exhibiting signs of respect and veneration; nay even of preference for Catholicity."⁶⁴ "Oddly enough," comments the editor of Williams's narrative, "these three writers, De Smet, Bidwell and Williams separated before they had traversed two-thirds of the journey to pursue their routes towards different goals. De Smet turned North at Fort Hall to join the Flatheads, Bidwell left the party at Bear River to traverse the deserts west of Salt Lake and find his way to the open Sacramento Valley, while Williams with about twenty-five others made his way

⁶¹ Cited from *Century Magazine*, November, 1890, in CR, *De Smet*, 1:114.

⁶² Joseph Williams, *Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to Oregon Territory in the years, 1841-42. With an introduction by James C. Bell* (New York, 1921), p. 33.

⁶³ CR, *De Smet*, 1:297.

⁶⁴ *Idem*, 1:297.

over the Snake River desert and Blue Mountains to the Oregon settlements near the mouth of the Willamette.”⁶⁵ Some of Bidwell’s party on meeting a group of travellers returning from California with discouraging reports of that country had turned back in their steps. When he left the Oregon Trail at Soda Springs on the Bear River, August 11, his company, instead of its original strength of fifty, numbered only thirty-four. On August 10 De Smet with two or three Flathead Indians started off early in the evening for Fort Hall about fifty miles distant. On the 14th, eve of the festival of the Assumption, he was at the fort, a Hudson’s Bay Company post commanded by Francis Ermantinger, who gave him a cordial welcome.

Although a Protestant by birth, this noble Englishman gave us a most friendly reception. Not only did he repeatedly invite us to his table, and sell us, at first cost, or at one-third of its value, in a country so remote whatever we required; but he also added, as pure gifts, many articles which he believed would be particularly acceptable. He did more: he promised to recommend us to the good will of the Governor of the honorable English Hudson Bay Company, who was already prepossessed in our favor; and, what is still more deserving of praise, he assured us that he would second our ministry among the populous nation of the Snakes, with whom he has frequent intercourse. So much zeal and generosity give him a claim to our esteem and gratitude. May heaven return to him a hundredfold the benefits he has conferred on us! ⁶⁶

At Fort Hall the missionaries met the vanguard of the Flatheads, which had travelled eight hundred miles to give them welcome. De Smet’s graphic pen after sketching some of the more interesting figures in this party of Indians recounts the manner in which the tribe had spent the interval between his first and second visits:

They had prayed daily to obtain for me a happy journey and a speedy return. Their brethren continued in the same good disposition; almost all, even children and old men, knew by heart the prayers which I had taught them the preceding year. Twice on every week day, and three times on each Sunday, the assembled tribe recited prayers in common. Whenever they moved their camp, they carried with them, as an ark of safety, the box of ornaments left in their custody. Five or six children whom I had baptized went to heaven during my absence; the very morrow of my departure, a young warrior whom I had baptized the day previous died in consequence of a wound received from the Black Feet about three months before. Another, who had accompanied me as far as the fort of the Crows, and was as yet but a cate-

⁶⁵ Joseph Williams, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

⁶⁶ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 294. De Smet met Ermantinger again in 1846, this time in the Canadian Rockies. CR, *De Smet*, 2: 542.

chumen, died of sickness in returning to the tribe, but in such happy dispositions that his mother was perfectly consoled for his loss by the conviction that his soul was in heaven. A girl about twelve years of age, seeing herself on the point of dying, had solicited baptism with such earnestness that she was baptized by Peter the Iroquois, and received the name of Mary. After having sung a canticle in a stronger voice than usual, she died, saying: "Oh how beautiful! I see Mary, my Mother." So many favors from heaven were calculated to instigate the malice of hell. The enemies of salvation had accordingly attempted to sow the cockle among the good grain, by suggesting to the chiefs of the tribe that my conduct would be like that of so many others, who, "once gone, had never returned." But the great chief had invariably replied: "You wrong our Father; he is not double-tongued, like so many others. He has said: 'I will return,' and he will return, I am sure." The interpreter added that it was this conviction which had impelled the venerable old man, notwithstanding his advanced age, to place himself at the head of the detachment bound for Green River; that they had arrived at the rendezvous on the 1st of July, which was the appointed day; that they had remained there till the 16th, and would have continued to occupy the same position had not the scarcity of provisions obliged them to depart. He stated also that the whole tribe had determined to fix upon some spot as a site for a permanent village; that, with this view, they had already chosen two places which they believed to be suitable; that nothing but our presence was required to confirm their determination, and they relied with such implicit confidence on our speedy arrival that the great chief, on starting from Green River, had left there three men to await us, advising them to hold that position until no longer tenable.⁶⁷

Some time after they had left Fort Hall behind them the missionaries recrossed the Continental Divide to the Beaver Head River, one of the sources of the Missouri. Near this stream they met the main body of the Flatheads led by Little Chief Insula, afterwards baptized Michael "on account of his fidelity and courage."⁶⁸ "The tribe had the appearance of a flock crowding with eagerness around their shepherd. The mothers offered us their children and so moving was the scene that we could scarcely refrain from tears. This evening was certainly one of the happiest in our lives. . . . The hopeful thought that we would soon behold the happy days of the primitive Christians revive among these Indians filled our minds."⁶⁹ Meanwhile, to improve the leisure hours of the journey Father De Smet set Father Point, who was an adept in drawing, at work on plans for the projected mission-buildings. Muratori, historian of the famous Paraguay missions known as "reductions," was drawn upon for suggestions. "We had made it [Muratori's work]," says De Smet, "our *Vade Mecum*." Later he wrote in regard

⁶⁷ *Idem*, I: 293.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, I: 304.

⁶⁹ *Idem*, I: 305.

to his plans for the Flathead Mission: "All this is to be executed in conformity with the method formerly adopted in the missions of Paraguay."⁷⁰

§ 3. ST. MARY'S MISSION AMONG THE FLATHEADS

The party now moved over the main ridge of the Rockies, which separates eastern from western Montana, and following the course of Deer Lodge Creek and Hell-Gate River, which latter they named the St. Ignatius, they passed by the location of the present Missoula and thence for a distance of about twenty-eight miles up the Bitter Root Valley, the home of the Flatheads. Here, at a point on the right bank of the Bitter Root River, between the site of the modern Stevensville and old Fort Owen, they halted, September 4, 1841, the feast of Our Lady of Mercy. It was their journey's end; on this spot they were to set up St. Mary's Mission among the Flatheads, the first Catholic Indian mission in the Pacific Northwest.

The locality was not an unknown one in the history of western exploration. Lewis and Clark had come down the valley in 1805 on their memorable journey to the coast, deflecting west through the Lolo Pass to make their way through a great maze of mountain defiles into the Clearwater basin. As late as 1890 a woman of the tribe was living who clearly recalled the coming of the great explorers to the Bitter Root eighty-five years before.⁷¹ The valley was a natural fortress. North-south mountain ranges, intricate mazes of snow-crowned rock, flanked it on either side while at its foot branched out to the right Hell-Gate Defile, which was the only practicable route over the main ridge of the Rockies into the buffalo country on their eastern slope. The French Canadians with their gift for expressive nomenclature gave it the grim name *Porte d'Enfer* or Hell-Gate, probably because through it the Blackfeet were wont to make their murderous forays into the Flathead country.⁷² Hell-Gate Canyon linking up with Clark's Fork of the Columbia formed a trunk-line of Nature's making which put the Rocky Mountain region in communication with the lower Columbia Valley. Indian trails inevitably pursued this natural route, which was also to be the one followed by two great railroad systems, the Northern Pacific and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul. At the mission-site the Bitter Root Valley was some twelve miles wide. Dr. Suckley, an American army surgeon connected with Governor Stevens's exploring party, who made a reconnaissance in 1853 of the country between the two forts, Owen and Vancouver, described it as "very fertile, watered by cool,

⁷⁰ *Idem*, 1: 330.

⁷¹ Peter Ronan, *Historical Sketch of the Flathead Indian Nation from the Year 1813 to 1890* (Helena, Montana, 1890), p. 41.

⁷² Elliot Coues (ed.), *History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1: 1071.

sparkling brooks and surrounded by lofty and picturesque mountains. . . . The soil of the valley is exceedingly fertile. Cattle do not generally require fodder in the winter the snow is so light. All the numerous streams abound in fine trout. In the valleys and on the mountains, bear, deer, elk, beaver and mountain-sheep are abundant.”⁷³ Lieutenant John Mullan, builder of the pioneer wagon-road between Fort Benton and Walla Walla, was especially impressed by the mildness of the climate. “Bitter Root Valley well merits the name of the Valley of Perennial Spring. The fact of the exceedingly mild winters in the valley has been noticed and remarked by everyone who has ever been in it in the winter season.”⁷⁴

So intimately had the Virgin Mother been associated in the eyes of the missionaries with the various incidents that preceded their arrival at the mission-site that they were led to name the new establishment in her honor:

After a journey of four months and a half on horseback through the desert, and in spite of our actual want of bread, wine, sugar, fruit, and all such things as are called the conveniences of life we find our strength and courage increased, and are better prepared than ever to work at the conversion of the souls that Providence entrusts to our care. Next to the Author of all good things, we returned thanks to her whom the church reveres as the Mother of her Divine Spouse, since it has pleased the Divine goodness to send us the greatest consolations on several days consecrated to her honor. On the feast of her glorious Assumption [August 15] we met the vanguard of our dear neophytes. On the Sunday within the Octave [August 22], we, for the first time since my return, celebrated the Holy Mysteries among them. On the following Sunday [August 29] our good Indians placed themselves and their children under the Immaculate Heart of Mary, of which we then celebrated the feast. This act of devotion was renewed by the great chief in the name of the whole tribe, on the feast of her Holy Name [September 12]. On the 24th of September, the feast of our Lady of Mercy, we arrived at the

⁷³ *Report of the Secretary of War communicating the several Pacific railroad explorations.* U.S. 33d Cong. 1st Sess., House Executive Document, no. 129, p. 275.

⁷⁴ *Idem*, p. 348. The alleged mildness of the winters in the Bitter Root Valley is not borne out by the testimony of the missionaries who, on the contrary, speak of their severity. Father Mengarini wrote in his old age that a chill came over him whenever he recalled the cold at St. Mary's so vivid was the impression it left upon him. “We wrapped ourselves in several blankets and then in a buffalo-robe; yet in the morning we awoke to find robe and blanket frozen into one piece. We crept out of our frozen shell and set it before the fire to thaw; and this we did daily through the long winter months.” *Memoirs in WL*, 17:397. In the winter of 1846-1847 the temperature fell to 30 Reamur and the deep snows prevented some sorely needed supplies from reaching the mission. “The cold is excessive,” Mengarini wrote from the Bitter Root in 1847. “In 1842 it was 24 below by Reamur's thermometer almost steadily from November 15 to February 20 and in the winter of 1846 it was 27 below zero at various times even down to March.”

river called the Bitter Root, on the banks of which we have chosen the site for our principal missionary station. On the first Sunday of October, feast of the Rosary [October 3] we took possession of the promised land, by planting a cross on the spot which we had chosen for our first residence. What motives of encouragement does not the Gospel of the present Sunday add to all these mentioned before. Today too we celebrate the Divine Maternity [October 3?] and what may we not expect from the Virgin Mother who brought forth her son for the salvation of the world. On the feast of her Patronage [October 8], we shall offer by her mediation to her Divine Son, twenty-five young Indians, who are to be baptized on that day. So many favors have induced us unanimously to proclaim Mary the protectress of our mission and give her name to our new residence.⁷⁵

Two or three weeks' journey below the Flatheads at Waiilatpu near Walla Walla, Marcus Whitman and his wife Narcissa were at this time bravely pursuing their missionary experiment among the Cayuse. News of the coming of the Jesuits to the Bitter Root trickled down to them, not pleasant news as the correspondence of Mrs. Whitman reveals. She wrote in October, 1841:

The company of the Jesuits, twelve in number, consisting of three priests, three novitiates, and their pilot started from St. Louis. . . . Their pilot is Fitzpatrick, the same that commanded the party we came with from the States. This company came as far as Fort Hall. They then go with the Indians to the Flathead country or Pend d'Oreille. It is not known where they will settle, but it is reported that they expect to locate themselves somewhere in this region and in the same language that part of our missionaries are occupying.

Now we have Catholics on both sides of us and, we may say, right in our midst, for Mr. Pambrun [at Walla Walla], while he was alive, failed not to secure one of the principal Indians of this tribe to that religion and had his family baptized. He acts upon his band and holds from us many who would be glad to come and hear us. And then the Indians are acted upon constantly through the servants of the [Hudson's Bay] Company, who are all, scarcely without exception, Catholics.

We feel no disposition to retreat from our work, but hope to stand our ground, if such a thing be possible. Fitzpatrick is expected here when he has accomplished his piloting for that company and is said to return to the States this fall; if so, I hope to send this by him.⁷⁶

Dated five days later than the preceding is another letter of Mrs. Whitman's, in which she noted: "The Jesuit Mission from St. Louis under the care of Father Smidt [De Smet], late missionary to the Otoes [Potawatomi], as I am informed, near Council Bluffs, has been

⁷⁵ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 315.

⁷⁶ *Transactions*, The Pioneer Oregon Association, 1890, p. 131.

established and houses are building, but the exact location I cannot give you. It yet remains to learn its effects.”⁷⁷ A year later Mrs. Whitman wrote again: “Romanism stalks abroad on our right hand and on our left and with daring effrontery boasts that she is to prevail and possess the land. I ask, must it be so? The zeal and energy of her priests are without a parallel and many, both white men and Indians, wander after the beasts. Two are in the country below us and two far above in the mountains.”⁷⁸

That Dr. Whitman was equally alarmed with his wife over what seemed an impending danger to the Protestant cause in Oregon through the advent of the Jesuits is made clear by his correspondence. In 1842 he made his famous ride back to the states for the purpose, so it was later alleged, of saving Oregon for the United States. In the spring of 1843 he was on his way back to the mountains, a member of the great outgoing party of immigrants of that year, which fiction represents as having been mustered by him for the purpose of outnumbering the British settlers in Oregon and thereby saving that highly promising country for the Union. From the Shawnee Mission School, near Westport, Whitman wrote May 27, 1843, to a friend: “Lieut. Fremont of the U. S. Engineer Corps goes out with about thirty men to explore for the government and expects to return this fall. His men are Canadian voyageurs mostly and himself a Catholic. Two Papal priests [Adrian Hoecken and Peter De Vos] and their lay helpers are along and Father De Smet has gone back in order to go to Europe to bring others by ship. I think, however, the immigrants who are going out, will be a good acquisition. It will call on Christians to labor for their good. What a pity a good minister was not with us to go along at once. My expectations are high for that country.” On May 28, Whitman confided similar fears to another correspondent: “I want you to get Dr. Smith’s [De Smet’s] Indian Sketches. It can be found at the Catholic Book Store. You will see what way the Society of Jesus do their missionary work and what we have to contend with in Oregon.”⁷⁹ Again, on May 30, he wrote from the Shawnee Mission: “De Smet’s business in Europe can be seen, I think, at the top of the 23rd page of Indian Sketches; you will see by his book, I think, that the papal effort is designed to convey over the country to the English. We cannot at all

⁷⁷ *Idem*, p. 150.

⁷⁸ Letter of August 23, 1842, cited in *Publications*, Oregon Historical Society, 1893, p. 249.

⁷⁹ *Transactions*, Pioneer Oregon Association, 1890, pp. 177, 179. Frémont was not a professed Catholic, though he came of Catholic stock. According to P-G Roy, *La Famille Frémont* (Levis, Canada, 1902), the elder Frémont, Louis-René, was a native of Quebec. On the other hand, Allan Nevins, *Frémont, the West’s Greatest Adventurer*, I, states that Frémont’s father was not a Canadian but a French refugee.

feel it just that we are doing nothing while worldly men and papists are doing so much.”⁸⁰ No one may question the great services rendered by Marcus Whitman to Oregon in the days of its painful emergence from the wilderness; but the program of Indian missionary enterprise outlined by him and his co-religionists did not prove abortive on account of the opposition which, as he imagined, was to be raised against it on the Catholic side. Moreover, that De Smet and his Jesuit associates designed to assist in turning over the Oregon country to the British was a whimsical misconception of the facts. De Smet's strong American sympathies are revealed in a letter anent the Oregon question written by him to Senator Benton of Missouri.⁸¹

The De Smet letters go into much detail on the conduct of the Flathead neophytes during the opening years of St. Mary's Mission. Here are the words in which he sums up the results achieved before

⁸⁰ Cited in *RACHS*, 40: 121. The passage in the *Indian Sketches*, p. 23, referred to by Whitman cannot be identified. While Blanchet and his clergy as Canadian subjects may have been sympathetic to Great Britain while title to the country was still in dispute, there is no evidence that such was the case with the Jesuit missionaries. Still Whitman wrote as late as November 5, 1846, to Rev. L. P. Judson: "Mark you, had I been of your mind I should have slept and now the Jesuit papists would have been in quiet possession of this, the only spot in the western horizon of America not before their own[!]. They were fast fixing themselves here and had we missionaries no American population to come in to hold on to give stability it would have been but a small work for them and the friends of English interests, which they had also fully avowed, to have routed us and then the country might have slept in their hands forever. Time is not so short yet but it is quite important that such a country as Oregon should not on one hand fall into the exclusive hands of the Jesuits nor on the other under the English government." *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 2: 200. Whitman's correspondence with Greene, secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions (Boston), reveals his constant preoccupation with the idea that Oregon must be made safe for Protestantism. Thus in his letter of April 8, 1845: "I hope it will not be left for this the only spot in the western coast of America where Protestantism can soon gain a footing to be added to the Jesuit dominions of this coast." Cf. missionaries' correspondence, American Board of Foreign Missions (Boston), transcripts in Newberry Library, Chicago. Basing his conclusions on evidence supplied by the doctor's correspondence, Archer B. Hulbert has advanced the theory that the real motive of Whitman's daring ride of 1842 was to induce eastern Protestants to settle in Oregon and by their numbers and influence strengthen the Protestant cause in that region. "Not until the 1843 migration got under way from the Missouri River and he saw and accompanied it westward, is there a line in Whitman's many letters indicative of international rivalry for Oregon, but there are whole letters to indicate his anxiety over interdenominational rivalry. California and Canada being Catholic, Dr. Whitman saw in Oregon the one chance left for Protestantism to gain a foothold on the American Pacific Coast. To take it for granted that he was thinking in national terms while using only denominational terms is inconsistent." *Trans-Mississippi West*, p. 94.

⁸¹ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 486.

the end of 1841, recording at the same time how heaven seemed on one occasion to come to close quarters with an Indian boy:

On my return, the 8th of December, I continued instructing those of the Flatheads who had not been baptized. On Christmas day I added 150 new baptisms to those of the 3rd of December, and thirty-two rehabilitations of marriages; so that the Flatheads, some sooner and others later, but all, with very few exceptions, had, in the space of three months, complied with everything necessary to merit the glorious title of true children of God. Accordingly on Christmas eve, a few hours before the midnight mass, the village of St. Mary was deemed worthy of a special mark of heaven's favor. The Blessed Virgin appeared to a little orphan boy named Paul, in the hut of an aged and truly pious woman. The youth, piety and sincerity of this child, joined to the nature of the fact which he related, forbade us to doubt the truth of his statement.

Little Paul died towards the end of May, 1847, after a few hours of sickness brought on by eating poisonous herbs. He was cut down, so Father Ravalli wrote on June 29, 1847, to the General, none too soon, for the moral infection which shortly after by a strange dispensation of Providence spread through the body of the tribe would probably have numbered him among its victims.

In the fall of 1841 Father De Smet journeyed to Fort Colville on the Columbia to obtain supplies for the mission and in the following spring he descended to Fort Vancouver to discuss his plans for future work in Oregon with Father Blanchet, vicar-general of the Bishop of Quebec, and with the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, John McLoughlin.⁸² In October, 1842, he left Oregon for St. Louis to obtain additional helpers and material aid for his missionary projects, Father Point going at the same time to the Coeur d'Alènes. Father Mengarini with two coadjutor-brothers was thus left alone with the Flatheads. In September, 1843, Father De Vos, relieved of his office of master of novices at Florissant, came to join him. In 1844 Mengarini went down to the Willamette, leaving De Vos in charge of the mission. On the former's return the same year De Vos was sent to the Willamette, where he did excellent work among the whites and even among the Indians of the lower Columbia. Mengarini, again at the head of the mission, continued to direct its destinies to its collapse in November, 1850. In November, 1844, he welcomed an associate-worker in the person of Father Zerbinatti, who had come out over the Oregon Trail with Fathers Joset and Soderini. Zerbinatti's career in the mountains was soon brought to an abrupt end. Mengarini relates in his memoirs that on his return to St. Mary's in 1844 from Fort Vancouver he

⁸² *Idem*, 1: 370.

brought with him a Canadian named Biledot, who was to set up mills, grist and saw, at the mission.⁸³ In May, 1845, the grist-mill was in operation. On September 15 the saw-mill was tested for the first time with more or less satisfactory result. On the evening of that day Father Zerbinatti was missing from the little group. Presently anxious searchers found him drowned in the waters of the Bitter Root, in which apparently he had gone to bathe. He was replaced at the mission by Father Ravalli, who remained on its staff until it closed its doors.

What had been accomplished for the Flatheads in a material way in the first five years of the mission is told by De Smet in a letter dated Flathead Camp, on the Yellowstone River, September 6, 1846:

After an absence of about eighteen months, employed in visiting the various distant tribes and extending among them the kingdom of Christ, I returned to the nursery, so to speak, of our apostolic labors in the Rocky Mountains. Judge of the delight I experienced, when I found the little log church we built five years ago about to be replaced by another, which will bear comparison with those in civilized countries, materials, everything ready to commence erecting it the moment they can procure some ropes to place the heavy timbers on the foundation. Another agreeable surprise, however, yet awaited me; a mill had been constructed, destined to contribute largely to the increasing wants of the surrounding country. It is contrived to discharge the twofold charitable object of feeding the hungry and sheltering the houseless. The flourmill grinds ten or twelve bushels in a day; and the sawmill furnishes an abundant supply of plank, posts, etc., for the public and private building of the nation settled here. Indeed, the location stood much in need of so useful a concern. The soil yields abundant crops of wheat, oats and potatoes—the rich prairie here is capable of supporting thousands of cattle. Two large rivulets, now almost useless, can, with a little labor, be made to irrigate the fields, gardens, and orchards of the village. The stock at present on this farm consists of about forty head of cattle, a fast-increasing herd of hogs and a prolific progeny of domestic fowl. In addition to the mill, twelve frame houses, of regular construction, have been put up. Hence you can form some idea of the temporal advantages enjoyed by the Flatheads of St. Mary's village.⁸⁴

The significance of the mission in the pioneer history of western Montana is in the circumstance that it was the earliest nucleus of ordered civilized life within its limits. "These," it has been written in reference to the fathers' arrival in 1841, "were the first wagons and oxen brought to Montana . . . Probably the first farming attempted in our Territory was in the spring of 1842 by the Fathers of the Mission. This year they raised their first crop of wheat and potatoes. The same year the first cows were brought from the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Col-

⁸³ *WL*, 18: 143.

⁸⁴ *CR*, *De Smet*, 2: 570.

ville on the Columbia River.”⁸⁵ As to the saw mill, Palladino is authority for the statement that Father Ravalli fabricated the saw out of discarded wagon-tires.⁸⁶ Ravalli added to his knowledge of medicine a turn for mechanical ingenuity and skill as Major John Owen was to find out to his advantage. We read in the latter’s journal for September 1, 1868: “Rev’d Father Rivalli last evening brot home My Compd [compound] Microscope the adjusting screen of which had been out of order he fixed [it] for Me. He is a perfect genius and a good man.”⁸⁷

§ 4. CATHOLIC ORIGINS IN THE LOWER COLUMBIA VALLEY

The first Catholic priests to visit Oregon Territory, since organized into the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana (west of the Rocky Mountains) were Francis Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers, both of the diocese of Quebec. They arrived at Fort Vancouver, the principal post of the Hudson’s Bay Company, one hundred miles above the mouth of the Columbia, November 24, 1838, and the following day said Mass there, thus inaugurating the work of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest.⁸⁸

At the time the two missionaries reached Oregon the title to that spacious territory was in dispute between Great Britain and the United States. Practically it was controlled by the agents of the Hudson’s Bay Company, which after succeeding to the interests of the short-lived Pacific Fur Company of John Jacob Astor and then amalgamating with the Northwest Fur Company, dominated the whole Northwest with its trading-posts as centers of influence. Of these, there were some ten or twelve, the most important being Forts Vancouver, Walla Walla, Colville and Okinagan, all on the Columbia, the first one hundred, the last-named six hundred and ten miles approximately from the mouth

⁸⁵ *Montana Historical Collections*, 2: 90. “It cannot be said, although no high degree of civilization among the savages followed their efforts, that De Smet and his associates were not fearless explorers and worthy pioneers who at least prepared the way for civilization and (were) the first to test the capability of the soil and climate of Montana for sustaining a civilized population.” Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana* (1890), p. 605.

⁸⁶ Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 60. “Through the persistent efforts of Father Ravalli, the two Brothers, and a French Canadian, a miniature milling-plant, the first grist-mill in Montana, was constructed, where the tiny burrstones made to run by water-power were turning out excellent flour, though the amount was barely sufficient in the beginning to supply that small Indian community.”

⁸⁷ Owen, *Journal*, etc., 2: 179.

⁸⁸ Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 4: 311. Archbishop Blanchet’s *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon, 1838-1878*, first published in 1878, are reprinted in Clarence E. Bagley (ed.), *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon* (Seattle, 1932), 1: 9-141.

of the great waterway. At all these posts there were small groups of French-Canadian Catholics in the employ of the company. Further, at the time Fathers Blanchet and Demers arrived in the country there was a settlement of twenty-six Catholic families on the Willamette, some fifty miles above its mouth, and another of four Catholic families on the Cowlitz, at a point forty-five miles above the mouth of that river. The Willamette is a tributary of the Columbia, emptying into the latter from the south a few miles below the site of old Fort Vancouver, while the Cowlitz enters the Columbia from the north, about thirty miles below the same site. From the Catholic settlement on the Cowlitz to Fort Nesqually at the southern extremity of Puget Sound was a distance of only seventy miles.⁸⁹

Father Blanchet, whom Bishop Signay of Quebec appointed his vicar-general for Oregon, set to work at once to relieve the spiritual needs of the district entrusted to his care. At Cowlitz he erected a small building to serve as presbytery and church on land set apart by the Hudson's Bay Company for the Catholic mission. Thence he proceeded to the Willamette Valley, where at the Canadian settlement subsequently called St. Paul's he found already erected a similar structure seventy by thirty feet in size. The first Mass at St. Paul's was said January 6, 1839. "These were the pioneer churches of Washington and Oregon."⁹⁰ Blanchet and Demers did not by any means confine their ministrations to the Catholic whites; they endeavored also to evangelize the numerous tribes along the Willamette, Cowlitz and Columbia Rivers and in the vicinity of Puget Sound. As a medium of instruction, they began to familiarize themselves with the so-called Chinook jargon, which was a mixture of the real Chinook language with French, English, Algonkin and imitative sounds, all fused together into a vehicle of expression of very general use among the Indian tribes of the lower Columbia Valley.⁹¹ Two priests, however, fell far short of the number required for so extensive a field and Father Blanchet as vicar-general accordingly petitioned the Bishop of Quebec for reenforcements.⁹²

In answer to this petition Bishop Signay decided to send two young priests, Langlois and Bolduc, to Oregon. The unwillingness, however, of the Hudson's Bay Company to furnish them passage to the West in one of its convoys, a favor it had extended to the two pioneer

⁸⁹ De Smet, *Oregon Missions*, p. 19.

⁹⁰ Shea, *op. cit.*, 4: 311.

⁹¹ Shea, *op. cit.*, 4: 312.

⁹² The Quebec church authorities inquired of Father Chazelle, S.J., of Montreal whether he could send a priest of the Society, "of American origin," to the Columbia. Cazeau à Chazelle, June 12, 1840. Quebec Archdiocesan Archives.

priests, Blanchet and Demers, made it necessary for the prelate to send them by some other route. Believing that the route followed by De Smet might be taken also by the two priests, Signay addressed a letter of inquiry to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis:

I was much edified to learn that your lordship has recently sent one of your priests to carry the light of the Gospel to the savages who inhabit that part of the United States territory which lies west of the Rocky Mountains, and that you would have given this courageous missionary a companion had you been better supplied with priestly laborers. May the Lord of the harvest give you the means to extend and perpetuate the work which you have begun.

As for me, I was able, with God's help, in the spring of 1838, to send into the British territory beyond the Rocky Mountains, two priests belonging to my diocese, Messrs. Blanchet and Demers, to assume charge of a considerable number of Canadians who have settled there and to labor for the conversion of the natives. These courageous missionaries give me the most consoling reports of the eagerness shown by the Indians to be instructed, and urge me to send them helpers, adding that they need no fewer than six assistants to meet the needs of their charge. But, besides its not being possible for me to send so large a number, I have reason to believe that the Hudson Bay Company, which has the fur trade in all that vast territory, will not be so favorable to our work as it was at first. It was willing to give transportation to our two missionaries from Montreal to Vancouver, on the Columbia river, but it does not seem disposed to accord a like favor to those who might want to follow them and share their labors. Seeing ourselves, therefore, confined pretty much to our own resources and being unable to stand the immense expense that would be entailed by the transfer of the missionaries through the interior of the country for a distance of more than 1800 miles, we must try to get them to their destination by some other route.⁹⁸

This communication of the Bishop of Quebec reached St. Louis during Rosati's absence from his episcopal see on an *ad limina* visit to Rome. It was answered by Father Verhaegen as administrator of the diocese during the Bishop's absence:

I received your pleasant letter of November 19 several days ago. Our worthy bishop being at present in Rome, I shall give you the information which your lordship asks of him. One of our Fathers left in the early part of last spring for the region lying west of the Rocky Mountains, and according to a letter which he had an opportunity to send me when he reached the foot of those mountains, I have reason to believe that he reached there without accident. The object that I proposed to myself in sending him was not to station him there, but to satisfy the Flatheads, who for more than five years have been asking the favor of being visited by a priest, and to satisfy myself in regard to the dispositions of these Indians and of others living in that region. Upon his return (and I look for it at the beginning of

⁹⁸ RACHS, 19:314.

next summer) we shall decide definitely whether or not to establish a permanent mission there. We shall be guided entirely by the report that he gives us. I was aware, my lord, that there were two priests in the British territory, and the hope which I entertained that our zealous Father De Smet would meet with them there helped me greatly to a decision to allow him to go all alone. How delighted I should be, my lord, if you could increase the number of your priestly laborers! The obstacles to sending missionaries there and the expense of the journey are immense; but your zeal for the salvation of souls, my lord, will triumph over them. Here are the answers to your questions. Ordinarily, there are two steamboats a year which go to the Yellow Stone (*la Roche Jaune*), and from there to the mountains is not a great distance; but those who leave for the mountains do not make use of these opportunities, because a large number of mules is needed to continue the journey from the Yellow Stone, and these mules for transporting baggage and travelers cannot be carried aboard a boat. Those persons who wish to go farther than the Yellow Stone and *to cross the mountains* have but one opportunity a year, in the early spring, about the 15th of March. At that time a party is made up at St. Louis. The members of it leave here by boat and stop at *Westport* or *Independence*, near the western frontier of Missouri. There they procure horses, mules, provisions, etc., etc. and make the rest of the journey by land. As to the expenses from here to the mountains, you would have to allow nearly four thousand francs [eight hundred dollars] for each missionary. There is no difficulty about securing permission to join one of these parties; priests especially have *none* whatever. The expenses of a journey for a *missionary* from Washington to St. Louis would not exceed two hundred and fifty francs, unless he should have baggage for the transportation of which he would have to pay. If your lordship decides to send helpers to the reverend gentlemen who are already laboring in the vineyard, we shall be happy to render the missionaries any service in our power. . . .

P. S. I have unsealed my letter to tell you, my lord, that Father De Smet has just returned from the mountains. Everything appears favorable to our project. It is, therefore, very probable, not to say certain, that some Fathers will leave here in the month of March. The good Father did not see the reverend gentlemen, but he wrote to them.⁹⁴

Though Father De Smet and the two pioneer priests of Oregon did not meet on the occasion of the Jesuit's first journey to the mountains in 1840, they were brought into mutual communication by letter. A somewhat vague report that Catholic missionaries had arrived among the Flatheads led Father Demers, while on a missionary trip to the upper Columbia country, to indite a letter dated, Camp of the Pend d'Oreilles, August 6, 1840, and addressed to the "*Reverendes Prêtres, Missionnaires Catholiques, Aux Têtes-Plates.*" Said Demers:

Though I have not as yet the pleasure of knowing your names, I eagerly take the opportunity which is presented to send you news of the two poor

⁹⁴ *RACHS*, 19: 317.

missionaries of the Columbia, knowing that I am writing to Catholic priests, ministers of our holy religion, who have generously come to sacrifice themselves for the salvation of the savages. With what joy and contentment have I learned of your arrival among the Flatheads! ⁹⁵

On August 10, four days later than the date of Demers's communication, De Smet addressed a note from the Jefferson Fork of the Missouri River to Blanchet, announcing his arrival in the mountains and the object of his visit. His letter reached Blanchet apparently at St. Paul's on the Willamette:

Your Reverence will be glad to learn that Mgr. Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, in concert with my provincial Superior of the Society of Jesus in Missouri and in compliance with the desires often repeated, of the Flat-Heads, Pend d'Oreilles and a great number of Nez Percés, has sent me to the Rocky Mountains to visit these missions. I have found the two first in the best desirable disposition, well resolved to stand by the true children of Jesus Christ. The few weeks I had the happiness to pass among them have been the happiest of my life and give me the firm hope, with the grace of God, to see soon in this country, so long forsaken, the fervor of the first Christians. Since I am among them I have three, four and five instructions daily. They cannot be tired, all come to my lodge at the first ringing of the bell. They are anxious to lose none of my words relating to these instructions on these heavenly subjects, and if I had the strength to speak to them they would willingly listen to me whole days and nights. I have baptized about 200 of their little children and I expect to baptize in a short time 150 adults.⁹⁶

Shortly after the arrival of De Smet and his party in the Bitter Root Valley in the autumn of 1841 he received a communication from Blanchet. Written from Fort Vancouver, several hundred miles to the west of the Jesuit Flathead Mission, it enters into interesting details concerning the status of Catholicism in the lower Columbia Valley and concludes with an earnest appeal to De Smet to establish a missionary post in that part of Oregon:

Blessed be the Divine Providence of the all-powerful God who has protected, preserved and restored you safely to your dear neophytes.

I congratulate the country upon the inestimable treasure it possesses by the arrival and establishment therein of the members of the Society of Jesus. Be so kind as to express to the Reverend Fathers and Brothers my profound veneration and respect for them. I beg of God to bless your labors, and to continue your successful efforts. In a few years you will enjoy the glory and consolation of beholding through your means all the savages residing on the head waters of the Columbia, ranging themselves under the standard of the

⁹⁵ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1551.

⁹⁶ Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

Cross. I do not doubt but that our excellent governor, Dr. McLoughlin, will give you all the assistance in his power. It is very fortunate for our holy religion, that this noble-hearted man should be at the head of the affairs of the honorable Hudson Bay Company, west of the Rocky Mountains. He protected it before our arrival in these regions. He still gives it his support by word and example, and many favors. As we are in the same country, aiming at the same end, namely the triumph of the holy Catholic faith throughout this vast territory, the Rev. Mr. Demers and myself will always take the most lively interest in your welfare and progress, and we are convinced that whatever concerns us will equally interest you. . . .

Judge then, Sir, how great are our labors and how much it would advance our mutual interest, were you to send hither one of your Rev. Fathers, with one of the three lay-brothers. In my opinion, it is on this spot that we must seek to establish our holy religion. It is here that we should have a college, convent, and schools. It is here that one day a successor of the Apostles will come from some part of the world to settle, and provide for the spiritual necessities of this vast region, which, moreover, promises such an abundant harvest.—Here is the field of battle, where we must in the first place gain the victory. It is here that we must establish a beautiful mission. From the lower stations the Missionaries and Rev. Fathers could go forth in all directions to supply the distant stations, and announce the word of God to the infidels still plunged in darkness and the shadows of death. If your plans should not permit you to change the place of your establishment, at least take into consideration the need in which we stand of a Rev. Father and of a lay-brother to succor us in our necessities.⁹⁷

To this petition of the vicar-general of the Bishop of Quebec was joined another of the same tenor from Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company with headquarters at Fort Vancouver, of which he was the founder. Though not openly professing Catholicism at this date, he extended a most cordial invitation to Father De Smet to lend aid to the two Canadian priests then laboring in lower Oregon. "I am fully convinced that the most effectual mode to diffuse the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church in this part of the world is by establishing it on a good foundation in the Willamette and Cowlitz among the settlers—as the Indians will join themselves in what they see done by the whites. . . . But if one of you with one or two of the lay brothers could come to assist Messrs. Blanchette and Demers till their reinforcement came from Canada, it would be an immense benefit to religion."⁹⁸

Both to procure supplies for the Flathead Mission and to confer with Fathers Blanchet and Demers as well as with Dr. McLoughlin in regard to the plans they had broached in their communications,

⁹⁷ De Smet, *Letters and Sketches*, p. 229.

⁹⁸ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1555.

De Smet undertook a journey to the lower Columbia in the spring of 1842. At the Little Dalles he had the sad experience of seeing five of his boatmen drowned by the upsetting of a skiff in the whirlpool waters of the Columbia. By a kindly dispensation of Providence he was not himself in the boat at the moment, having a few moments before gone ashore to walk along the bank. At Fort Vancouver, where he arrived June 8, he had the happiness of meeting Blanchet and Demers. "A scene here ensued so affecting and edifying," records Archbishop Seghers, "that it drew tears from the eyes of the only witness present, Father Demers, from whose lips we received the moving narrative. No sooner had Father De Smet descried the vicar-general than he ran to prostrate himself at his feet, imploring his blessing; and no sooner had the Very Rev. Blanchet caught sight of the valiant missionary than he also fell on his knees, imploring the blessing of the saintly Jesuit."⁹⁹ "Rev. Father De Smet made his appearance at Vancouver at the beginning of the current month," Blanchet informed the Bishop of Quebec. "Mr. Demers, who happened to be there, accompanied him to St. Paul where he spent eight days with us forming plans best calculated to further the work of the Lord in this country." And to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis Blanchet wrote at the same time: "Mr. Demers and myself have finally had the consolation of seeing Reverend Father De Smet. Everything he has told us of the mission among the Flatheads has filled us with joy because of the prodigious blessings and graces which accompany the apostolic labors of this holy missionary. I cannot but wish to see in the Columbia [Valley] an increase in the number of priests of the Society of Jesus, so fervent and so filled with the spirit of their calling." Later, October, 1842, Blanchet wrote to the Bishop of Quebec: "I rejoice to see that this country is going to fall in regard to spirituals under the learned and enlightened direction of the Jesuits."¹⁰⁰

After a careful survey of the situation, De Smet determined to follow the advice of Blanchet and McLoughlin and open in the Willamette Valley a residence of the Society of Jesus which might serve as headquarters and base of supplies for all the Jesuit missions in Oregon. To obtain the vice-provincial's sanction for this important step and to solicit from him permission to make a trip to Europe in the interests of the new missionary field in the Pacific Northwest, De Smet now resolved on returning to St. Louis. The appointment of a bishop for Oregon was also a matter which he undertook to urge with the proper authorities. Turning his face once more to the East, he travelled by

⁹⁹ Cited in Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁰ Blanchet à Signay, June 24, 1842; Blanchet à Rosati, June 20, 1842; Blanchet à Signay, October 28, 1842. Quebec Archdiocesan Archives.

way of the Flathead Mission, where he left instructions for the opening of missions among the Coeur d'Alènes and the Kalispels. After months of painful journeying he reached St. Louis in October, 1842:

On the last Sunday of October, at twelve o'clock, I was kneeling at the foot of St. Mary's altar in the Cathedral offering up my thanksgiving to God for the signal protection he had extended to his poor, unworthy servant. From the beginning of April I had travelled 5,000 miles. I had descended and ascended the dangerous Columbia river. I had seen five of my companions perish in one of those life-destroying whirlpools, so justly dreaded by those who navigate that stream. I had traversed the Willamette, crossed the Rocky Mountains, passed through the country of the Blackfeet, the desert of the Yellowstone, and descended the Missouri; and in all these journeys I had not received the slightest injury. "*Dominus memor fuit nostri et benedixit nobis.*"¹⁰¹

A few days later than De Smet's arrival in St. Louis Father Verhaegen made appeal to the General for aid in the new missionary venture:

Our good and zealous Father De Smet arrived here last month in excellent health. Knowing the great interest which your Paternity takes in the success of the great mission which he has commenced beyond the Rocky Mountains I hasten to forward the relation which he has sent me [Fourche à Madison, 15 Aout, 1842]. He begs me to tell you, Very Reverend Father, that he will write to you in a few days.

The details he has given us about the Indians of the far away regions which have become the theater of his apostolic labors have filled our hearts with the sweetest consolation. All our Fathers burn with the desire of accompanying him thither next spring. How I regret not being able to yield to the entreaties which some are making to me to obtain this favor. The thing seems to me impracticable. Everywhere, but especially in the colleges, there are complaints of lack of personnel. Be so good, then, dear Father, as to think of this fine work. As Father De Smet will leave only next April, the Fathers whom your Paternity will send us can easily arrive here before that time. Three Belgian Fathers would do wonders on this mission.¹⁰²

§ 5. A CATHOLIC HIERARCHY IN OREGON

A letter from Bishop Signay of Quebec to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, December 31, 1842, states that the principal matter discussed between Fathers Blanchet and De Smet at their meeting of June, 1842, was the ecclesiastical organization of Oregon Territory and its erection into a diocese. To interest the American prelates in this project and

¹⁰¹ CR, *De Smet*, I: 402.

¹⁰² Verhaegen à Roothaan, November 1, 1842. (AA).

secure aid for the proposed diocese were, according to the Bishop of Quebec, the chief reasons that led De Smet to return to St. Louis in 1842. Having asked Rosati his opinion as to the limits of the diocese and in particular whether it should embrace any territory east of the Rocky Mountains, Signay went on to say:

Reverend Father De Smet is in my opinion the man best suited for the place and this by reason of his capacity as a missionary, his knowledge of the country, and his relations with a great number of influential people in Europe who are in a position to lend aid to his missions.

It would also be in place to come to some understanding as to the name which the projected diocese is to bear and perhaps as to the place in which the new bishop is to establish his see. Your Grace must have received from Father De Smet either *viva voce* or in writing the information which my Vicar-General has forgotten to send me.

I have omitted to say to your Grace when speaking of the choice of a bishop for Oregon Territory that Mr. Blanchet, who might be considered in this connection, earnestly begs to be passed over. I only wish the rules of the Society of Jesus will put no obstacle in the way of Father De Smet's acceptance of this dignity.¹⁰⁸

This letter of the Bishop of Quebec to Rosati was answered by his coadjutor, Bishop Peter Richard Kenrick, who expressed the opinion that neither De Smet nor any other Jesuit would accept the new bishopric of Oregon. The Quebec prelate thereupon wrote to Kenrick, March 14, 1843:

Since your lordship judges that neither Father De Smet nor any other Jesuit priest would accept the burden of the diocese west of the Rocky Mountains, the erection of which we are about to request, it is necessary that Mr. Blanchet, in spite of his repugnance, consent to accept it. I shall therefore make it my duty to recommend him to the Holy See for the episcopate, at the same time that I solicit the erection of the new diocese. But for this I shall wait until the Fathers of the Council which is to be held at Baltimore next May have resolved to recommend the same priest to the Holy See in order that this onerous charge shall be given him. I am sure your lordship will inform me on the subject before your return to St. Louis.

I think that the proposed diocese should include all the territory between the arctic circle on the north, California on the south, the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Pacific Ocean on the west; and that the bishop who is to bear the burden of it should take his title from Vancouver, which is the headquarters of the Hudson Bay Company's establishments beyond the Rocky Mountains and from which it is easier to hold communications with all parts of the country. However, Father De Smet, who has been in those

¹⁰⁸ Signay à Rosati, December 31, 1842. Quebec Archdiocesan Archives. A letter of the Bishop of Quebec, April 27, 1841, to the Propaganda petitions that the Mission of the Columbia be placed under another bishop.

parts, may perhaps entertain a different opinion from mine on these two points, and I shall be very glad if he make it known to your lordship so that I may act accordingly in my request to the Holy See.

I think it right, my lord, to leave to you the charge of taking the necessary measures with His Grace, the Archbishop of Baltimore, for the realization of our plans in favor of the poor faithful and the unbelievers in Oregon territory. I shall wait to write to Rome until after you shall have had the goodness to let me know to what conclusion you have come.¹⁰⁴

The Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore assembled in May, 1843. Concerning the Church in Oregon it recommended to the Holy See the erection of a vicariate-apostolic west of the Rocky Mountains, and notwithstanding the well-known unwillingness of members of the Society of Jesus to accept of ecclesiastical dignities except under a special charge of obedience, it forwarded to Rome the names of three Jesuit fathers of the vice-province of Missouri as competent to discharge the duties of the proposed vicariate. The motives determining this action of the council are revealed in a communication from Bishop Kenrick to the Bishop of Quebec:

In accordance with the promise I made you, in answer to Your Grace's letter of March 12th, I have the honor to inform you that the Council just closed at Baltimore recommended that the Holy See form a vicariate-apostolic west of the Rocky Mountains in the territory called Oregon. Three names were submitted to the Holy See for choice. They are:

Father Pierre de Smet, of the Society of Jesus,

“ Nicholas Point, of the same Society,

“ Pierre Verheyden, of the same Society.

The motive which determined the fathers of the Council to recommend the erection of a vicariate-apostolic rather than a bishopric was the difficulty about fixing upon a see for the new bishop, because of the differences between our two governments with regard to Oregon. They believed it best to ask the Holy See to confide the new vicariate to a Jesuit, and especially to Father De Smet, because they considered that this mission, in order to succeed, should be entrusted principally to the Jesuits, so that these good fathers may interest themselves more and more in it and send it further aid. True it is that the Jesuits do not usually accept the episcopal dignity, but it was thought that this difficulty would not hold good when it is a question of a mission among the Indians. I hope, my Lord, that this action on the part of the Council will meet with your approval and that you will support it at Rome with the weight of your authority.¹⁰⁵

The Bishop of Quebec did not hesitate to express his acquiescence in the choice made at Baltimore. He wrote to Kenrick:

¹⁰⁴ Signay à Kenrick, March 14, 1843. Tr. in *RACHS*, 19: 321, 322.

¹⁰⁵ Kenrick à Signay, Philadelphia, May 29, 1843. Tr. in *RACHS*, 18: 460.

Although I had already forewarned Mr. Blanchet that he might expect to be burdened with the care of the diocese that there is question of erecting beyond the Rocky Mountains, I nevertheless make it my duty to support the decision of the Fathers of the Baltimore Council with the Holy See, because I consider that our holy religion can but gain more advantages therefrom. Yet, as I had invited my colleagues in Canada to sign testimonial letters in favor of Mr. Blanchet, I am forwarding these letters to the Holy See with a request in favor of this missionary in case it be judged not appropriate to force the Jesuit Fathers recommended for the episcopate by the Council, to accept a dignity which is almost prohibited them by the rules of their Society. . . . as to what concerns the bishop to whom the proposed diocese shall be confided, I shall be all the more content that the recommendation of the Council be followed, as Mr. Blanchet shows much opposition to the great dignity that it is desired to confer upon him.¹⁰⁶

In the event Blanchet and not De Smet, the nominee at Baltimore, was appointed to the new Vicariate-apostolic of Oregon, which Gregory XVI created by a brief dated December 1, 1843.¹⁰⁷ The vicariate embraced "all the territory between the Mexican province of California on the South, and the Russian province of Alaska on the north" and extended "from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains."¹⁰⁸ Various circumstances combined to make Blanchet and not De Smet the incumbent of the new vicariate. The *terna* forwarded by the Baltimore council was submitted by the Sacred Congregation to Father Grassi, assistant for Italy to the Jesuit General, who was asked to report his opinion. Grassi had some acquaintance with American affairs, having been for some years superior of the Maryland Mission. His opinion was that Blanchet would be a better choice than De Smet.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the latter, who was then in Rome, appealed directly to Father Roothaan to make effort to save him from the dignity that was being prepared for him. On the occasion, a few years later, when it was falsely rumored

¹⁰⁶ Signay à Kenrick, June 12, 1843. Tr. in *RACHS*, 19:323, 324.

¹⁰⁷ Signay in his letter of June 12, 1843, to Kenrick had recommended the erection beyond the Rocky Mountains of a regular diocese rather than a vicariate-apostolic.

¹⁰⁸ Shea, *op. cit.*, 4:316.

¹⁰⁹ Acta S. Congr. Prop., 1843 (Archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, Rome). "Il P. Pietro De Smet Gesuita, nativa del Belgio Fondatore della Missione dei Selvaggi nel Territorio del Oregon, converrebbe molto bene all'ufficio di Vicario Apostolico. 2. Il P. Point Gesuita francese non sarebbe a proposito se P. Verheyden e ancora troppo giovane (Sentimento de M. Rosati, Vescovo di S. Luis dimandata a Parigi)." Father Grassi's report to the Congregation is dated July 16, 1843. September 18 the Congregation recommended that Oregon be erected into a vicariate-apostolic with Blanchet as bishop. The Pope, Gregory XVI, approved September 24, 1843.

that certain members of the Society were deprecating the appointment of Canadians to bishoprics, Father Roothaan wrote to an American superior: "It is known at the Propaganda that I refused for Father De Smet, conformably to his desire as also to the line of conduct I have set myself, the title of Vicar-apostolic of Oregon and that it was in pursuance of the very idea suggested to me by Father De Smet himself that Bishop Blanchet was chosen."¹¹⁰

Writing from Quebec in July, 1843, Bishop Signay had advised Blanchet that he was the choice of the Canadian bishops for the new see:

Despite your repugnance to accepting this dignity, of which we are fully aware, a recommendation was drawn up and signed by the bishops of Upper and Lower Canada. But now the Council recently convened in Baltimore, which took this important matter under consideration, adopts a different stand from the one we were expecting. Bishop Kenrick, the Coadjutor of St. Louis, who from the very first had been of the opinion of Father De Smet, informs me that the Fathers of the Council petition that a vicariate-apostolic be erected west of the Rocky Mountains instead of a diocese and this by reason of the difficulty of fixing the see of the new bishop in view of the differences existing between the two governments. Moreover, persuaded that the missions of Oregon, if they are to succeed, ought to be entrusted to the Jesuits, they ask for Father De Smet as bishop, having sent his name to Rome together with those of two other Jesuits. In addition to this information from Bishop Kenrick we know from other sources that Father De Smet is at present in Rome. We have no doubt that if Father De Smet or some other Jesuit accepts the episcopate you will be very glad of it for we know how you dread its burden. . . . However, if the contrary happens, we persist in our intention to recommend your name and have actually forwarded it to Rome. We have sent to Rome our recommendation in your favor together with the supplication by which, with the Council of Baltimore, we ask for a bishop for Oregon although we differ from that august assembly as to the title which the new bishop ought to take.¹¹¹

Political conditions have sometimes to be reckoned with in the appointment of bishops as was probably the case in the present instance. To the Baltimore prelates De Smet, an American by adoption, probably appeared a more prudent choice than Blanchet, a Canadian, as the Church's representative in a country then in dispute between Great Britain and the United States. Perhaps Bishop Kenrick hints at this consideration in a letter to his brother prelate of Quebec:

¹¹⁰ Roothaan à Boulanger, Nov. 26, 1847. (AA). Palladino (*op. cit.*, p. 55), without indicating his source of information, says that De Smet was spared the episcopal office as the result of his own protest and that of the Father General.

¹¹¹ Signay à Blanchet, July 13, 1843. Quebec Archdiocesan Archives.

I share your Grace's satisfaction in regard to Mr. Bachelet [Blanchet], whose merits I am perfectly aware of, thanks to the information furnished by Father De Smet. I would have chosen him myself and it was only from a motive of prudence that the Fathers of the recent Council refrained from recommending him to the Holy See.^{111a} The information your Grace has in regard to Father De Smet's journey is quite correct. He did not come to St. Louis but has returned to his Mission by sea. Very likely the intelligence communicated to you by the Bishop of Heliopolis is true, as this good Father takes a very lively interest in everything that concerns Mr. Bachelet [Blanchet]. I do not doubt that under the direction of this zealous ecclesiastic now raised to the episcopate and with the cooperation which the Fathers of the Society of Jesus will lend him, religion will make new gains in that far-away country.¹¹²

Meantime Father Blanchet, at world's end in the wilds of Oregon, was long in receiving word of his appointment. Under date of April 12, 1844, the Bishop of Quebec sent him the news:

Although the Fathers of the Council of Baltimore recommended the Holy See to commit the care of it [the new vicariate-apostolic] to Father De Smet, he showed himself so reluctant that he has succeeded in escaping the burden they wished to lay upon his shoulders only to have it fall back upon the worthy founder of the mission, which has just been erected into a vicariate-apostolic. If I deserve any blame for having sought to have you made the recipient of a dignity which you are so far from ambitioning, the good Father

^{111a} "What do you think of a bishop for the Rocky Mountains? Father De Smet thinks it highly necessary; and he was the bearer of a letter from a respectable clergyman who is the pastor of a congregation on the Wallamette, a tributary to the Columbia, in which he urges Bishop Rosati to use his influence in getting Father De Smet appointed Bishop of that region; whereas the latter holy missionary thinks Rev. Mr. Blanchet, the clergyman in question, the fittest person in the world for the contemplated or rather the proposed see. I have had to send the letter to Bishop Rosati to Rome and would be glad to profit by your views before expressing my own, which are favorable to the appointment of M. Blanchet and in which Bishop Rosati, as he is fond of making bishops, might at once act." Kenrick to Purcell, January 1, 1843. (I.)

¹¹² Kenrick à Signay, March 21, 1844. Quebec Archdiocesan Archives. Cardinal Acton had already written Signay September 26, 1843: "The Holy See has deigned to listen to your prayers and to afford you relief in your apostolic labors by appointing an ecclesiastic to take in charge the extensive territory of the Columbia and by choosing for the episcopal dignity the same individual whom your lordship in his wisdom had sent to that great mission and who had been recommended by the worthy Bishops of Canada to the Congregation. When the decrees shall have been prepared, your lordship will receive official advice of the choice of Monseigneur Blanchet for the Columbia, but I think I can assure you that his Holiness has fully approved the decision of the Propaganda." Acton à Signay, September 26, 1843. Quebec Archdiocesan Archives. The brief of appointment was dated December 1, 1843.

deserves much more, for he has worked harder than myself to have it conferred on you. As he is on the ground you can show your resentment over it at your convenience.¹¹³

This communication from the Bishop of Quebec reached Blanchet on November 4, 1844, several weeks after his meeting with De Smet on the latter's return from Europe in August, 1844. On November 25 of the same year, by which time De Smet was already in the mountains, Blanchet wrote to him:

The Bishop of Quebec has told me that he is not the only one who worked to have the burden of the episcopate fall upon me, that you have had as much to do with it as himself and that I must throw the blame on you in particular. Well, I say it in all good humor, Reverend Father, you have done me a bad turn. In your efforts to avoid it [the episcopate] you should, knowing my attitude, have reserved the embarrassment for some one else besides your friend. You have, then, failed as a friend, you will have a share also in the responsibility and in the account which you must one day render for this mistake. The affair is, alas! consummated. I must go ahead and leave even tomorrow for Europe! Aid me at least with the assistance of your prayers; help your friend to get out of the fix as handsomely as he can. Do not abandon me in the moment of danger; come to my assistance with all your good Fathers and dear Brothers.

The Mission of Oregon is erected into a vicariate-apostolic and I am the very unworthy vicar apostolic. We lack Sisters, Brothers of the Christian Schools, priests, Fathers for the Indians and for the Americans. I am going to seek them. Better now than later on. This journey costs me a good deal, but I offer up as a sacrifice the repugnance I feel in regard to it.

Mr. Demers stays part of the time at the Wallamet. The Falls will then be deprived of a missionary as will also be Tualate[?], where there are many Americans very well disposed. It is the same with Yanhill. Father De Vos will try to visit this last post. Vancouver is going to be without a priest unless Father De Vos allows a Father to go there. The Fathers say that they are sent for the Mountains, that they belong to the States and not to British territory; to settle within the limits of the latter they would need the permission of Very Rev. Father General. As a result, no mission in the Bay [Puget Sound] or in Caledonia. What then, are the Fathers going to do? What will

¹¹³ Signay à Blanchet, April 12, 1844. Quebec Archdiocesan Archives. Cf. also Signay à Kenrick, February 24, 1844. "I am inclined to believe that Reverend Father De Smet went to Rome last summer, that he left nothing undone to get rid of the burden they wished to impose upon him and that it was at his solicitation that Mr. Blanchet has been substituted for him. I shall send Mr. Blanchet the document of the Roman Curia next spring through the service of the Hudson's Bay Company." Cf. also words of the Coadjutor-bishop of Quebec, June, 1843: "*Je sais que le R.P. De S. a prié le Coadj. de St. L. de le [Blanchet] recommander au Concile comme très digne d'être promu à cette dignité.*"

become of the Indians? Should the ministers come, they will take complete possession of them.

See, Reverend Father, what you can do for the Indians. I recommend to you the Mission of the Bay and that of Caledonia; next, a Father for a mission on the Columbia river near Mr. McKay's [?] farm. Please come down early in the spring and take measures with Rev. Father De Vos. They tell me Father Soderini speaks English; he would do well at the Falls. General McCarver has spoken to me of the impression made upon him by reading Dr. Milner's lectures. Dr. Long has received a similar impression. Mr. Clark, thoroughgoing minister though he be, has also read this work. I dare say that with the influence you have you would gain over all the Americans in a year or two, if you were to reside with them.

Remember me to your Fathers in the Mountains as also to your dear Brothers. Be also kind enough to recommend me to the prayers of your good Indians. They will never forget that you have been their first Father, that in this regard they owe you their salvation. Nor, shall we, on our part forget what gratitude the country owes you for the journeys, the hardships and fatigues in so great a number to which you have exposed yourself for the glory of God. In vain has the devil been wishing to show his vexation, to rise up and scold you; the good is done, he will remain humiliated. The Fathers and Sisters are there and will go on doing good; and the benefits and advantages which the country derives therefrom, we owe under God to you. The Lord has inspired you, given you courage and strength. Success has crowned the work. Once again be pleased to accept my very lively gratitude as also that of this country in general.¹¹⁴

Blanchet's route to Montreal where he was to receive consecration was a circuitous one. Having crossed the Columbia bar on December 5, he sailed by way of Honolulu, Cape Horn, Liverpool and Boston, the voyage lasting six months. From London he addressed a letter to Father Roothaan, May 29, 1845:

The mission or rather the vicariate-apostolic of Oregon ought to be very dear to you since it numbers a dozen of your children, Reverend [fathers] of the Society of Jesus. Appointed to the high dignity of vicar-apostolic of the country and accepting it only with regret so as not to retard the good that must be done, I decided to proceed to Canada and thence to Europe in the interests of my vicariate. I have proposed especially to visit the Holy City and throw myself at the feet of the Holy Father to offer him the homage of a

¹¹⁴ Blanchet à De Smet, November 25, 1844. (A). Signay, now Archbishop of Quebec, wrote to Blanchet: "How you must have been comforted to see coming to your aid five disciples of St. Ignatius and several excellent nuns all burning with desire to second you in your work. . . . I hope Father De Smet will have relieved you of all your scruples and that you have made your sacrifice with a generous heart." Signay à Blanchet, April 15, 1845. Quebec Archdiocesan Archives. In the event the Puget Sound district was never included in the Jesuit field of operations, at least in De Smet's time. There is no record that he ever visited it.

deep veneration. Another motive was that I might discuss with you, Reverend Father, the sending of twelve more Fathers to Oregon. But my financial means are so straitened that I shall have to renounce this purpose of mine and do by letter what could be done much better *viva voce*. There is question of getting possession of several very important Indian posts before the Protestant missionaries come and sow error. These posts are: 1st New Caledonia, situated to the north of the Columbia river, 300 leagues from Fort Vancouver, towards the sources of the Frazer River. The Indians of the country have received the faith, have had their children baptized and beg earnestly for a priest. 2nd Puget Bay [Sound], which is to the west of the above mentioned Caledonia and on the Pacific seaboard. There also the Indians have received the faith, have had their children baptized and cry aloud for missionaries. Four would be needed in New Caledonia, two in Puget Bay, one on Vancouver Island, two on Queen Charlotte Island, which is very populous and as large as England. 3rd Walla Walla, 80 leagues from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, and also a very important post. The Protestant ministers who are some distance away are taking away from us such Indians as have received the faith. Either there or close by we should need three or four missionaries. If to all this you add the establishment of Lake St. Ignatius [St. Paul's], a college, the serving of three posts or settlements of American farmers, the charge of the parish of St. Paul, of the convent in the same place, and also of Fort Vancouver and of St. Francis Xavier at Cowlitz, you will have some small idea how pressing it is to increase the number of missionaries in my vicariate-apostolic. Be so kind then, Reverend Father, as to see what you will be able to do for me this year and how many new Fathers you can let me have. It would be very serviceable if some among them knew English; otherwise your Fathers in Oregon find themselves hampered in their operations, not having been sent, so they will say, except for the Flathead country in the Rocky Mountains, a region more than 200 leagues from Fort Vancouver. Furthermore, they feel also a repugnance to establishing themselves close to the Columbia or to the north, which is supposed British territory; so it would be very well that your Fathers be at liberty to establish themselves and to go and work wherever need presses most.

Please to accept, Reverend Father, the assurance of my lively gratitude for the services which your Reverend Fathers have begun to render to my vicariate, which will be entirely Catholic if we only set to work in good season.¹¹⁵

In Montreal, July 25, 1845, Father Blanchet was consecrated Bishop of Drasa *in partibus*.¹¹⁶ Proceeding to Europe where he enlisted recruits, including seven Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, for the new missionary-field in Oregon, the Vicar-apostolic on his arrival in Rome represented to the Holy See the necessity of sectionizing his

¹¹⁵ Blanchet à Roothaan, May 29, 1845. (AA).

¹¹⁶ Blanchet's original titular see of Philadelphia had been changed to that of Drasa to avoid confusion with the American see of the same name.

vast vicariate. In a memorial of some sixty pages which he presented to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda he embodied a rather startling plan, in view of the mere handful of Catholics in the territory, for the erection of the vicariate into an archdiocese with metropolitan see at Oregon City and with seven suffragan sees dependent thereon.¹¹⁷ Clearly he expected that the Catholic population of Oregon was about to go forward by leaps and bounds. "In these last years," said the memoir, "the civilized population has increased at a rapid rate. Present-day events are daily hastening development and it is certain that in a few years we shall count populous towns, where now are found barely a few settlers grouped around a trading-post. Whatever happens, the policy of the United States is to seize the disputed territory by the actual fact [of settlement]." In a letter from Rome to Bishop Turgeon, Coadjutor of Quebec, the Oregon prelate explained that for the moment only three sees should have incumbents, those, namely, of Oregon City, Walla Walla and Vancouver Island. The other sees were to be filled as need demanded. The plan was similar to the one adopted by the Propaganda in regard to Australia. Incidentally, Blanchet expressed the view that the missions of Paraguay and California owed their fall to lack of bishops and native priests.¹¹⁸

In accordance, therefore, with Blanchet's plan, somewhat modified, Gregory XVI by a brief dated July 24, 1846, erected the archiepiscopal see of Oregon City and the dioceses of Walla Walla and Vancouver Island, together with the districts of Nesqually, Fort Hall, Colville, Princess Charlotte and New Caledonia. Of these, Vancouver Island, Princess Charlotte, New Caledonia and a part of Colville were in British territory. Simultaneously with the creation of the new dioceses, Father Demers, the companion of Father Blanchet in his pioneer labors in Oregon, was appointed to the see of Vancouver Island, and charged, moreover, with the administration of the two other districts lying in British territory. At the same time, Father Magloire Blanchet, a canon of Montreal and a brother of Archbishop Blanchet, was named to the see of Walla Walla, besides being charged provisionally with the districts of Fort Hall and Colville. The metropolitan see of the entire province was fixed at Oregon City, founded at the Falls of the Willamette by John McLoughlin. The remarkable thing about these ecclesiastical arrangements is their elaborateness, in contrast to the small Catholic population and the few priests in the Oregon country at this period. The archdiocese of Oregon City was the first to be organized

¹¹⁷ A copy of the memoir is in the Quebec Archdiocesan Archives.

¹¹⁸ Blanchet à Turgeon, May 18, 1846. Quebec Archdiocesan Archives. As a matter of fact, the missions both in Paraguay and California were virtually destroyed by unfriendly governments.

in the United States after that of Baltimore. It antedates in origin the archdiocese of St. Louis, which was erected in 1847.¹¹⁹

The Blanchet memorial touches on the work of the Jesuits in Oregon. In view of the new ecclesiastical organization which he proposed the prelate thought their central establishment at the Willamette to be "superfluous," though it was originally at his instance that it had been opened.¹²⁰ "It will on the contrary be of infinite advantage to transfer it to some point in the vast country which I shall propose to your Eminences to entrust to the zeal of those indefatigable workers. This will be a very effective means in their hands of adding to the four flourishing Christian centers they already possess under the titles of St. Mary, St. Joseph, St. Peter and St. Michael."¹²¹ At this point will be the permanent residence of the particular bishop of the country as also the base on which they can support themselves so as to give to those same missions the stability that will insure their future" (p. 20). The missionary area which it was proposed to assign to the Jesuits is described:

It would be possible to assign to the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus the immense territory formed by uniting three of the projected bishoprics [Walla Walla, Fort Hall, Colville], this being the jurisdiction proposed for Walla Walla. . . . The four missions of the Jesuits are to be found in that region. It may be that at first your Eminences will find that in dividing up the entire territory I assign too great a share to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. That would be true if there was question of a country already evangelized for some time back. But our missions are only beginning; those that depend on Walla Walla are, it is true, in a better state than the missions to the north of Oregon [New Caledonia]. Still even there the work is so far barely sketched out and hence there is no impropriety in letting all this ground be broken by such zealous missionaries. When later on some thousands of Christian converts at different points will permit of the territory being divided in reality as for the present it will be divided in principle, the missionaries, and in default of them, the provincial council will bring the matter to the attention of your Eminences. I shall even make this avowal, namely, that in view of the immense weight of responsibility laid upon me, I thought I might in the beginning demand even more from these indefatigable workers. As I already pointed out, I had authorized them to settle in the Wallamet in the district which today I reserve exclusively for other workers. I realize now the impossibility which confronts the Society of Jesus of supplying even approximately all these needs. I accordingly acquiesced very readily in the views which the Very Reverend Father General set before me so wisely in a letter

¹¹⁹ Shea, *op. cit.*, 4: 318, 319. *Catholic Almanac*, 1850.

¹²⁰ Father Roothaan also thought the Willamette establishment superfluous and had so expressed himself to Bishop Blanchet.

¹²¹ The three Jesuit missions actually established in Oregon at this date were the Sacred Heart, St. Mary's and St. Ignatius.

of rather recent date. The domesticated Indians, the Flatheads, and the surrounding tribes are quite enough, so he said to me in speaking of the missions which the Society might undertake. There is work enough there to keep a good many missionaries employed; and may God grant that we find it possible to keep up what has been started without taking on new and far-reaching engagements (p. 55).

At the time Archbishop Blanchet drew up his memorial canonical relations between the bishops and the religious orders were not as clearly defined as they are at present. It was a matter that gave him much concern and he wrote from Rome to the Coadjutor of Quebec: "I am willing to have the rights and jurisdiction of bishops in regard to regulars clearly determined in order to avoid the disagreements of which I hear incessant talk. I have just put my hand on a brief which is very helpful in this connection and shall send your Lordship a copy."¹²² As to Blanchet's appeal to the Jesuit General for twelve additional priests for Oregon, it could not under the circumstances have met with a literal response, not through any disinclination on the General's part to extend the aid requested, but through sheer lack of available men. As it was, Blanchet was to bring with him on his return to Oregon three Jesuit priests and the same number of Jesuit coadjutor-brothers. With regard to the impression made by the zealous prelate on Father Roothaan, it found expression in a letter addressed by him to Father Joset: "For the rest I don't conceal my fears that difficulties may arise with his Grace. He is indeed a very pious man, but one very much under the sway of imagination, who indulges a good deal in theory and weighs less the practical side of things. Hence, he is unsteady and changeful and often hesitates considerably. Of such character does this excellent man appear to be not only in my own opinion but in that of other persons here and these of the highest standing. . . . I recommend that your attitude towards him be one of the utmost humility and modesty after the example of St. Francis Xavier."¹²³ In August, 1847, Archbishop Blanchet was again in Oregon with a party of twenty-one recruits, including three Jesuit fathers, Menetrey, Goetz, Gazzoli and three coadjutor-brothers, Savio, Bellomo and Marchetti(?).

On September 3, 1847, only a few weeks after the return of Archbishop Blanchet to Oregon, his brother, Magloire, who had been consecrated Bishop of Walla Walla, arrived at his see in the wilderness after a six months' journey over the Oregon trail, of which he has left an interesting narrative.¹²⁴ Within his jurisdiction were located all the

¹²² Blanchet à Turgeon, March 27, 1846. Quebec Archdiocesan Archives.

¹²³ Roothaan ad Joset, June 7, 1846. (AA).

¹²⁴ A translation of the narrative or journal is in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 9: 208.

Jesuit Indian missions of the Oregon country and close relations would therefore naturally be established between him and the missionaries. As a matter of fact, his stay at Walla Walla was destined to be short. In November, 1847, only a few months following his arrival at Walla Walla, occurred the Whitman massacre, in consequence of which the Oregon authorities ordered all missionaries to retire from the district. In 1850 the see of Walla Walla was suppressed, the administration of this territory being placed in the hands of the Archbishop of Oregon City. A new diocese was thereupon erected, that of Nesqually (subsequently Seattle), to which Bishop Blanchet was transferred. His relations with the Jesuit missionaries in the mountains were accordingly short-lived, but long enough to give promise of their readiness to lend him aid as far as circumstances permitted in the general work of the diocese. From St. Paul on the Willamette, where he was a guest of his brother after the Whitman tragedy, he wrote to the Archbishop of Montreal:

Meanwhile arrived Father Joset, superior of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers. I presented him with thirty-six questions, which I requested him to answer. They were upon everything that had been done and that remained to be done. He answered on the spot and terminated his remarks with these words: "Though I think it to be of greater advantage to consolidate the missions now established, from which [as centers] we shall be able to work more solidly and effectively for the salvation of our neighbors' souls, this will not prevent us from being ready to employ ourselves with all our energy in whatever work your Lordship may be pleased to occupy us." . . . Everything seemed to be going on satisfactorily and for my part I was pleased with Father Joset and the rest.¹²⁵

§ 6. RECRUITS FOR THE MOUNTAINS

In October, 1842, Father De Smet had arrived in St. Louis from Oregon to seek men and supplies for the new missionary field he had opened up beyond the Rockies. As a preliminary step in his efforts to engage the sympathy and support of the Catholic public for the Indian missions thus set on foot, he published in Philadelphia in 1843 *Letters and Sketches with a Narrative of a Year's Residence Among the Indian Tribes of the Rocky Mountains*, the first of the many absorbing records of missionary adventure that were to come from his pen. Already in the spring of that year Marcus Whitman was writing back from the Oregon Trail to a friend in the East urging him to procure a copy of the book and thereby acquaint himself with Jesuit missionary enterprise in Oregon.¹²⁶ Early in the same year, 1843, as the result of personal appeals

¹²⁵ A. Blanchet à Bourget, March 3, 1848. Montreal Archdiocesan Archives.

¹²⁶ *Transactions*, Pioneer Oregon Association, 1870, p. 179.

made in most of the large cities of the country, including New Orleans, Boston, Louisville, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia and New York, De Smet had got together the sum of five thousand dollars. With this fund he was enabled to outfit a party of three recruits for Oregon, Father Peter De Vos, lately master of novices at Florissant, Father Adrian Hoecken, brother of Christian Hoecken, the Potawatomi missionary, and Brother Peter McGean. He conducted the party in person, April, 1843, as far as Westport, whence he returned to St. Louis to make preparations for a journey to Europe, the first of the many he was to undertake in behalf of the Indian missions he loved so dearly.¹²⁷

Meantime the Jesuit party he had escorted to the frontier pushed out over the Oregon Trail, forming part, at least for some of the distance, of "the great emigration" of 1843, in which figured Peter H. Burnett, Jesse Applegate and Marcus Whitman. "Two papal priests and their lay-helpers are along," Whitman wrote back to the East, "and De Smet has gone back in order to go to Europe and bring others by ship."¹²⁸ At the Kansas River crossing, where now is Topeka, the emigrants made use of Pappan's (Papin's) Ferry, a crude platform of planks which sometimes sank in mid-stream. Here Burnett met the Jesuits, later erroneously naming De Smet for Hoecken in his memoirs. "At Kansas River crossing we met Fathers De Smet and De Vos, missionaries to the Flathead Indians."¹²⁹ Here also, at the Kansas crossing, George Wilkes, one of the emigrants, made the acquaintance of the Jesuit priests. "On the 30th two Catholic missionaries arrived at the ford. They were pilgrims through the wilderness on a mission of faith to the Flathead Indians. We treated them with every observance of respect and cheerfully lent them the assistance of our raft."¹³⁰ Father De Vos had sent word ahead to Father Mengarini at St. Mary's asking him to meet the party and conduct it through the last stages of the journey. This Mengarini did, taking along with him Young Ignace as a guide. On the eastern slope of the Rockies, the father made an interesting discovery, as he relates in his memoirs. "Some days before this we had discovered one of the sources of the Missouri. It was on the top of a high hill, the soil was very moist and a large stream of water was issuing from

¹²⁷ A domestic diary kept at St. Louis University records that the party which left St. Louis April 25 included three coadjutor-brothers. Two of the number were going to Jesuit missions in Kansas.

¹²⁸ *Transactions*, Pioneer Oregon Association, 1890, p. 177.

¹²⁹ *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 5: 68.

¹³⁰ George Wilkes, *A History of Oregon, Geographical and Political, etc. To which is added a Journal of the events of the celebrated emigrating expedition of 1843* (New York, 1845), p. 73.

the ground; on the outer side of the hill, but a few rods away, so near in fact that with a ploughshare I could unite the two, was one of the sources of the Columbia.”¹³¹

While De Vos and his companions were thus making their way across the plains to the farther side of the Rockies, De Smet set sail from New York, June 7, 1843, in company with Archbishop Hughes. In Belgium and Holland he went from city to city collecting in a few months money and material to the value of one hundred and twenty-five thousand francs. An appeal for volunteers for the Oregon Missions addressed by the General to the Jesuit provinces of continental Europe brought a few recruits. Of the number, Fathers Joseph Joset, a Swiss, Pietro Zerbinatti, a Neapolitan, Tiberius Soderini, a Roman, and Brother Vincentio Magri, a Maltese, were promptly sent to America. Father Joset having met the Italian members of the party in Lyons, all proceeded to Havre where on March 20 they took ship in a sailing-vessel bound for New Orleans, Father Zerbinatti acting as superior of the party during the voyage. Out at sea contrary winds were so strong for a spell that during ten days the vessel made scarcely any progress at all and fifty days were gone before they reached port. In the course of the voyage the priests found ample opportunities to exercise their zeal. There were daily catechism classes for the children of the poor emigrant families and Mass and sermon on Sundays. One sailor-boy of nineteen was instructed daily for a month in preparation for his first holy communion. On Easter day some of the passengers received the Holy Eucharist, but a number failed to do so out of human respect, so at least it seemed to Joset. “In these and other ways of like sort,” wrote the ardent young missionary, “we tried as well as we might to spread about us the good odor of Christ.”¹³²

St. Louis was reached on May 18, the trip up the Mississippi from New Orleans taking seven days. As the season was too far advanced to permit of their proceeding at once to the mountains, the party remained in St. Louis until the following spring. They started thence on April 23 for Westport, whence they took the now well-beaten emigrant route over the Oregon Trail.¹³³ A narrative of the trip by Father Joset supplies graphic details of some of the experiences that befell the travellers as they made their way west over the famous highway.¹³⁴ De Smet and

¹³¹ *WL*, 18:37.

¹³² Joset ad Roothaan, July 10, 1843. (AA).

¹³³ Father Soderini did not accompany the others to the mountains but went there later after having been assigned temporarily to the Sugar Creek Mission.

¹³⁴ Joset à ———. (AA). The letter is addressed to some unnamed father in Switzerland and belongs to the end of 1844 or beginning of 1845. Very probably an unabridged version of Joset's letter of February 22, 1845, addressed to Father Fouillot and published in *Ann. Prop.* 18:504-517.

others told of the hundreds who perished by the wayside, unable to reach their journey's end. Joset makes us assist at the last moments of some of the victims:

After the rainy season came that of death. Our camp was like a travelling hospital. Several young people attacked by consumption were going to seek health in the Mountains. Among them was one recently married who had torn himself from the bosom of his family to undertake this long journey. He was a convert, a fervent Catholic, who went to the sacraments every month. He was resigned in advance. "I don't understand," he told me, "how one can live without the assistance of religion; we are going in search of health, but if in place of health it is God's will that we should find death, it will be a sad outcome for such as are not enlightened by faith." After having given him the sacraments, I remained with him at his wagon until his last sigh. The next day a Requiem Mass was said and a cross with inscription planted on the grave.

The second was a young Methodist or Anabaptist. I visited him frequently during his sickness; he showed himself greatly pleased to see me and listen to the explanations I gave him on our holy religion. One day when he was suffering more than usual I asked him whether he shouldn't like to receive baptism; he received it in answer to his request. During the several days he continued to live he showed excellent dispositions as well as a desire to know the Catholic religion better. He died at a moment when no one was attending him and was buried with the rites of the Church. We looked upon him as a Catholic by reason of the sentiments he had given expression to.

The third died on a hill, where, overtaken by a storm, we had been obliged to camp without a fire. He belonged to a Catholic family and had shown himself a model of patience, making no complaint except that he was a burden to everybody. He had received Communion a few days before. I heard his confession again, gave him Extreme Unction and the last absolution and did not leave him until he had given up his soul. The funeral ceremonies were repeated so often that [ms.?]. . . . The last one I assisted was a Protestant of good family and distinguished manners. He always showed himself exceeding polite towards us. Catholics he held in esteem. He was already in his agony when I was told of the danger. My ministrations were limited to suggesting to him acts of faith, hope, charity, contrition and abandonment to the divine will. Several times when I asked him to wink with his eyes if he understood me, he gave me at once the desired signal, which led me to believe that he retained consciousness until his last moment. In all these circumstances the little English I had learned in St. Louis proved very useful to me. All the sick and the people of our camp generally knew no other language. So you see, Reverend Father, that this part of our journey was not the gayest possible. We advanced only at a snail's pace. Six full weeks were necessary for us to cover a distance that ordinarily takes only six days and even then we were obliged to unload our conveyances of all unnecessaries in order to make our way.

The fauna and flora met along the way did not escape Joset's observing eye.

Only a half an hour ago while on the prairie our people had killed a rattlesnake. This reptile is very common in these parts, but people don't fear it as much as we might imagine in Europe. There is no danger except when it is surprised. In Paris they made me take along some liquid ammonia as an infallible specific against the bites of venomous beasts of whatever kind; but here it is superfluous. Divine Providence here spreads about the remedy in greater abundance than the disease. It is called blackroot; the stem is very much like the *tragophagon* of your meadows; its yellow head, which turns black when ripe, rises about on all sides above the other grasses so that it is easy to find it. You pound the dry root and spread it on the bite.¹³⁵

Joset was led to expect from letters of Father De Smet, who returned to Oregon in the summer of 1844, that the latter might meet him at Green River and conduct the party across the mountains. When De Smet failed to appear at Green River, as a matter of fact he was only just then arriving in lower Oregon from Europe, Joset had to look about for a guide. One such did offer his services, but, besides asking a fee of a hundred dollars for the thirty-five days needed to complete the journey, he also demanded upkeep all the way for his family of seven. This meant an expense very much greater than Joset was either able or willing to incur, and he determined to push on without a guide. He had not gone far when a kindly Providence came to his assistance.

On the eighth of September, feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, I was going some distance ahead of my little caravan, as my custom was, to find a good place for dinner, when I saw coming towards me a man clothed in the fashion of the whites, but wearing his hair long, after the manner of the Indians. As is usually done, we shook hands. Great was my joy when I heard him return my "*bon jour*." I asked him whether he was a Canadian. "I am an Iroquois." "Do you know St. Mary's?" "I have just come from it." "Your name?" "Ignace." I should find it impossible to tell you the joy I felt at the word "Ignace." I don't know whether it would be any greater at sight of an angel descending from heaven to become our guide. He was truly an angel sent by the Blessed Virgin; he came *nesciens quid faceret* [unaware what he was doing]. He was the same Ignace who was not afraid to journey with a single companion to St. Louis to ask for Black Robes in the name of the Flatheads and who had conducted thence Father De Smet; he was the same Ignace who had accompanied Father De Smet on his return to

¹³⁵ *Idem*. Chittenden and Richardson were unable to identify the "blackroot" mentioned by De Smet as a specific for snake-bite. CR, *De Smet*, 2:663. But cf. *infra*, Chap. XXVIII, § 13, for *oryngium aquaticum*, the Potawatomi cure for snake-bite.

St. Louis and had brought thence Fathers De Vos and Hoecken, the missionaries' guide, and a devoted man, who knew the country perfectly, so that all we had to do thenceforward was to follow his lead.

The party had been disappointed in not meeting Father De Smet at Green River; whatever hopes they entertained of meeting him at least at Fort Hall likewise ended in disappointment. Beyond Fort Hall the route would bring them through the lands of the Blackfeet, "the Arabs of this region," Joset called them, "with whom neither peace nor truce is possible." The teamsters and even Ignace himself shrank from the unpleasant prospect. But Joset reasoned with himself that it was God's affair after all; His will and not their own caprice had brought them into the desert; there was nothing therefore to do but go ahead and leave the issue in His hands. Joset succeeded in communicating his courage to the rest and so his little party of seven, himself and Father Zerbinatti, Brother Magri, Ignace, a Canadian, and two Mexicans put out from Fort Hall. Providence, which they had trusted, did not disappoint their hopes; they traversed the Blackfeet country without unpleasant incident and reached their destination on the Bitter Root safe and sound. "Finally on October 5 we passed Hell Gate. On the 6th, Holy Rosary Sunday, we celebrated Mass on the banks of the river. On the 7th in the church of St. Mary's we recited the *Te Deum* which was followed by a Mass of Thanksgiving. Thanks to the kindly care of Providence, in which we had placed all our hope, this last stage of our journey, which in everybody's opinion was the most perilous of all, was not only the most successful, but even the pleasantest."¹⁸⁶

§ 7. THE WILLAMETTE RESIDENCE

On January 9, 1844, Father De Smet sailed out of the port of Antwerp on the chartered brig *Infatigable*, having with him five Jesuit recruits for Oregon, Fathers John Nobili, Michael Accolti, Anthony Ravalli, Louis Vercruysse and Brother Francis Huysbrecht, together with six sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame de Namur. Cape Horn was rounded on March 20 and on July 28 the coast of Oregon came into view. On July 31 the dangerous bar at the mouth of the Columbia was crossed but only after an experience that threatened for the moment to make an end of the passengers in the very last leg of their seven months' voyage. On August 5 the *Infatigable* cast anchor before historic Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the Columbia a few miles above the mouth of the Willamette. Waiting to receive the

¹⁸⁶ Joset à ———. (AA). Joset is mistaken in saying that young Ignace accompanied De Smet to St. Louis and thence conducted De Vos and Hoecken to the West.

party as they landed were Dr. John McLoughlin, the Hudson's Bay Company's chief representative in the Pacific Northwest, his Indian wife, James Douglas, McLoughlin's chief aid, and Dr. Forbes Barclay, the fort's physician.¹³⁷ De Smet, who had left the party after they entered the Columbia to precede them in a skiff to the fort, rejoined his fellow-travellers before they disembarked to bring them tidings he had picked up of missionary achievement during his absence from Oregon—all the Coeur d'Alènes, so it was said, converted and six hundred baptisms among the Indians of New Caledonia.

On the eve of the Assumption the group set out for St. Paul, some fifty miles above on the Willamette, under escort of Vicar-general Blanchet, who had come down to give them welcome. "Our little squadron," records De Smet, "consisted of four canoes manned by the parishioners of Father Blanchet, and our own sloop. We sailed up [down?] the river and soon entered the Willamette, the waters of which flow into the Columbia. As night approached, we moored our vessels and encamped upon the shore." The spot was apparently within the limits of what is now the city of Portland. On the morrow, festival of the Assumption, De Smet aided by the nuns erected a small altar at which Blanchet celebrated Mass, all the others communicating. "Finally, the 17th, about eleven o'clock, we came in sight of our dear mission of Willamette. A cart was prepared to conduct the nuns to their dwelling, which is about five miles from the river. In two hours we were all assembled in the chapel of Willamette to adore and thank our Divine Saviour by the solemn chanting of the Te Deum, in which all hearts and lips joined with lively emotion."¹³⁸ "The Church," Sister Loyola, superior of the nuns, wrote in her journal for August 17, "is not a bad resemblance of the stable of Bethlehem."¹³⁹ It was in truth an historic structure, having been built in 1836 by the Canadian settlers two years before the priests came among them, and was the oldest log church in the Pacific Northwest. It was dedicated to Catholic worship January 6, 1839, by Blanchet. Demers had taken up residence in the Cowlitz Valley, Washington, since October 13, 1839, opening there the Church of St. Francis Xavier. St. Paul was the earliest Catholic establishment in Oregon proper.¹⁴⁰ Four miles below St. Paul was Cham-poe-g, which became prominent in early Oregon politics.

¹³⁷ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 447.

¹³⁸ *Idem*, 2: 447, 448.

¹³⁹ *Notice sur le Territoire et sur la Mission De L'Oregon suivie de quelques lettres des Soeurs de Notre Dame etablies à Saint Paul du Wallamette* (Brussels, 1847), p. 124. This work is translated in C. B. Bagley (ed.), *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon* (Seattle, 1932), 2: 1-122.

¹⁴⁰ Edwin V. O'Hara, *Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon* (Portland, Oregon, 1911), pp. 36-38.

As it happened, the Jesuits arrived on the scene at the very moment that the Methodist mission on the Willamette, founded by Daniel and Jason Lee in 1834, had just suspended operations after ten years of unproductive labor involving great expense. Though a chance to buy the Methodist holdings now presented itself, something more desirable was shortly found. It was De Smet's design, first suggested to him by Blanchet, to open on the Willamette a house that might serve as base of supplies for all the Jesuit missions in Oregon. Twelve days after his arrival at St. Paul a choice property was in his possession. "Monseigneur Blanchet," he informed Father Roothaan, August 29, 1844, "has given me a fine piece of land, an English square mile in extent . . . at a half league from his mother-house." In a letter to his brother Francis, dated October 9, 1844, he enters into details about the property:

The Methodists, indeed, offered to sell me their Academy, which is a sufficiently large and handsome house but entirely destitute of wood and arable land. In this perplexity Mr. Blanchet relieved me by a generous and disinterested offer. He proposed to examine the property belonging to the mission, and take such portions of it as I should judge most proper for our projected establishment. We accordingly set out on this new excursion; but we had scarcely proceeded two miles when we came to a point uniting every desirable advantage. Picture to yourself an immense plain extending southward as far as the eye can reach; on one side the snowy crests of the gigantic Hood, Jefferson or Molelis and St. Helen's (the three highest peaks of Oregon), towering majestically upward, and losing themselves in the clouds; on the west the limpid waters of two small lakes, on whose beautiful shores the beaver, the otter and the muskrat sport in careless security, heedless of our presence. The elevation on which we were standing, gradually sloping downward and forming a charming amphitheatre, extended to the borders of one of the lakes.

I hesitated not a moment in selecting this spot for the mother mission of St. Francis Xavier. The sweet recollections of our first establishment on the Missouri returned to my mind; and the remembrance of the rapid progress of the Mission of St. Stanislaus, near St. Ferdinand, whose branches now extend over the greater part of Missouri, Ohio, Louisiana, reaching even the Rocky Mountains, and penetrating to the western boundary of America, led me to breathe a fervent prayer, that here also might be formed a station, whence the torch of faith would diffuse its cheering light among the benighted tribes of this immense territory. We have also a fine view of the Willamette river, which in this place makes a sudden bend, continuing its course amidst dense forests, which promise an almost inexhaustible supply of materials for the construction of our mission-house. In no part of this region have I met with a more luxuriant growth of pine, fir, elm, ash, oak, button-ball [sycamore] and yew trees. The intervening country is beautifully diversified with shadowy groves and smiling plains, whose rich soil yields abundant harvests, sufficient for the maintenance of a large establishment. Besides these

advantages, there are a number of springs on one side of the hill, one of which is not more than 100 yards from the house, and it will probably be of great use hereafter. Having now made choice of the locality, we commenced without delay the erection of the buildings. The first thing to be done was to clear the ground by cutting away the underbrush and isolated trees, after which, with the aid of the inhabitants, we constructed three wooden buildings, covered by a single roof of ninety feet; these were to serve as workshops for the brother blacksmith, carpenter and joiner.

Besides these, a house, forty-five by thirty-five feet, is now under way. It is to be two stories, and will be the dwelling-house of the missionaries.¹⁴¹

On October 3, 1844, De Smet left the Willamette residence, which he named for St. Francis Xavier, to revisit his missions in the mountains. Sister Loyola's journal for that date records: "Reverend Father De Smet, to whom we are obliged for attention and benefits which we shall never be able to acknowledge, has just bid us good-bye. Though prepared for his departure we feel it keenly."¹⁴² The residence now received a new superior in the person of Father De Vos, who had just come down from the Flatheads. On October 17 he said the first Mass in the convent chapel, distant "a half league from the Jesuit Residence." "We shall have holy Mass every day," Sister Loyola notes in her journal, "and an instruction on Sunday by one of the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus."¹⁴³

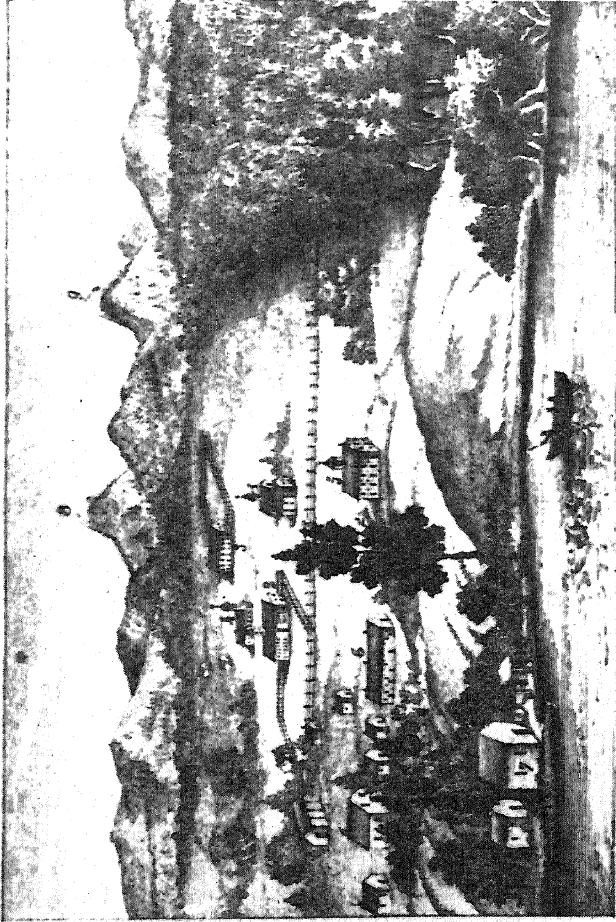
Father De Vos's management of affairs at St. Francis Xavier's was not considered to be satisfactory and he was transferred in May, 1845, to Oregon City. He was replaced by Father Michael Accolti, whose subsequent career in Oregon was largely identified with the management of this projected general headquarters for the missions. Fathers Vercruysse and Ravalli on their arrival in Oregon were first attached to St. Francis Xavier's, where they busied themselves in learning English. In 1848 Accolti with Brothers Savio and Marchetti made up the little community at the Willamette. When he left for his visit to California in 1849, he was replaced by Menetrey as acting-superior. On his return to Oregon, as superior of the Oregon Missions, he again resided at St. Francis Xavier's, in which he took the keenest interest all the years he spent in the Willamette Valley.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ CR, *De Smet*, 2:449. A little lake on or near the property was named for St. Ignatius. St. Francis Xavier's was sometimes referred to as the establishment "au Lac Ignace."

¹⁴² CR, *De Smet*, 2:454. *Notice sur Oregon, etc.*, p. 126. The sisters' account records that Father De Smet had taught them English during the long voyage to America. Sister Loyola's journal gives October 7, as the date of De Smet's departure from St. Paul; De Smet's own date is October 3.

¹⁴³ Father De Vos had been master of novices at Florissant and had come out to the mountains with Father Adrian Hoecken in 1843.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *infra*, § 6.



J. P. Jones del.

MISSION ST. PAUL À WALLAMET. Lettres I et VIII.

1. Cathédrale et maison de l'Archevêque.
2. Couvent des Sœurs de Notre Dame.
3. Collège St. Joseph.
4. Ancienne église.
5. Résidence St. François Xavier.
6. Fermes etc.
7. Forge.
8. Montagne Hood.
9. Montagne Adams.

Catholic Mission of St. Paul on the Willamette, Oregon Territory. Jesuit residence of St. Francis Xavier (5). From De Smet's *Les Missions d'Oregon* (Ghent, 1848).

Though Father De Smet in his letter to the General represented the Willamette farm as a gift from Father Blanchet, it was not strictly such, at least one gathers so from correspondence of the period. As a matter of fact the property appears to have been government land, to which the vicar-general could not personally enter valid claim as he had already taken up land to the full legal amount. At the same time he acted no doubt in good faith in the transaction, the circumstances of which are not clear. He probably possessed at least an inchoative right to the property and this right he meant to convey to De Smet. To the original section or mile-square plot were later added a few adjoining pieces acquired by purchase from neighboring settlers while Father Demers, vicar-general during Blanchet's absence from the country after his appointment as bishop, ceded to the fathers a part of Blanchet's own claim, good fertile land, whereas the fathers' actual property was said to be poor for farming. When Archbishop Blanchet returned to Oregon after his consecration, he declined to ratify the cession of land made by his vicar-general to the Jesuits during his absence unless the latter confirmed the right conceded by De Smet to the diocesan clergy to cut wood on the fathers' farm, which was apparently rich in timber. This right De Smet had granted first for ten years and later indefinitely over the protest of De Vos, who thought it unwise to allow a lien of this nature to be fixed on Jesuit property. Father Joset, De Smet's successor as superior of the missions, took the position that De Smet was without authority to grant the right in question and he reported the case to the Father General. What adjustment was made of the point at issue does not appear. Sometime before February, 1846, the Willamette claims, comprising the St. Francis Xavier farm, were duly registered at the land office. In pursuance of advice received from Dr. Long, secretary of the provisional government and a convert of Father De Vos's, the claims were not entered in De Smet's name, as the latter was never more than a transient in the lower Oregon country and had not acquired a domicile therein.¹⁴⁵

The project of a "mother-house," as De Smet chose to call it, at the Willamette had at first received Father Roothaan's unqualified approval. "Here," he wrote, "must be the residence of the Superior, who from this point will extend aid to the missionaries and correspond with Europe. The Superior should have at least one companion with him in this Residence."¹⁴⁶ But in August, 1846, less than two years after the Willamette house had been opened, Father Roothaan authorized Joset to suppress it as an economic burden and useless for the pur-

¹⁴⁵ Joset à Roothaan, February 5, 1849. (AA). Accolti à De Smet, February 1, 1846. (A).

¹⁴⁶ Roothaan à De Smet, November 2, 1843. (AA).

pose intended. Now that the Oregon boundary question had been settled, better and quicker communications were to be opened up between Missouri and the upper Columbia Valley, where all the Jesuit Indian missions were located. A smaller residence might be maintained at the Willamette, but a genuinely central residence, whither the missionaries could retire to recuperate, ought to be located at a point really central with reference to the various posts.¹⁴⁷ These views of the General were fully shared by Joset, who in 1849 drew up for him a very neatly tabulated statement lucidly setting forth the pros and cons on the question of continuing the Willamette residence. The cost of maintenance was excessive, one-half the available funds of the mission being swallowed up by this single house. The location was singularly inconvenient, being fifty miles at least up the Willamette so that missionaries from Europe arriving at Fort Vancouver had to pay sixteen dollars or more additional fare to get to it. The residence was in fact in a sort of wilderness with almost no settlers in the neighborhood and, with the Bishop and his clergy also living at St. Paul, there was scant opportunity for the exercise of the ministry. In fact the situation was not such as to edify the laity, who were puzzled to see so many of the clergy gathered together in this out-of-the-way corner. On the other hand it might be difficult to find a purchaser especially as the property was encumbered by what Joset called a "servitude," apparently the right granted the secular clergy by De Smet to cut timber within its limits. As a compromise solution of the problem Joset suggested that some or other father, the superior or procurator of the missions, for instance, might winter at the Willamette, the place being vacated during the remainder of the year.¹⁴⁸

On the other hand, the residence and its prospects always found a persistent defender in Father Accolti. Over and over again he represented to the General that with two or three efficient coadjutor-brothers at his service, he could make the Willamette farm yield a substantial revenue, two or three thousand dollars or more. In 1850 he petitioned the General for a "carpenter brother, 3 farmer-brothers and a Father who is a good manager." He was confident that with this help the farm would bring four or five thousand a year. His correspondence all these years touches repeatedly on the superior merits of the Willamette property and the promising outlook of the residence. Thus in a letter of 1850 to the Father General: "Mr. Mathi, one of the leading members of the Oceanic Company, is here. He went to visit our Residence of St.

¹⁴⁷ Roothaan à Accolti, August 31, 1846. (AA). Blanchet wrote from Rome to Archbishop Bourget of Montreal, March 27, 1846: "*Le Père General a fort blâmé l'établissement du PP. au Wallamette.*" Montreal Archdiocesan Archives.

¹⁴⁸ Joset à Roothaan, 1849. (AA).

Francis Xavier at the Willamette. He is in the utmost admiration of this establishment, whether on account of its unique position or the fertility of the soil and the improvements made."¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, Accolti like De Smet, whose dreams he inherited, saw in the Willamette property a promising location for a future Jesuit college and novitiate. "This country [of Oregon]," he assured Father Roothaan in May, 1848, "is going to become in a very short time one of the richest and most flourishing [sections] of the Union."¹⁵⁰ To Father Van De Velde he gave this account of the Willamette farm:

I live here in this residence in the quality of procurator of the Missions with two Italian coadjutor-brothers, Savio and Marchetti. We have a property here which is perhaps the best we could possibly possess in all Oregon. Every one who comes here has the same opinion about it. The farm is on such an excellent footing that few things are lacking to make it a superb one. Circumstances do not allow me for the present to draw from it more produce than is necessary for our own support, but it could yield much more with the aid of a few coadjutor-brothers, whom we do not happen to have. As regards the future it would be a highly interesting point for the Society and I believe that our young Jesuit folk of the United States would not regret coming to exercise their zeal in this quarter of the world a trifle remote though it be.¹⁵¹

In the event the residence of St. Francis Xavier failed to realize the hopes of its founder that it would become a general administrative center for the missions of the Pacific Northwest. It lay at too great a distance from the western slope of the Rockies, where the missions were located with the result that difficulties could not fail to be felt in the communication of orders and the transfer of supplies.

In 1852 Accolti, in response to Archbishop Blanchet's solicitations, took up his residence with a coadjutor-brother in Oregon City and there assumed charge of the Catholic parish of that growing town. The change was a wise one for it placed him in a position to handle more effectively as superior the temporal business of the missions. Mengarini with three brothers to care for the farm was left at St. Francis Xavier's. In pursuance of an order of Father Roothaan issued in 1852 the Willamette property was to be sold at the first opportunity and the residence closed. By this time Accolti himself had become disillusioned as to its future usefulness. He wrote to Father Murphy at St. Louis:

According to the disposition of his Paternity and the wishes of our Fathers and mine too, the Residence of St. Francis Xavier will be sold

¹⁴⁹ Accolti à Roothaan, August 18, 1850. (AA).

¹⁵⁰ Accolti à Roothaan, May 1, 1848. (AA).

¹⁵¹ Accolti à Van de Velde, April 29, 1848. (AA).

because it is in such a predicament as to require the employment of a great many persons without any relation to the present (and I think also the future) spiritual benefit of the country. Oregon City is the most suitable place for us to attend to exercises which are more conformable to our vocation than husbandry and so benefit our neighbors.¹⁵²

A description of the Willamette farm with interesting speculations on Oregon of the future occur in the same letter to Father Murphy:

Some three months ago we were bargaining with a wealthy gentleman for the sum of \$22,000. But some misunderstanding having occurred about the terms of payment our bargain was dissolved before being closed. If any gentleman of your acquaintance in the States would make good investment of his money, let him come here with \$20,000 and I will put into his hands the best farm and the best spot that exists in the whole extension of this valley, nay in the whole [of] Oregon. I assure you that there is no humbug at all in what I state. This is the opinion of all persons who have visited the place and—what is of more authority—this is the opinion even of Mr. Preston, the Surveyor General of the Territory, this the opinion of his subservient [assistant] surveyors, who have seen the country from East to West and from North to South. At the end of a broad prairie encompassed by large oak and towering fir-trees, a beautiful two-story house (45 x 35 ft.) lays [*sic*] on a commanding prominence directly sloping and converging in the shape of a magnificent amphitheatre, the arena of which meets in its extremity with a lake of fine water, which bathes the surrounding ever-green shores, about two hundred feet distant from each other, and then with a gentle current empties into the Wallamette River through a rivulet formed by its never deficient waters. The outside walls of the house are of square logs well tied together by mortices and sheltered with weather boards against the intemperies [inclemencies] of the seasons. The whole of the building is distributed into fifteen rooms, of different dimensions according to their destination. The intermediate partitions are of brick and each room is provided with a substantial and comfortable brick chimney. About 200 acres out of 640 of the best land in the territory and giving every year an averaging revenue of \$2500 should be a very good inducement for any husbandman ambitious of growing fat and wealthy. Not only the fields but even almost all the prairies within that claim are secured with good and substantial fences all round against the incursion of strange roving cattle. A large barn of 100 x 50 ft. with thrashing floor of 30 x 30 feet, one of [ms. ?] two story granary substantially made with square logs afford all the conveniences which would be wished in a well established farm. Stables for horses and cattle, bakery with brick oven, carpenter and blacksmith shops, and two or three other log houses very convenient for storing in everything. Besides that a thrashing machine, a good fan-mill and every other agricultural instrument. Horses and oxen teams, about ten or twelve first-rate American milking cows. Hogs and pigs of every de-

¹⁵² Accolti to Murphy, November 8, 1852. (A).

scription and of excellent breed. In addition to all this a splendid and large garden constantly irrigated by three or four rivulets springing out from the middle of the impending slope and running down in whatever direction you please. But what gives more value to the place is the vicinity of the River Willamette and the opportunity of sending down the produce by steamer without any inconvenience at all. The Reverend Father De Smet, though he is not entirely acquainted with the improvements therein made subsequently to his departure from this country (as for example large and deep ditches all around the fields made by skilful Irish hands) still he could better than I do, give you a full description of this singular and romantic place. . . .

Oregon is now and with more reason in a few years will be the best farming country in the Union. Besides other advantages, the salubrity of its climate will always attract a great many other emigrants from other states, on that account, far inferior to this Territory. The only thing which formerly made problematic the progress and prosperity of its country was the want of a market place for exchanging our produce. But the discovery of gold mines in California has dissipated all doubts about it. San Francisco is and will constantly be open to receive our produce with the most desirable advantages could be wished. I will give you a correct statement of the present market "*per summa capita*." Wheat \$3.00 per bushel; oats, \$1.50, and \$2.00; flour \$10.00 and \$12.00 a hundred lbs.; pork 30¢ a lb.; beef from 12 to 15cts. a lb. and so forth. The gold mines of Oregon in addition to those of California increase every day the amount of demands for supplies, so that the industrious farmer will always have a good chance of exchanging his produce with fine gold dust at any rate. Another property of our soil is its aptness for the raising of fruit-trees of every description. I have tasted here apples of such a quality as to compete with the best which could be afforded by our well conducted orchards of Italy. Pears, cherries, peaches, apricots, etc. all grow well in this country; and what is more striking is that almost all the fruit trees are raised from seed and not by inoculation, without giving to the fruits that sourness which is observed in other countries. Vines also are of a very luxurious growing. Nevertheless my impression is that, tho' they will supply our tables with delicious grapes, still they will never fill up our tumblers with foaming wine to bring onto our table parties the loquacious jollity of France and Italy.

It took Oregon long to come into its own as one of the great farming states of the Union; but it is interesting to see how its present agricultural development was clearly foreseen and confidently predicted by Father Accolti in the early fifties. As to the Willamette farm, which he extolled in such glowing terms, it was disposed of by the Jesuits before the end of the fifties when the residence of St. Francis Xavier, De Smet and Accolti's dream of a general headquarters for the Rocky Mountain Missions, definitely passed from the scene.

§ 8. THE KALISPEL MISSION OF ST. IGNATIUS

The most important of the missions opened by the Society of Jesus among the Rocky Mountain tribes was to be St. Ignatius of the Kalispel. The Flathead and Coeur d'Alène posts disappeared in the occupation of the Indian country by the whites; the Kalispel mission still survives to carry on the tradition of Jesuit missionary enterprise and zeal inaugurated by De Smet. In the range of activities carried on from it as a center and in the physical equipment of buildings, lands, and other facilities for prosecuting its work, St. Ignatius outdistanced its sister-missions by a wide margin.

The Kalispel are of Salish stock and speak practically the same language as the Flatheads. By the Canadian trappers and traders they were named the Pend d'Oreilles or "Ear-drops."¹⁵³ The Pend d'Oreilles formerly occupied lands along the river and around the lake of the same name, Clark's Fork of the Columbia being also known as the Pend d'Oreille River. Moreover, at the period the missionaries came on the scene, two divisions of the tribe were recognized, the Pend d'Oreilles of the Upper Lake (Flathead) and those of the Lower Lake (Pend d'Oreille) or simply the Upper and Lower Pend d'Oreilles. The last named group is the one described in De Smet's letters as the Kalispel of the Bay, the term Bay being applied to an extensive prairie lying on the north side of the Pend d'Oreille River about thirty or forty miles above its junction with the Columbia. Together the Upper and Lower Kalispel numbered about a thousand souls.

De Smet's first meeting with the tribe was in the autumn of 1841 on his first journey to Fort Colville. He found them already instructed a little in a religious way through the initiative of a young Kalispel who had met him on his first trip to the Flatheads in 1840 and had learned from him a few prayers and points of Catholic doctrine.¹⁵⁴ Further instruction was now imparted, twenty-seven children were baptized and hopes held out to the Kalispel of soon receiving a resident priest. The remarkable thing about all the mountain tribes was their readiness from the beginning to accept the teaching of the missionaries. In the spring of 1842 De Smet while on his way from the Flatheads to Fort Vancouver again came in contact with the Kalispel. He found them still persevering in their good dispositions of the pre-

¹⁵³ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 1: 647, art. "Kalispel."

¹⁵⁴ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 346. The first priest among the Pend d'Oreilles was Father Demers, who addressed a letter to De Smet from a Pend d'Oreille camp, August 6, 1840. CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1551. Demers's visit to the tribe antedated any contact made with it by De Smet.

ceding autumn and baptized sixty adults.¹⁵⁵ Finally, he met them for a third time in November, 1844, at which juncture Adrian Hoecken was already installed as resident priest of the Kalispel. The outlook for the tribe was most encouraging, Hoecken giving a flattering account of the tribe as material for the missionaries to work upon. This sturdy Hollander now in his fortieth year was taking his first steps in what was to be a long and distinguished missionary career. He came of a family which had the distinction of giving seven of its members to the service of the Church. His brother, Christian, like himself a Jesuit of the vice-province of Missouri, was at the moment resident missionary among the Kansas Potawatomi, in which capacity he displayed an efficiency and zeal that make his name a notable one in the history of that tribe. Adrian Hoecken's years in the mountains were almost entirely spent with the Kalispel. He was the Kalispel missionary *par excellence*. He shaped the destinies of the first St. Ignatius as superior all the years it was maintained and moved with the Indians to the second and greater St. Ignatius in western Montana, of which he may be reckoned the founder. One must even call him founder of the first St. Ignatius unless the credit of having been such is to go to De Smet himself.

De Smet's stay with the Kalispel on the occasion of his visit of November, 1844, was brief for he was eager to return to the Flatheads before the winter set in. He proceeded up Clark's Fork by canoe but the ice soon began to gather in the river, making further navigation impossible, and he was forced to return to the Kalispel, with whom he spent the winter of 1844-1845. Christmas day was kept by the Indians with noteworthy demonstrations of religious fervor.¹⁵⁶

At the beginning of February, 1845, Father De Smet set out from the Kalispel camp to renew the attempt made in the preceding November to reach St. Mary's Mission. Arriving among his beloved Flatheads, he had the happiness of celebrating with them the solemnity of Easter, on which day he administered holy communion to the greater part of the tribe. Moreover, three hundred Upper Kalispel, the greater part of them adults, belonging to the station of St. Francis Borgia, received the sacrament of baptism.¹⁵⁷ Meanwhile the Kalispel of the Bay were anxiously awaiting De Smet's return. Accordingly, shortly after Easter, as the snow was fast disappearing from the ground,

¹⁵⁵ CR, *De Smet*, 1:370. For the attitude of the missionaries in regard to Indian baptisms, cf. *infra*, Chap. XXVI, § 1, note 13, § 5. Adults were not baptized without a reasonable measure of instruction.

¹⁵⁶ *Idem*, 2:468.

¹⁵⁷ *Idem*, 2:472. The station of St. Francis Borgia among the Upper Pend d'Oreilles was on the left side of the Flathead River (Clark's Fork) some miles below Flathead Lake.

he began the descent of Clark's Fork in a frail canoe guided by two Indians. In a few days, such was the impetuosity of the current, he was back again with the Kalispel. One feature of the so-called Bay or Prairie where they resided was a large-sized grotto, to which De Smet gave the name of New Manresa, in memory of the famous cave in Spain in which Ignatius Loyola spent the first days of his conversion in prayer and penitential exercises. The grotto, so De Smet was at pains to note, could be fitted up at small expense for a church. Immediately on his return to the Bay, he set about in company with Adrian Hoecken and some of the chiefs examining the locality with a view to choosing a permanent site for the mission. "We found a vast and beautiful prairie, three miles in extent, surrounded by cedar and pine, in the neighborhood of the cavern of New Manresa and its quarries and a fall of water of more than two hundred feet, presenting every advantage for the erection of mills. I felled the first tree and after having taken all necessary measures to expedite the work, I departed for Walla Walla, where I embarked in a small boat and descended the Columbia as far as Fort Vancouver."¹⁵⁸

The Indians began at once to build at the place designated for the mission and to open fields. On Ascension Day, 1845, Hoecken administered baptism to more than a hundred adults. When De Smet revisited the Kalispel the following July, he found they had already put up fourteen log houses, besides a large barn, had the timber prepared for a church and had upward of three hundred acres in grain enclosed by a substantial fence. The whole village, men, women and children, had worked most cheerfully. "I counted thirty head of horned cattle—the squaws had learned to milk the cows and to churn; they had a few hogs and some domestic fowls. The number of Christians had doubled since Christmas, 1844."¹⁵⁹

The first farming operations at St. Ignatius met with reverses that augured badly for the future; but the Indians were plucky and persevering and in the long run they achieved a considerable measure of success.¹⁶⁰ Even before the missionaries arrived they had learned the

¹⁵⁸ CR, *De Smet*, 2:474. The site of the first St. Ignatius Mission was on the right bank of Clark's Fork of the Columbia "some forty miles below Lake Pend d'Oreille." Charles W. Frush, "A Trip from the Dalles of the Columbia in Oregon to Fort Owen, Bitter Root Valley, Montana, in the spring of 1858," in *Montana Hist. Coll.*, 2:341. "The usual place of residence of the Kalispels—that in which the Reduction of St. Ignatius is now established—is an extensive prairie called the Bay of the Kalispels, thirty or forty miles above the mouth of Clark or Flathead River." CR, *De Smet*, 2:461. The mission-site was a short distance west of the eastern boundary-line of Washington.

¹⁵⁹ CR, *De Smet*, 2:471.

¹⁶⁰ The following account of the initial efforts of the Kalispel in farming is

art of raising potatoes, which they did in common fields and not in plots individually owned.¹⁶¹ The plan worked so well that the missionaries on their arrival made no attempt to change it; the larger fields which were now laid out were regarded as tribal property and were worked by all hands together. In many cases individuals who had started to farm on their own account gave up this plan and went to work in the common fields. The first crops were sown in the spring of 1845. Then came unusually high water inundating the fields; the potatoes were lost, but the wheat and barley were saved though the harvest was barely enough to provide seed for the following year. "Far from being discouraged, they showed themselves ready to begin over again with fresh ardor; at the first word from the Father they undertook to surround with fences a space at least ten times more extensive than the first field." In 1846 more than a hundred acres were sown. Again there was high water and a good part of the fields was reduced to the condition of a marsh. The animals and the young Indian workers sank knee-deep in the mud while in the flooded section two plows were in constant use for fifteen days, the Indians behind them keeping up their courage all the time with song. "Our countrymen in Europe," relates Father Joset, "will take in hand more painful tasks, but never on a more miserable diet. Summer floods had deprived them [the Indians] of roots and a snowless winter had not given them a single deer so that to support the fatigue to which they were in no wise accustomed they were reduced to pine-moss cooked with a little *gamache*, a meal of which no beggar would care to taste." If the following year should also be one of high water, the Indians' patience, so Joset believed, would be taxed beyond endurance. Lake Roothaan (Priest's Lake) did indeed begin to rise that year and, with it, its outlet, Priest's River. The Indians had recourse to prayer. Every Saturday Mass was said and the litanies were chanted to secure the Virgin Mother's protection. Prayer had its answer and the mission fields were left undamaged by the water. Then, taking a leaf from past experience, the Indians broke ground for a new field on the hillside near the village. "What a joy for our dear neophytes," exclaims Joset, "to look down from the top of their hill on the fruits of their labor and to see it prosper and promise a more and more abundant harvest." But a barn for stacking the crops was still lacking. Father Hoecken was reluctant to ask the Indians to do any further work as they were worn with

based on Joset's *Memoire sur Les Missions Catholiques de la Haute Columbia*, 31 pp., 1847. (Ms.). (AA).

¹⁶¹ "They had already taken a step toward the civilized life by attempting the cultivation of potatoes. They offered me [De Smet] some, which were the first I had seen since I left the United States." CR, *De Smet*, 1: 347.

previous labor and underfed. But Brother McGean with Hoecken's permission made an appeal to them. The response was instant. In fifteen days the Indians had raised a barn more than a hundred feet in length and after a like interval of time the roof was on.

Some went of their own accord to the top of the mountain to cut, saw and split the timber for the shingles. Others brought them in on their own horses. The chief himself with some others cut them into shape and put them into place on the new building. In fifteen days everything was finished. Best of all, in spite of pressing hunger they performed this task amid songs and shouts of continual joy.

Then came the harvest, a season of enjoyment everywhere. But the missionary was not without disquiet. He had only a very small number of families. Some of the Indians seeing such a quantity of grain to cut began to lose heart; "you won't finish before the winter," they said. But the chief, who knew his people, believed it would be finished in a month. Now the grain was ripe and had to be garnered without delay. Everyone set to work. All sorts of cutting instruments were made use of. Some, unable to procure themselves a knife or something of the sort, pulled the grain up with much effort and fatigue. The Brother made himself a sort of wagon, segments from a big tree serving as wheels. He had hard work carrying off the grain as fast as they cut it. His aids were the children too small to engage in the harvest. If any one of their number was too lazy to help of a morning to search for the oxen, he was deprived that day of the honor of getting on top of the jolting vehicle. This was stimulus enough to stir them all. In fewer than fifteen days the harvest was finished and they began thereupon to enjoy the fruit of their labors.

With the plentiful crops now secure, famine was at an end. At the chief's suggestion the grain was threshed by the young men and winnowed by the women. In addition to bread, meat would likewise be at hand in abundance as fifteen hundred dead deer had been brought in by the Indians. It would no longer be necessary for the Indians to live on moss, "the excess of misery," as Joset described it, nor would the missionary have to undergo the torture of listening to the cries of hungry babes with no means in his power to relieve them. Thus the summer of 1847 proved a turning-point in the economic status of the Kalispel.

The mission buildings, as they appeared in the spring of 1849, are described by Father Hoecken. The church, begun in 1847 and still unfinished, was of square logs and measured sixty-five by thirty-five feet with walls twenty feet high. The Indians were immensely pleased; for them the rude structure was a St. Peter's. If it were only finished and furnished, it would not be out of place among the whites. "I have seen many a church in the States by no means preferable to it." A three-

section wooden house built in 1845 contained kitchen, dormitory, refectory and an office where the Indians could meet and transact their affairs with the missionary. There was a second house with quarters for the superior of the mission, "poor but not unbecoming." Also, a carpenter-shop, a barn built in 1846 with the generous dimensions of one hundred and four feet by twenty, and a stable thirty by twenty-five. "The lands of these Indians are all sterile and little suited to farming; moreover the prairie is exposed to floods in May and June. God has indeed blessed our labor. No mission has produced such crops of grain as ours, though it is the last in point of time. This is admitted by Rev. Father Superior [Joset] and the Brothers agree." The mission stood under the shadow of a hill or bluff. Joset was fearful that some day the hill would slip from position and wreck the buildings; but Hoecken thought the apprehension groundless as the hill appeared to him as firm as rock. An unpleasant feature was the severe winters, more trying than those among the Coeur d'Alènes. While Hoecken wrote, March 22, there were ten feet of snow on the ground. Ordinarily all farming operations were restricted to April and May. It was useless to do any sowing in the fall. In fine, a better site for the mission seemed desirable; but none such was available in the Kalispel country.¹⁶²

In 1853, the year before this pioneer outpost of civilization in eastern Washington was moved to what is now western Montana, Dr. George Suckley, an army surgeon with Governor Stevens's exploring expedition, sought hospitality at its doors, leaving on record in the pages of a government report an informing picture of what he saw. Though his account embraces some details already set before the reader, it is here reproduced, as it makes plain what had been accomplished at the first Kalispel mission-post during the ten years it was maintained. Governor Stevens in introducing the account in his report (1855) to President Pierce comments: "It would be difficult to find a more beautiful example of successful missionary labors." Dr. Suckley wrote:

[Nov. 25, 1853] I walked up to the door of the mission-house, knocked and entered. I was met by the reverend Superior of the Mission, Father Hoecken, who in a truly benevolent and pleasing manner said: "walk in, you are welcome: we are glad to see the face of a white man." I introduced myself and the men and stated that I had come all the way from St. Marys by water after a journey or rather voyage of twenty-five days; that I was out of provisions and tired. He bade me welcome, had our things brought up from the boat, an excellent dinner prepared for us and a nice room to sleep in and treated us with the cordiality and kindness of a Christian and

¹⁶² Hoecken ad Roothaan, March 25, 1849. (AA).

a gentleman. In these kindnesses the Reverend Father Mennettree [Mene-trey] and the lay-brother, Mr. Magean [McGean] cordially took part—all uniting in their endeavors to render us comfortable and make us feel at home. . . . When they came the country was one vast wilderness. The missionaries found it hard to live. Their food consisted principally of camas roots and dried berries, which at best contained but very little nourishment. They raised some wheat which they boiled in the beard for fear of waste—parching some of the grain to make a substitute for coffee. After this they slowly but steadily year by year increased in welfare. Each year added a small piece to their tillable ground. They then obtained pigs, poultry, cattle, horses, agricultural implements and tools. Their supplies of tools, seeds, groceries, clothing, etc. are shipped direct from Europe to the Columbia River. There are two lay-brethren attached to the mission. One of them Brother Francis [Huybrechts] is a perfect jack of all trades. He is by turns a carpenter, blacksmith, gunsmith and tinman—in each of which he is a good workman. The other, Brother Magean [McGean], superintends the farming operations. They both worked hard in bringing the mission to its present state of perfection, building successively a wind-mill, blacksmith and carpenter's shops, barns, cow-sheds, etc., besides an excellent chapel in addition to a large dwelling house of hewn timber for the missionaries. The church is quite large and is tastefully and even beautifully decorated. I was shown the handsomely carved and gilded altar, the statue of "Our Mother," brazen crosses and rich, bronzed fonts; work which at sight appears so well executed as to lead one to suppose that they have all been imported. But no; they are the result of the patient labor and ingenuity of the devoted missionaries, and work which is at the same time rich, substantial and beautiful. Works of ornament are not their only deeds. A grindstone, hewn out of the native rock, and moulded by the same hand which made the chisel which wrought it; a blacksmith's shop, bellows, ploughshares, bricks for their chimneys, their own tobacco-pipes turned with the lathe out of wood and lined with tin—all have been made by their industry. In household economy they are not excelled. They make their own soap, candles, vinegar, etc. and it is both interesting and amusing to listen to the accounts of their plans, shifts and turns in overcoming obstacles at their first attempts, their repeated failures, their final triumphs. The present condition of the mission is as follows. Bldgs.—the house, a good substantial, comfortable edifice; the chapel, a bldg. sufficiently large to accomodate the whole Kalispel nation; a small bldg. is attached to the dwelling-house—it contains a couple of sleeping rooms and a workshop, a blacksmith's shop and a store-room for the natives. These are all built of square or hewn lumber. Besides these are a number of smaller outbuildings built of logs for the accomodation of their horses and cattle during the winter and an excellent root-house. The mission-farm consists of about one hundred and sixty acres of cleared land. Wheat (spring), barley, onions, cabbage, parsnips, peas, beets, potatoes and carrots are the principal products. The Indians are especially fond of carrots. Father Hoecken says that if the children see carrots growing they must eat some. Says he, "I must shut my eyes to the theft because they cannot, cannot resist the temptation." The Indians are

very fond of peas and cabbage, but beets and particularly onions they dislike. The other production of the farm are cattle, hogs, poultry, butter and cheese. Around the mission-buildings are the houses of the natives. They are built of logs and hewn timber and are sixteen in number. There are also quite a number of mat and skin lodges. Although the tribe is emphatically a wandering tribe, yet the mission and its vicinity is looked upon as headquarters. To Lake Roothaan long celebrated for the superior quality and the vast number of its beaver they go to catch the latter animal and to hunt deer.¹⁶³

The circumstances which led to the transfer of the Kalispel Mission of St. Ignatius from Clark's Fork to the neighborhood of Flathead Lake in the Upper Pend d'Oreille country are nowhere clearly set forth in the missionary records and correspondence. At all events the first location was quite undesirable, as already pointed out. It was poor farming land and even at that subject to frequent inundations; besides, a more central position with reference to the other mountain tribes was needed. The Indians themselves petitioned for the removal of the mission to a site which they had selected as meeting their wishes and which fell within the limits afterwards laid out for the Jocko reservation in western Montana. This country, the habitat of the Upper Kalispel, was, says Palladino, "a favorite resort of other tribes winter and summer, since it abounded in game, fish, roots and berries, the staples of Indian life, and furnished the best grazing for their ponies."¹⁶⁴ Later the Flatheads of St. Mary's Valley were removed to the Jocko, where in addition to the Pend d'Oreilles, Upper and Lower, were also gathered many bands of the Kutenai. These three tribes, all of Salish stock and speaking the same language with slight variations, formed in fact a confederacy and as such were dealt with by Governor Stevens in the Hell-Gate treaty of 1855, which Father Hoecken signed as witness. Thus the new St. Ignatius became the permanent rendezvous of three of the five principal tribes among whom De Smet had initiated his missionary program, the Coeur d'Alènes and the Kettle Falls Indians still clinging to their old homes. In a letter addressed to De Smet the Kalispel missionary, Adrian Hoecken, relates the founding of the new St. Ignatius:

It was proposed, during the summer of 1854, to begin a new mission about 190 miles northeast of the Kalispels, not far from the Flathead lake, about fifty miles from the old mission of St. Mary's, among the Flatheads, where a convenient site had been pointed out to us by the Kalispel chief, Alexander, your old friend, who often accompanied you [De Smet] in your travels in the Rocky Mountains. Having set out from the Kalispel Mission on

¹⁶³ U.S. 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., House Executive Document, no. 129, p. 278.

¹⁶⁴ Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

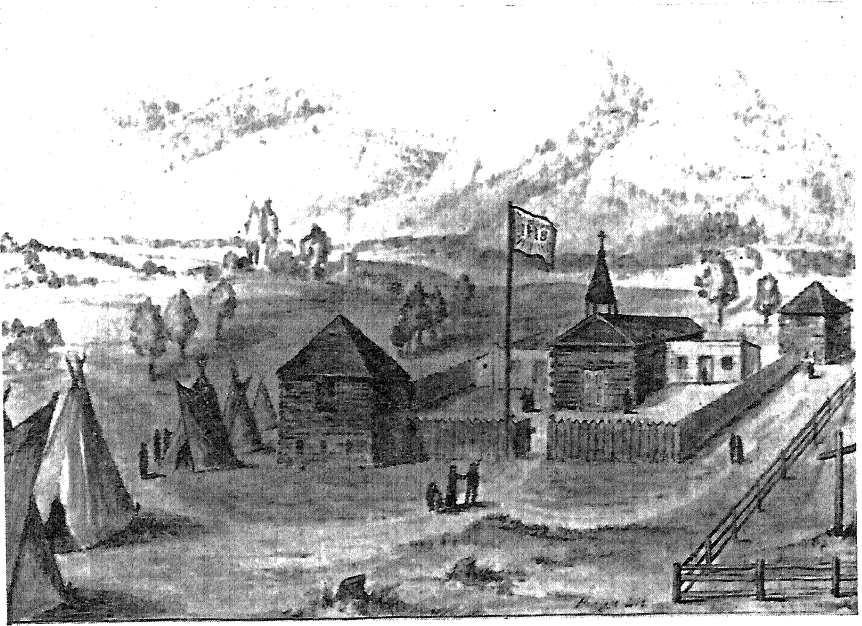
the 28th of August, 1854, I arrived at the place designated on the 24th of September, and found it such as it had been represented—a beautiful region, evidently fertile, uniting a useful as well as pleasing variety of woodland and prairie, lake and river—the whole crowned in the distance by the white summit of the mountains, and sufficiently rich withal in fish and game. I shall never forget the emotions of hope and fear that filled my heart, when for the first time I celebrated mass in this lonely spot, in the open air, in the presence of a numerous band of Kalispels, who looked up to me, under God, for their temporal and spiritual welfare in this new home. The place was utterly uninhabited—several bands of Indians live within a few days travel, whom you formerly visited, and where you baptized many, while others still remain pagan. I was in hope of gathering these around me, and God has been pleased to bless an undertaking begun for his glory, even beyond my expectation. In a few weeks we had erected several frame buildings, a chapel, two houses, carpenter's and blacksmith's shops; wigwams had sprung up at the same time all around in considerable numbers, and morning and evening you might still have heard the sound of the axe and the hammer, and have seen newcomers rudely putting together lodges.

About Easter of this year over 1,000 Indians of different tribes, from the Upper Kootenais and Flat-Bow Indians, Pend d'Oreilles, Flatheads, and Mountain Kalispels, who had arrived in succession during the winter, when they heard of the arrival of the long-desired Black-gown, made this place their permanent residence. All these Indians have manifested the best dispositions. Besides a large number of children baptized in the course of the year, I have had the happiness to baptize, before Christmas and Easter, upwards of 150 adults of the Kootenai tribe, men of great docility and artlessness of character, who told me that ever since you had been among them, some years ago, they had abandoned the practice of gambling and other vices, and cherished the hope of being instructed one day in the religion of the Great Spirit.

By the beginning of spring, our good Brother McGean had cut some 18,000 rails; and placed under cultivation a large field, which promises to yield a very plentiful harvest. Lieutenant Mullan, who spent the winter among the Flatheads of St. Mary's, has procured for me much valuable aid in founding this mission, and has all along taken a lively interest in its prosperity. I know not how to acquit the debt of gratitude I owe this most excellent officer, and I can only pray, poor missionary as I am, that the Lord may repay his generosity and kindness a hundredfold in blessings of time and eternity.¹⁶⁵

Father Hoecken's connection with St. Ignatius terminated in 1858 when he was commissioned to start a mission among the Blackfeet on the east side of the Rockies. As to the net results of the work carried on at the second St. Ignatius for the religious and economic uplift of the Kalispel Indians, testimony on the subject was rendered on the floor of the United States Senate in 1884 by Senator Vest of Missouri.

¹⁶⁵ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1232.



St. Mary's Mission. Opened in 1841 among the Flatheads of the Bitter Root Valley, western Montana. Oldest Catholic Indian mission of the Pacific Northwest. Sketch by Hastings in the Linton Album. Archives of the Missouri Province, S.J., St. Louis.



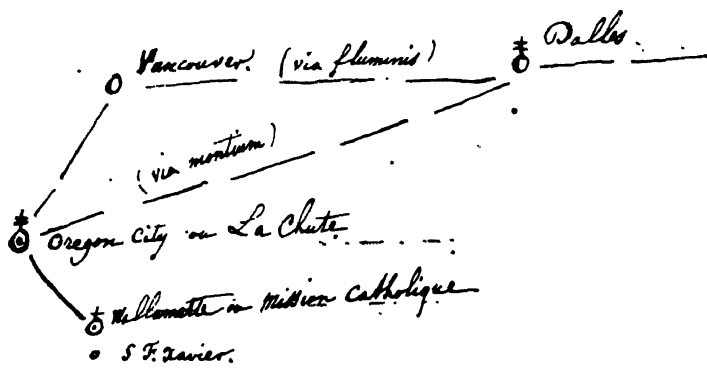
St. Ignatius Mission among the Kalispel. Second site, western Montana, 1854. Sketch in the Linton Album. Archives of the Missouri Province, S.J., St. Louis.

13. Chaque trait répond à une journée
commune, comme on les fait avec
des chevaux de charge en bon état,
c.à d. 35 à 40 milles sur de bons
chemins.

N'ayant jamais été à S. Joseph, je
ne puis guère en donner la position,
ni la distance depuis S. Paul: on dit
qu'en été on fait cette route en 6 jours.

Quoique la distance de S^{te} Marie à
S. Coeur ne soit pas grande géographi-
quement, on ne peut guère s'y rendre
en moins de huit jours, à cause des
mauvais chemins: on a compte 72
passages de rivières, dont quelques uns
ne sont guérables qu'en automne et
vers la fin de l'été. Après avoir
fait ce trajet, les chevaux ont
commencé à avoir besoin de repos,
ayant les pieds usés.

0.



The Rocky Mountain Missions, 1849. Sketch-map by Joseph Joset, S.J. "Each dash good roads, i.e. 35 to 40 miles". Joset à Roothaan, February 5, 1849. General

28.

† S. Joseph ou Pierre Vignette

† S. Paul, ou Clotilde, ou les Chaudieres

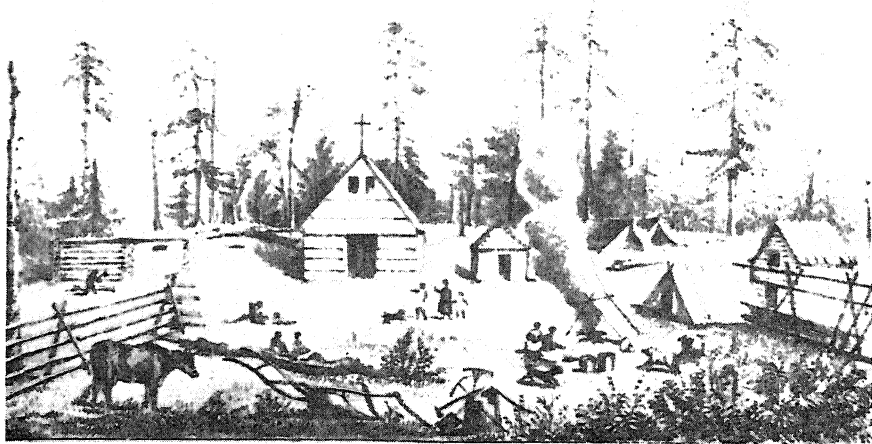
S.F. Regis † — — † S. Ignace

† S. Coeur — — — — † S. Marie

— — — — — O Wellawalla

S.

represents an ordinary day's journey made with pack-horses in good condition by
Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome,



A Point drawing of the Coeur d'Alène Mission. From De Smet's *Oregon Missions* (New York, 1847).

He spoke, as he said, as a Protestant and, so he hoped, as a representative Protestant, who simply had to accept results; and these results, as he witnessed them with his own eyes on a personal visit to the Jesuit missions of Montana, were of a nature to convince him that "the Jesuits had the key to the whole problem of Indian education."¹⁶⁶

§ 9. THE COEUR D'ALÈNE MISSION OF THE SACRED HEART

Of the Rocky Mountain tribes evangelized by De Smet and his associates, the Coeur d'Alènes have often been pointed out as an especially typical instance of what Christian influence can accomplish for the moral and material improvement of the Indian. When the Jesuits first came among them, the tribe had an unenviable reputation not only among the whites but among other Indian tribes as well. According to Father Joset this was so much the case that no white man had ever settled among them and hence it was impossible to find an interpreter to help one deal with the Coeur d'Alènes in their own language.¹⁶⁷ The mission started on their behalf was only eleven years old when Governor Isaac Stevens on a visit to it in 1853 found the tribe so far advanced in a moral and economic way that he was led to embody in his report a detailed account of the improvements which he saw. "And all this," comments Mooney, the ethnologist, "two thousand miles from the frontier town of St. Louis."¹⁶⁸

The Coeur d'Alènes were a mere handful, not numbering more than four or five hundred at the time the missionaries came among them. Their habitat was about the lake and along the river of the same name in northern Idaho. They are of Salish stock and call themselves Swiktish or Switswish, and not Coeur d'Alènes, which was in its origin an opprobrious nick-name. Joset declares that before the missionary period they were living a merely animal life. "What in effect could you expect from a people among whom every notion of God, every tradition had been effaced. It was a common saying that courage and generosity were not the portion of the Coeur d'Alènes. All who have had dealings with them are one in saying that the first French or Canadians who made their acquaintance and who gave them this name could not have found a more suitable one: Coeur d'Alène, heart as big as an awl, to signify the absence of all elevated, noble and generous sentiments."¹⁶⁹

The Coeur d'Alènes made their first entrance into recorded history

¹⁶⁶ Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

¹⁶⁷ Joset, *Quelques remarques sur les sauvages et en particulier sur les coeurs d'Alène*, 31 pp., 1845. (Ms.). (AA).

¹⁶⁸ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, art. "Coeur d'Alènes."

¹⁶⁹ Joset, *Quelques remarques sur les sauvages, etc.*

in the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, by which they were found living in communal houses along the shores of Coeur d'Alène Lake (1805). Their first notions of Christianity were derived, if Joset's account be correct, not from Catholic but from Protestant sources.¹⁷⁰ In 1826 a party of three Indian youths, a Nez Percé, a Spokane and a Coeur d'Alène, travelled to the Red River settlement in the present Manitoba and lived there for some time, meanwhile receiving instruction from Protestant clergymen of the place in fundamental Christian truths. The Coeur d'Alène died at the Red River, while the two others returned to their tribesmen. The Spokane was especially zealous in communicating his new-found knowledge and many even of the Coeur d'Alènes were drawn to listen to him. When news of the arrival of the black-robés among the Flatheads reached the Coeur d'Alènes, they forthwith dispatched messengers to St. Mary's petitioning to be allowed to share their ministry.

De Smet, grasping in the beginning at every opening for missionary work among the mountain tribes that presented itself, was among the Coeur d'Alènes as early as the spring of 1842 when he spent three days in their village, instructing and baptizing. All the children and twenty-four adults, all the infirm and aged, received the sacrament of regeneration.¹⁷¹ De Smet draws a highly colored picture of the happy dispositions manifested by the Coeur d'Alènes on this occasion, a picture which Joset discounts somewhat, saying his fellow missionary was imposed upon by the chief, Stellam, whom he describes as a "consummate knave." However, the tribe did seem sincerely eager for a missionary, especially on the occasion of De Smet's second visit to it, July, 1842, on his return journey from Fort Vancouver.¹⁷² As a result, before his return to St. Louis the following fall, he gave orders for the opening of a residence on their lands. Father Nicholas Point and Brother Charles Huet were commissioned for the work.

"At the close of the hunting expeditions of the autumn of 1842," Father Point narrates, "I left St. Mary's to place the new converts under the protection of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The same day I entered their territory, I made with three chiefs who came to seek me, the promised consecration [to the Sacred Heart] and on the first Friday of December in the midst of chants and prayers, the cross was raised on the borders of a lake where the poor savages had united for fishing. Thanks be to God we can say that the miraculous draught of St. Peter was spiritually renewed." In the spring of 1843, a village was laid out on the plan of the Jesuit reductions of Paraguay. "Trees

¹⁷⁰ *Idem.*

¹⁷¹ CR, *De Smet*, I: 374.

¹⁷² CR, *De Smet*, I: 390.

were felled, roads opened, a church erected and the public fields were sown; and thanks to the piety of our savages, Holy Week, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost were celebrated with becoming solemnity." Soon two-thirds of the Coeur d'Alènes had been baptized and their moral transformation was astonishing. "From the 9th of September to the time in which I write [March, 1845]—a period of six months—not one single fault which can be called serious, so far as my knowledge extends, has been committed in the village of the Sacred Heart of Jesus."¹⁷³

The first Coeur d'Alène mission was located on the north bank of the St. Joe River, about one mile from the southern end of Lake Coeur d'Alène.¹⁷⁴ The site seems to have been badly chosen. Very attractive in the fall, in the winter it lay largely under water, the lake backing up in the flood-season. In 1846 a new location was found on the banks of the Coeur d'Alène River, at a place known as Cataldo or Old Mission (Skoot-Loty), thirty miles from the foot of the Coeur d'Alène Mountains and ten miles from the lake of the same name.¹⁷⁵ The mission was later, 1880, moved to its present site known as De Smet on Hangman's Creek in Benewah County, Idaho.

From Father Point's account of the beginning of the mission one might conclude that the Coeur d'Alènes had been suddenly transformed into angels and that the missionaries met with no difficulty whatever in dealing with them. As a matter of fact, the change for the better which took place in them after their conversion was a gradual one, extending over years, though, considering the substantial results achieved in the end, the years were surprisingly few. The mission had scarcely been opened when the ambitions of certain self-seekers, conspicuous among them the chief Stellam, succeeded in breeding discontent among the Indians. The first question put to Point by Stellam on his arrival among the Coeur d'Alènes was, "How much tobacco have you

¹⁷³ De Smet, *Oregon Missions*, pp. 278-281, De Smet à Roothaan, October, 1845. (AA).

¹⁷⁴ C. J. Brosnan, *History of the State of Idaho* (New York, 1918), p. 77. "St. Joe river owes its name to that first Catholic Mission." *An Illustrated History of North Idaho, etc.*, 1903, p. 756. George Weibel, S.J. (*Gonzaga Quarterly* [Gonzaga University, Spokane], 16:80) states that the first Coeur d'Alene Mission was "on the St. Joe River near St. Maries, Idaho." Bancroft, *Hist. Wash., Idaho and Mont.*, p. 604, gives the site as ten miles above Coeur d'Alène Lake. Cf. also for an account of the physical setting of the first Coeur d'Alène Mission, Mullan, *Report on the Construction of a Military Road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton* (Washington, 1863).

¹⁷⁵ Stevens's above-cited report (*supra*, note 163), p. 91. "The mission was on the opposite side of the Coeur d'Alene River from what is now known as Cataldo." *An Illustrated History of North Idaho, etc.*, p. 756.

brought us?" A year later Point was embroiled in trouble with the tribe to such an extent that Adrian Hoecken was sent to support him, arriving at the mission in November, 1843. He remained at the post until September of the following year. To bring the Indians to their senses they were threatened with a suspension of the mission. "As almost all are sincerely attached to Religion the threat had its effect. They showed themselves as well disposed as we could wish."

On November 16, 1845, Father Joset arrived among the Coeur d'Alènes from St. Mary's after a three weeks' journey, of which he penned a graphic account. He describes his new home as "at the end of the world amid a labyrinth of mountains, forests, lakes and rivers."¹⁷⁶ More than any other of his confrères this Swiss Jesuit was to identify himself with the mission of the Pointed Hearts.¹⁷⁷ Letters and memoirs from his pen are replete with first-hand and important data on every aspect, religious and cultural, of Coeur d'Alène life and constitute the most authentic Jesuit source of information available on the subject. The Coeur d'Alènes were his favorite tribe. While in charge of the Rocky Mountain Missions in succession to De Smet, he resided among them as local superior. This circumstance gave rise to complaint that he was favoring this mission at the expense of the others. He wrote on this head to Father Roothaan, February 5, 1849: "Certainly I cannot deny that I am particularly in love with this people, whom alone it was given to me to evangelize, whose language is the only one I know and among whom I have experienced in a measure the cross of the Lord; but that I was unjust towards the other missions and favored this one whether as regards equipment or personnel, I take to be untrue."

In 1847-1848 the Coeur d'Alènes were again restless and recalcitrant. The old chief, timid and irresolute, was apparently encouraging them in their opposition to the missionaries. Joset thereupon served notice upon them that he would have to withdraw. "The Indians," writes Father Gazzoli, "begged him with prayers and tears [to remain],

¹⁷⁶ *Ann. Prop.*, 18: 504.

¹⁷⁷ The Coeur d'Alènes are usually designated as such in the De Smet and Point letters. "As to the curious French name Coeur d'Alene, meaning literally 'heart of awl', and figuratively pointed-heart, i.e., small hearted, stingy, etc., various legends are current, all to be rejected on general principles. See Symons' Report, 1882, p. 127, citing A. N. Armstrong, 1856, and Ross Cox, 1832. Were I to add to the stock of stories I should compare the phrase with Crevecoeur and various other geographical names which commemorate French history in the West. Very likely some persons in the locality went hungry till not only were their bellies pinched as in a vise, but their hearts were pierced with sorrow as with an awl." Elliott Coues (ed.), *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark* (New York, 1893), 3: 991.

The dismissal of the old chief was decreed by unanimous agreement."¹⁷⁸ A new chief was elected and "things from now on put on a new aspect. The number of Indians gathered together at the mission increased (this year more than 300)." In 1851 Father Gazzoli, who had been among the Coeur d'Alènes since 1847, succeeded Joset as head of the mission. He reported April 6, 1851, that their "moral and religious condition was fairly good (*sa bona*)."¹⁷⁹ Three weeks later Father Vercruysse was writing to the General: "Father Hoecken says: 'I think the Coeur d'Alènes are the best instructed (of the tribes) in the matter of religion. They were the most intractable nation of all. Since the Fathers have been among them, they are entirely changed.'"¹⁸⁰

The frontier is a thing of the past, but its glamor and romance, despite unpleasant realities that went along with it, still grip the imagination. Point, Joset and their confrères were really not on the first line of the frontier; that was some two thousand miles behind them, along the Missouri border. Between them and the actual frontier of the day were the vast reaches of what was dubbed the American desert and six or eight months of distressful journeying. Below them, isolated as they were in the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Coeur d'Alène country, civilization came nearest in the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company and in the settlements of the Willamette. But to arrive at these latter and especially to thread the labyrinth of mountain passes and waterways that separated one Jesuit mission from another was a business that taxed both time and patience to the utmost. Where the trail was good, pack-animals might make some thirty-five or forty miles a day. From the Flatheads to the second Coeur d'Alène Mission was not a great distance in geographical miles; but one could scarcely cover it in fewer than eight days, so bad and broken were the communications. Between the two posts seventy-two river crossings might be counted, some of them scarcely fordable except towards the end of summer and in the fall. After such a trip the horses' hoofs were completely worn out. Between the second Coeur d'Alène Mission and the second St. Ignatius, there were some eighty river crossings, and the route was open only for a few months a year. Winter regularly brought deep snows in the Coeur d'Alène country so that there was no journeying at all on horse at this season. Then came the spring thaws with swollen streams and torrential currents. From November to June there was no

¹⁷⁸ Gazzoli à Roothaan, March 18, 1848. (AA).

¹⁷⁹ Gazzoli ad Roothaan, April 6, 1851. (AA). Superiors of the Coeur d'Alène Mission during the period 1842-1851 were: Point, 1842-1845; Joset, 1845-1847; De Vos, 1847-1848; Joset, 1848-1851.

¹⁸⁰ Vercruysse à Roothaan, April 25, 1851. (AA).

direct communication at all between the Coeur d'Alène and St. Ignatius. In July wagons sometimes got through, but the passage was difficult except for the rider on horseback. From the Coeur d'Alène to the first St. Ignatius the distance was four days; two days beyond the latter in a northerly direction brought one to Fort Colville and the St. Paul Mission and two days in a westerly direction to St. Regis. From the second Coeur d'Alène Mission near Cataldo to Fort Walla Walla, about two hundred miles, one was on the way six days. From the latter fort to Fort Vancouver was seven days more. When steamboats appeared on the Columbia, only two days separated Forts Vancouver and Walla Walla. According to Joset's outline map of 1849 there were just twenty-four days of travelling between St. Mary's and sixteen between the Sacred Heart and De Smet's projected general headquarters of the missions at St. Francis Xavier on the Willamette. Lieutenant Mullan's wagon road across the Rockies laid out in the fifties over the old Indian trail between Forts Benton and Walla Walla passed by the second Coeur d'Alène Mission and put it in communication, not easy, however, between East and West. But it also robbed the mission of its "splendid isolation" and made it no longer possible for the missionaries of the day to say as Father Gazzoli had said in 1851: "I prefer this mission to the others on account of this very difficulty of access, which preserves my Indians from many a danger." 180a

180a "Lieut. Mullan sends his best respects to your Reverence. He is at present in his winter quarters at Hell's Gate. The famous wagon road from Walla Walla to Fort Benton passes at the foot of Coeur d'Alene Mission and it is already opened as far as bitter root river. I call it a road because they call it so. Your reverence may judge of its goodness from the following fact, which happened last October. Mr. Friedman of Walla Walla left Walla Walla at the beginning of October for St. Mary's valley with a train of 30 or 40 pack mules, with the intention of opening a store at St. Mary's. He arrived safely at the Mission [Coeur d'Alène]; but when he came to the Coeur d'Alene divide, 35 miles about from the Mission, the poor man made a total, I was saying *shipwreck*, but I will call it *mulewreck* and lost animals, goods and everything he had except his own life and that of his packers. I do not know as yet the particulars nor the precise place where this accident happened. Your Reverence who has seen the place and passed it will not be astonished at all. Were we not nearly lost ourselves on that very spot? Do you remember yet our two famous sixteen-hours mountain crossing and the amusing way we and our horses came down the Coeur d'Alene mountain tumbling and rolling like wheels? It was too dark that night and our eyes could not enjoy the beautiful scene but our ears did and above all our heads and our backs and all our limbs. Without joking, I am sorry for Mr. Friedman and Mr. McGlinchy and for Lieut. Mullan, who, I am told, has a share in the firm. We must abstain as far as possible from speaking with disparagement of the road out of doors. The press in Oregon begins to call it a great humbug and a great waste of money." Congiato to De Smet, January 30, 1860. (A). "The same Father [Gazzoli] writes, Oct. 25, 1859: 'Lt. Mullan finds himself in the worst situation. He has lost a great number

Journeying for one reason or another was such a repeated necessity for the missionary, especially if he happened to be a superior that Father Joset calls it the most typical feature of the Oregon Jesuit's life. The following account of the discomforts and difficulties of travel was written by him apparently with reference to the first Coeur d'Alène Mission:

The most typical side of our lives, a side, moreover, which takes up a good deal of our time, are the trips. I get along without them as well as I can, the more so as I can scarcely absent myself without the farm suffering in consequence. Still, I have been obliged to pass more than three months in necessary journeys; now it was the Superior, who summoned me to his side, now we were at the end of our provisions, now it was one reason, now another. If you only knew what these journeys are, you would readily persuade yourself that one doesn't undertake a single one of them without very urgent reasons. In the first place, you must get things ready, animals, saddles, *épaissimens* [?], *pareflèches* [leathern cases for carrying dried meat], ropes, provisions, hatchet, kitchen outfit, necessities for making a fire, etc. Nothing must be forgotten under penalty of exposing yourself to serious embarrassment. Whether we are going ourselves or are sending some of our people, preparations last at least half a day. In this country there is neither stage-coach nor inns, nor bridges, nor highways, nothing except prairies, woods, swamps and broad rivers. I had fancied to myself that, being a good pedestrian, I would not tire my horse overmuch; but apart from the circumstance that travelling on foot would be a singularity here, you would merely use up your time and wear out your shoes; and afterwards you would have much greater difficulty replacing your shoes than your horse. You would meet with obstacles at almost every step, especially if you were surprised by bad weather as happened to me every time I went out.

Ordinarily you start at sunrise and stop only at night. Unless you have very urgent business, you go at a steady trot. However, it has happened to me to be awakened at two in the morning by my Indian, who led me on at a

of animals. The few which remain to him are in such a bad condition as to be entirely useless. His express man, through whom I send this letter, arrived here in the most pitiful condition. When at ten miles from the Mission he thought himself lost and was obliged to throw away his blankets, etc. They will learn now by experience what they would not believe when the Fathers told them that that route has so many and so great difficulties as to render it almost impracticable. I request your Reverence again not to speak to externs of this failure. I am sorry for Lt. Mullan. He is a true friend of the Missions and of the Fathers and deserved all success in his enterprise." Congiato to De Smet, February 4, 1860. (A). According to Addison Howard, "Captain John Mullan," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 25: 188 (1934), Mullan admitted he made a mistake in running the road through the Coeur d'Alène region instead of using the Clark's Fork route. But the road, all things considered, proved a success. S. F. Bemis, "Captain John Mullan and the Engineer's Problem," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 14: 201-205; T. C. Elliot, "The Mullan Road: Its Local History and Significance," *Idem*, 14: 206-209.

gallop the whole day long. If I remarked to him that he was going to overtax our mounts, he answered a little piqued: "Aren't my horses fat?" Indians are not easy on their animals. Arrived at our camping-place, we all lend a hand. To unsaddle, fetch wood, light a big fire, set up the tent and prepare supper is the work of a few minutes. The supper, it is true, does not require much preparation. As soon as the Indian has boiled the water, you give him a little meal and if you have any of it, a little fat and salt to make *gamine* (boiled); if besides you can serve a little bread, meat, or dry salmon, you will have a feast really royal and delicious, such as kings seldom find before them; only you mustn't leave the victuals to the discretion of the Indians under penalty of fasting half the way. For lack of this precaution Father Ravalli on his way from St. Ignatius to St. Mary's found himself six days from his journey's end when the victuals gave out; and yet he had set out with a very good supply of meal, fat and salmon.

After supper, you smoke or chat; then prayers are said before bed-time. At dawn next morning you go and get the horses, breakfast the way you supped, saddle as quickly as possible and are off. All this might seem pretty nice to one who has a taste for travel; for myself, this taste is a thing of the past. To give you a more complete idea of our excursions, I shall say a word about the last one I made.

In the first place, in order to leave the house, it was necessary to cross a deep marsh covered with ice which, as it broke under the horses' feet, caused them to stumble into the mud. My guide came in this way to be unhorsed. He had to let his horse loose and cross the marsh on foot, with the water almost up to his waist. We had to unload the horses to make them pass over; for the same reason we were obliged a little further on to break the ice which covered the river. At evening we camped right in the midst of the snow. The wood was damp and we had trouble in kindling a little fire. No poles for setting up the tent; besides, my companion was a novice in the matter of travelling. When the Indians are alone, they will suffer cold and dampness rather than fix themselves a comfortable lodging and it must be acknowledged that we should find very few whites capable of putting up like them with fasting, cold, dampness and fatigue; but those who journey with us realize that we don't like filling ourselves with rheumatism without necessity and they know what must be done. My companion, however, didn't know. Though the night was dark, I succeeded in finding enough bark to cover the spot where we had to rest. As we could not set up the tent, we used it as a covering and, though it rained the whole night, we did not get wet overmuch. We left at daybreak. The roads were very bad and we could make only a short distance. We camped rather nicely near a wide river. The water was low and by taking out the largest sized stones we made a floor on which we took our rest. The third day was warm enough to bring a thaw, which set us right down in the mud. Bits of bark were still our only resource for camping. The next day we fared better; the ground was pretty high, covered with leaves and right in the heart of a forest. The fifth day we had a driving rain which lasted all through the night without interruption. We came across an enormous fir-tree thrown down by the lightning and we put up our shelter

across from it. We succeeded in lighting a fire big enough to consume more than half of this trunk, which measured five feet in diameter. The blazing block formed a wall of fire which reflected the heat into our tent. This comfort we had need of. The frozen ground was covered everywhere with water. Still we had to get together a large quantity of wood, prepare poles for mounting the tent and search for a big enough supply of bark so as to lie down on a higher level than the water which flooded our dwelling. However, as you must move around in all this work, you don't suffer from cold and you acquire besides an excellent appetite for supper. The sixth day we reached happily the end of our journey. The most distressing thing to happen in experiences of this kind is for the beasts to become worn out. Still, you have to make them go ahead by hook or crook; you do what you can to relieve them; as often as the roads permit, you foot it; still you don't stop suffering until the beasts reach a place where they can rest. . . .

At the moment I write these lines, Father Hoecken, coming to find me to make his confession, has just passed an entire night exposed to continual rain, without even having any branches to make himself a shelter. His two Indians slept soundly while he could not close an eye and so the minutes seemed to him hours. Farther on a torrent barred the way. The Indians of the neighborhood had no canoe, but they brought some mats which, rolled into two or three folds and tied to two sticks, made a sort of raft on which the party ventured over one after the other. The torrent was not a big one but it was so rapid that the craft was carried 50 or 60 paces below the place where it started from. The next day they had to cross the same torrent three times and, though the guides knew how to pick out the best fords, the horses almost drowned in crossing the foot of a lake as they were numbed by the cold water from the snow.¹⁸¹

Still further side-lights of interest on the struggle for existence that went on in the first patch of civilized or semi-civilized life laid out in northern Idaho are furnished by Joset's correspondence. The mission had only one canoe, the handicraft of a certain Dumont. Stellam, the chief, borrowed it and through characteristic Indian carelessness managed to lose it. Fortunately, Dumont had made a second canoe of the same size as the other and this one Dumont's children sold to the mission for "a kettle, a shirt and a three-point blanket to be delivered in the spring." The mission had a herd of ten cows in charge of a Kalispel Indian; but they were of little service as barns and stalls were wanting. "Milk and butter would have been a great help to us." "But before building," Joset is writing in January, 1845, to De Smet, "we ought to know where the village is going to be. If we could order either at Colville or at the sea a large-sized drill for boring wells, we could settle at the foot of the mountains where we would have the advantage of being near the river; if we cannot have this tool, we must remain where we

¹⁸¹ Joset, *Quelques remarques sur les sauvages, etc.* (AA).

are." Joset lists among the articles needed at the mission some "tanned leather." Shoes were apparently home-made. "We are almost bare-foot, especially Father Point. Our health suffers in consequence." "Our position is singular indeed," Joset explains. "We have oxen, horses, mules and not a chain to use them with, yokes without irons, one plow and that one useless for new land, a part of the irons for another. If we had 4 chains, complete yokes and 2 plows, we could have a good field of potatoes, another of wheat, one of maize, one of barley, so that we could not only count on being self-supporting but also on helping our neighbors in case of need." There was no threshing of wheat the preceding year and so seed-wheat would have to be got from Colville. The plows and chains must come from the "sea," that is from Fort Vancouver. Joset ends the letter to De Smet in which he catalogues these needs with the reflexion: "Permit me in finishing to quote to you the words of a Provincial who, to support his Province and feed 50 scholastics, had no resources except those of Providence and that in a new country: 'let our scholastics be good religious and means will not be lacking for their subsistence. If we make efforts to do our duty, Providence will not fail us; Christ's word is pledged to this effect, *quaerite primum regnum Dei*. To make charity and regularity reign on all sides, this is, I take it, to be our chief concern.' But why tell you things which you understand better than myself!"¹⁸² Father Joset always showed insight in appraising the character of the Coeur d'Alènes. Some paragraphs of his on this head will bear citation:

Father De Smet's letters have made known the Flatheads, that knight-errantry of the Mountains. A great difference may be observed between their character and that of the Coeur d'Alènes, who owe their name to their slender courage; and the cause of this difference appears to come in great measure from their geographical position. The former, located nearer to the region of the buffalo, the daily bread of the prairie, have been occupied up to this in scarcely anything else but hunting; but for this it was necessary to brave continuously the numerous and perfidious nation of the Blackfeet, so that they ate only what they carried off, so to speak, at the point of the sword. Thence their character, noble in every acceptation of the word.

The Coeur d'Alènes, on the other hand, are too far distant from the region in question, from which they are separated by mountains which one crosses only with difficulty and in the good season alone. Hence in their search for food they scarcely go outside the narrow circle of their lands. Their resources in food are the little hunt (*la petite chasse*), to wit, rabbit-hunting, fishing, roots and moss. They are poor, selfish, but more easily brought to engage in the labor of agriculture; they are the people, the *plebs*. As you see, I must congratulate myself from every point of view on the portion that is my

¹⁸² Joset à De Smet, January 12, 1845. (A).

lot in the field of the Lord: *pauperes evangelizantur*. For the rest, I have found the ground thoroughly broken and in full cultivation.

Previous to the arrival of Father De Smet the Coeur d'Alènes lived in complete isolation. They were neither loved nor esteemed by their neighbors; also, they spoke a language which is not common to any other tribe. It is easy to learn, much easier than that of the Flatheads. They have almost no sounds which are not found in some one of the languages derived from the Latin. The Flathead language is much more difficult; but it is something like a universal language in these parts, being common to the Kalispels, Chaudières, Coutenays, Spokane. Almost all the Coeur d'Alènes themselves understand it; you need patience to learn it, but are fully recompensed by the abundant fruit which you garner from your labor.

Like all the savages who cannot hunt the buffalo, the Coeur d'Alènes live under rush-mats, which they fasten to poles arranged like a cone with an opening on top to let in the light and afford an outlet for the smoke. In this sort of [?] one cannot, as may be done through glass windows, see from the inside what is going on without; but one hears everything that is said even at half-pitch in the neighboring lodges. A chief harangues his followers. No one goes out to listen to him, but scarcely has he finished when all the cabins echo with an approving cry very much like huzzas in a college. From this care in seizing upon everything which is said, comes no doubt the publicity given on the instant to the slightest failings. You have here a powerful check upon vice; and so ordinarily the Indian maintains a great reserve. Perfectly vindictive though they be, they will receive a bloody injury without seeming to be affected by it; their rage concentrates in the bottom of their hearts without their face betraying the least emotion.¹⁸³

Governor Isaac Stevens in the course of his explorations for a railroad route to the Pacific was a visitor at the second Coeur d'Alène Mission in October, 1853. The picture he drew of the mission, eleven years old at the time, is a pleasant one.

The Coeur d'Alène Indians are underestimated by all the authorities. They have some seventy lodges and number about five hundred inhabitants. They are much indebted to the good Fathers for making considerable progress in agriculture. They have abandoned polygamy, have been taught the rudiments of Christianity and are greatly improved in their morals and in the comforts of life. It is indeed extraordinary what the Fathers have done at the Coeur d'Alène Mission. It is on the Coeur d'Alène river about thirty miles from the base of the mountains and some [ten] miles above the Coeur d'Alène lake. They have a splendid church nearly finished by the labor of the fathers, laymen and Indians, a large barn, a horse-mill for flour, a small range of buildings for the accommodation of the priests and laymen [lay brothers], a store-room, a milk or dairy-room, a cook-room and good arrangements for their pigs and cattle. They are putting up a new range of quarters and the

¹⁸³ Joset à ———. (AA). Cf. *supra*, note 134.

Indians have some twelve comfortable log-cabins. The church was designed by the Superior of the Mission, Pere Avili [Ravalli], a man of skill as an architect and undoubtedly, judging from his well-thumbed books, of various accomplishments. Pere Gazzoli showed me his several designs for the altar, all of them characterized by good taste and harmony of proportion. The church as a specimen of architecture would do credit to any one and has been faithfully sketched by an architect, Mr. Stanley. . . .

They have a large, cultivated field of some two hundred acres and a prairie from two to three thousand acres. They own a hundred pigs, eight yokes of oxen, thirty cows and a liberal proportion of horses, mules and young animals.

The Indians have learned to plough, sow, till the soil generally, milk cows (with both hands) and do all the duties incident to a farm. They are, some of them, expert wood-cutters; and I saw at work getting in the harvest some thirty or forty Indians. . . . We observed them ploughing, which they executed skillfully; others were sowing wheat and others digging potatoes. We saw a funeral ceremony conducted after the Catholic form and we were struck with the harmonious voices of the Indian choristers and their solemn observance of the ceremonies.

October 13 [1853]. The Coeur d'Alènes have already under the influence and example of their priest made a fair commencement in agriculture and will with timely encouragement from our government live entirely by cultivation, for which their country is so well adapted. They are well contented and it is pleasing to notice habits of industry growing upon them. In the barn we saw their operation of threshing. Four boys rode as many mules abreast around in a circle and they were followed by two girls with flails, who were thoroughly at home in the business. I observed an Indian woman milking and was surprised to see her use both hands, something rarely seen among Indians. We afterwards visited the field. A large fire was burning and around it sat Indians roasting potatoes at pleasure. There appeared to be great scarcity of proper implements; and in digging potatoes I noticed that many had nothing better than sharpened sticks.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ U. S. 33rd. Cong., 1st sess., House Executive Document No. 129, pp. 91, 92, 373, 374. Bancroft, *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana*, has a reference (p. 562) to the mission-church, the architectural merits of which he belittles: "The church built of wood in a poor imitation of M. Angelo's San Miniato [Florence] on the hill, stood on a knoll surrounded by low, flat, alluvial lands. Approaching from the west, it was seen at the other end of the valley facing north. In the rear was the residence of the fathers—a rustic cottage with over-hanging eaves and a narrow piazza all around it. A hundred feet to the west was the refectory and grouped around the sides of the knoll were 50 wigwams and cabins. In front of and to the east of the church considerable ground was enclosed by a substantial rail fence." Cf. also *op. cit.*, p. 604, for comments on the prosperity of the Coeur d'Alène Mission. Stevens says (*loc. cit.*), that pulleys and ropes were the only mechanical aids in the erection of the church, which was of Roman Doric architecture. "It is of hewn timber and adobe; ninety feet in length, forty in breadth, and sixty in height. The inside is prettily arranged. The

The Coeur d'Alènes have since lived up to the reputation which they had already acquired after the first decade of Jesuit missionary effort on their behalf had passed. The single black mark against them, as regards their relations to the whites, is the attack they made on Col. Steptoe's command in 1858; that, however, was a good deal of an accident, practically unpremeditated and without significance in appraising the general attitude of the tribe to the federal government or the white settlers about them.¹⁸⁵ Former Governor McConnell of Idaho, a visitor at the Coeur d'Alène Mission in 1913, has appraised thus the net result of the work achieved in this first center of religious and cultural influence within the limits of his state:

The Coeur d'Alène Mission continues the work for which it was established and to the efforts of that church may justly be credited the rapid advancement and prosperity of that tribe. . . . There is no record of the Coeur d'Alène Indians ever having violated any treaty made by them with the government or of their being at any time unfriendly with the whites. Their condition today, morally and financially, as well as their record for good behaviour in the past, is an example of what might have been accomplished with other tribes if similar methods had been followed.¹⁸⁶

§ 10. THE MISSION OF NEW CALEDONIA

In the summer of 1845 Father Nobili set out from Fort Vancouver to open the Mission of New Caledonia in what is now extreme western Canada or British Columbia. While the mission achieved no permanence, it carried on during the three or four years of its career a vigorous if transitory evangelical campaign on behalf of the savage folk of the region. British Columbia has been described as a "sea of moun-

altar is supported by two massive timbers of pine almost four feet in diameter." According to Brosnan, *Hist. of the State of Idaho*, p. 78, the old mission-church at Cataldo was "Idaho's first house of worship. . . . Thanks to the faithful workmanship of the Fathers, Brothers, and Indians who reared its historic walls, it still continues in an almost perfect state of preservation." Idaho's first church would appear to have been the one erected at the original Coeur d'Alène Mission on the St. Joe River.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. *infra*, Chap. XXV, note 103.

¹⁸⁶ W. J. McConnell, *Early History of Idaho* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1913), p. 42. "While the Jesuits did not bring capital, construct railroads, build cities and put up mills in Kootenai County, their work in another direction was of very great importance. The changes in primitive conditions, in the attitude of the redmen towards the "pale-face" intruder brought about by these faithful missionaries were marvellous in character and far-reaching in result. It is impossible to estimate the weight of their influence in subduing savage hatred and thus paving the way for the civilization that came at a later day." *An Illustrated History of North Idaho, etc.*, 1903, p. 755. The main facts regarding the mission are collected in Edmund R. Cody, S.J., *History of the Coeur d'Alène Mission of the Sacred Heart* (Old Mission, Cataldo, Idaho, 1930). Bibliography.

tains." Vast forests of pine and cedar, fertile and attractive valleys, great streams flowing towards the Pacific from their sources in the Rockies and ubiquitous mountain ranges conspire to make a scenery at once rugged and picturesque. Through this wilderness Alexander Mackenzie made his way in 1793 to the Pacific, the first white man to solve the classic problem of an overland route to the Western Sea, and this, more than ten years before Lewis and Clark made their epic trip to the mouth of the Columbia. New Caledonia was the name borne by the watershed of the Fraser River, particularly in its upper reaches. Catholicism came early into the country, its first white inhabitant, one Lamalice, being of the Faith, as was also Simon Fraser, who navigated to the sea the great waterway that bears his name. Into these mysterious fastnesses of heathendom and savage, untamed nature, came in 1842 the first priest, Fathers Demers, the pioneer Oregon missionary, who got as far north as the country of the Porteurs or Carriers around Stuart Lake. He appears to have undertaken the venturesome trip at the instance or at least with the encouragement of Father De Smet, who gave assurance that the work would be carried on by Jesuit hands. Demers and De Smet left Vancouver together in June, 1842, as passengers in a barge of the Hudson's Bay Company going up the Columbia. At Walla Walla Demers parted from his travelling companion to pursue his way to New Caledonia. Here, among the Kamloops, the Atnans or Ahtena, and the Porteurs or Ltatoten, he administered 436 infant baptisms. At Fort Langley on the Fraser his baptisms are said to have numbered seven hundred, which is probably an over-statement. At all events, Blanchet wrote in a glow of enthusiasm to the Bishop of Quebec: "The adorable name of Jesus has been announced to new nations of the north."¹⁸⁷

In 1843 Demers, having thus broken ground in this virgin soil, left the New Caledonians behind him to return to the lower Columbia. But he held De Smet to his pledges and urged that a missionary of the Society be sent in his place to the remote North. De Smet found it possible to do so and Father Nobili was given the commission. The latter, a Roman by birth and then thirty-three years of age, had been engaged since his arrival in Oregon in August, 1844, in a strenuous ministry at Fort Vancouver and along the Willamette. At the fort he gave a mission of three days to a brigade of fifty which arrived there in June, 1845, made up largely of Canadians with apparently some Porteur Indians among them. All, with one or two exceptions, made their confession. In the midsummer of 1845 Ravalli and Nobili left Fort Vancouver, the first to make his way to St. Ignatius Mission, the

¹⁸⁷ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 477-478. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, art. "British Columbia."

latter to halt at Walla Walla and there await instructions from De Smet. From Fort Okinagan Nobili wrote to De Smet, July 25, 1845:

I received your precious letter at Walla Walla and through it was made acquainted with my new destination. May the good God be blessed! It is He Himself whom I hearkened to as I hearkened to your "go and carry the torch of faith to this forlorn tribe of Porteurs, who otherwise seem so well disposed to open their eyes to the light of life." I go then, encouraged by your words, and in going, I forget my weakness, my defects, my lack of virtue and experience for an enterprise which is beyond my strength, I abandon myself entirely to the care of Divine Providence, who *in firma mundi eligit et attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponit omnia suaviter* ["chooses the weak things of the world and reaches from end to end mightily and disposes all things sweetly"].

The young man from Vancouver accompanies me. I have, however, deemed it advisable to defer his reception into the Company so that I may instruct him further in the duties of which he must acquit himself in his new state. I shall keep punctiliously to your directions. I realize the necessity of so doing, especially that I may draw down on myself and my new enterprise the blessing of the good God who loves obedience more than victories; and so I shall keep your letter before my eyes as the rule to be followed in all my undertakings and I shall try even to divine your wishes and intentions¹⁸⁸ (A).

What happened to Nobili and his novice companion on their overland trail to the North is told in a letter of Accolti's to De Smet:

On his journey to Fort Okinagan he [Nobili] suffered much. He left the Wallamette with Battiste, the novice, and three pack horses. A Hudson's Bay Company agent travelled with them for a few days; then he quit them villainously, without listening to Father Nobili's entreaties not to abandon them. On his horses he had the Father's tent and sack of provisions. The result was that they had to remain without food or shelter on an entirely unknown trail. Then they got lost and lack of water and nourishment brought them within an inch of perishing. Two Indians from the Cascades, whom Father Nobili had known at Fort Vancouver, rescued them from the peril. Thanks to them also they had the happiness of appeasing their hunger on an owl, which the Indians had killed a short while before.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Nobili informed Father Roothaan, October 18, 1845, (AA), that he had left Walla Walla with a "brother novice," Battista (Baptist) by name. More likely the latter was only what is termed in the language of religious orders a "postulant," as Nobili hesitated to accept him (as a novice) seeing that "he showed signs of self-will and [independent] judgment, which have been and always will be the pest of our Society." Nothing further is heard of Battista after his journey to New Caledonia with Nobili.

¹⁸⁹ Accolti à De Smet, February 9, 1846. (AA).

In a few years Nobili had built chapels here and there over a great extent of country, chiefly at the so-called "forts" or trading-posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the fall of 1845 he penetrated as far north as Fort St. James on or near Stuart Lake, where he stayed only five days, returning thither, however, the following year. At Fort Alexandria on the Fraser he was surprised to find a frame church built apparently in the interval that had elapsed since Demers's departure. Here marriages among the Canadian employees of the fort were set right and twenty-four children and forty-seven adults baptized. In May, 1846, he went down to Fort Colville to confer with Father De Smet. On December 12, 1846, he was at Fort George at the confluence of the Nechoco with the Fraser. Here he was met by fifty Sekanis Indians, who had come down from the Rockies and had waited nineteen days for his arrival. He baptized "twelve of their children and twenty-seven others, of whom six were adults of advanced age." At Fort George Nobili planted a missionary cross as he did wherever he remained any length of time. On December 18 he was at Stuart Lake, where he spent seven days doing what good he could among the Indians of the locality and especially inveighing against the tribal custom of burning the dead and torturing widows. The nations were left impressed, if not altogether converted from their evil ways, and the chief lodge and headquarters of the medicine-men was generally metamorphosed into a church.

Father Nobili's travels next brought him to Fort Kilmars on Babine Lake, near the Alaska frontier, to which remote spot he was the first missionary to penetrate. Records in his own hand of baptisms performed here October 25, 1846, are still extant. Early in January, 1847, he was back at Fort St. James, where he remained, carrying on a vigorous campaign of instruction until the beginning of Lent. In October of the same year, it would appear, he was among the Chilcotins, a troublesome Dené tribe and the southernmost of the family within the limits of British Columbia. He blessed a cemetery, visited several of the native villages and baptized a number of adult Chilcotins, whom, comments an historian, "he would probably have left longer under probation had he possessed more experience of their native fickleness." He was the first priest to visit the Chilcotins. In May, 1847, he opened a residence named for St. Joseph among the Okinagans, two days journey from the Thompson River and there resided the following year with Father Goetz as companion. The map accompanying the first edition of De Smet's *Oregon Missions* indicates four missionary stations in New Caledonia, viz: at Fort St. James, Fort George, Fort Alexandria and Fort Thompson in addition to the residence among the Okinagans. At Kamloops near Old Fort Thompson in British Columbia tradition still

witnesses to the missionary labors of Father Nobili in that remote corner of the New World.¹⁹⁰

In his material needs Nobili was aided by the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company. "The attention shown Father Nobili in the trading posts of New Caledonia," said De Smet, "is beyond all praise."¹⁹¹ At the same time, living conditions as Nobili encountered them were almost intolerable. Moreover, until Father Goetz arrived, he was without the support of a companion. "I should not have approved the sending of poor Father Nobili alone among the Porteurs," Father Roothaan wrote to De Smet, September 1, 1846. "Still, the necessity of so doing must have been unavoidable." In dispatching Goetz to Nobili's relief Joset had anticipated the General's instructions, who wrote to him urging that a companion be sent to the solitary missionary in the northern wilds. Finally, in 1848, both Nobili and Goetz were recalled and the Mission of New Caledonia, inaugurated under such promising circumstances, was given up. Father Goetz, it would seem, was the first to be summoned back from the Okinagans. Father Nobili, thus "left alone in an inhospitable hut with the most wretched kind of food," was instructed by Father Joset to relinquish his post and return, which he did. "When I saw him at the Sacred Heart," wrote Joset to the General, August 2, 1850, "I said to myself at once that he was by no manner of means made to live among the Indians."¹⁹² At St. Ignatius Mission, May 13, 1849, Nobili made his solemn profession as a Jesuit before Father Joset. This important step in his career as a religious thus taken, he was left free by his superior to descend to the Willamette. There was no one to assign him as companion in his recent mission except Father Vercruysse, whose services Nobili was unwilling to employ. He accordingly went down, taking advantage of the per-

¹⁹⁰ A. G. Morice, O.M.I., *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada from Lake Superior to the Pacific* (Toronto, 1910), 1:293-294. A considerable body of Nobili's unpublished correspondence descriptive of his missionary experiences is extant in the Jesuit General Archives, Rome. De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries* (New York, 1863), p. 513, has a sketch of Nobili.

¹⁹¹ CR, *De Smet*, 2:552. "I received your kind favor at the Dalles and I return to you my most sincere thanks for the good news and information you gave me concerning New Caledonia. Having preceded Father Nobili to Walla Walla I left a letter with the very kind and good Mr. McKinlay for him with a request to follow the brigade and to pass the winter among those interesting Indians. Next summer or spring he is to return to make his report and I hope arrangements shall be made to establish a permanent mission in that quarter. Father Nobili in his letter to me appeared to be very desirous to undertake the task—may the Lord bless his endeavors and bless all the gentlemen of the Honorable Company who have taken so warm a part in the subject." De Smet to John McLoughlin, July 18, 1845. (A).

¹⁹² Joset à Roothaan, August 2, 1850. (AA).

mission given him, to the Willamette, and the Mission of New Caledonia remained permanently closed. "Father Nobili was in New Caledonia last year," Father Accolti informed the General in February, 1850. "His mission was beginning to meet with success. Father Joset withdrew him, having no other subject to give him for companion and thus execute the orders of your paternity. Father Nobili tried by every means in his power to prevent this measure, which he foresaw would be to the prejudice of the Indians. But in the end he had to obey."¹⁹³

In 1849 Fathers Nobili and Accolti were both sent by Father Joset to San Francisco, from which city Nobili made known to De Smet the circumstances under which his missionary career had come to an abrupt end:

But is it possible, you will say, that I mean to conclude this letter without telling you a single word about my mission, or rather should I say, your mission of New Caledonia; for to your charity and zeal did the poor Indians of that region owe their good fortune. Poor mission, which yielded such an abundance of fruit and promised still more! Why, dear Father, did you leave Oregon so quickly? If you had been here, my mission had not died; rather I should myself have died on the mission. But God in His goodness has permitted neither the mission to last more than three years nor myself to die in its service, and in the midst of my Indians as I had hoped. *Dominus dedit, Deus abstulit, sicut Deo placuit ita factum est; fiat voluntas ejus* ["The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away, as it pleased God, so hath it been done; may His will be done"]. Well, Father Joset, as soon as he received the letter making him Superior of the Missions, recalled me from New Caledonia with all my baggage and ordered me to withdraw from the Residence of St. Joseph, which had been established at the foot of the Great Lake of the Okinagans; later [ms.?] he sent me as a companion there one of the Fathers recently arrived from Europe; finally, for the second time he wrote unexpectedly to me and my companion ordering us even under a precept of obedience to abandon Mission, Residence, Indians and private effects to the care of Providence and return to the Rocky Mountains. Such, my dear Father, has been the fate of New Caledonia, which I traversed and evangelized for three years in the midst of privations of every kind and of evident perils even to my life. An answer to my letters to Very Reverend Father General with a positive order not to abandon the mission came at length, but too late. To explain, last autumn when I was called from the Flatheads to the Wallamette and from there to California, the state of my health, which was impaired more by the vexation I was silently feeling in my heart than by the hardships of my apostolate, no longer permitted my Superiors to think of me for any of the Indian missions; it rather made them consider whether it would not be expedient, as the doctors had advised, to send me back to my native air and thus end the risk I was incurring of succumbing some day or other to my chronic infirmities. Thus seven thousand Indians have been abandoned,

¹⁹³ Accolti à Roothaan, February 29, 1850. (AA).

among them a great number of catechumens and more than fifteen hundred neophytes!—*Judicia Dei abyssus multa. Justus es Dne et rectum judicium tuum* ["Thy judgments are a great deep. Thou art just, O Lord, and thy judgment is upright"]. In this state I await with resignation and indifference my final destination.¹⁹⁴

In San Francisco Father Nobili was declared by a competent physician to be unfit for missionary life. He was found to have chronic pericarditis, contracted, so it was surmised, on his long sea-voyage to America and he suffered, besides, from some serious disorder of the blood. His death, so the doctors apprehended, might come at any time. It was in all probability his broken health that now begot in him a changed attitude towards the Indian missions. "He has conceived a complete aversion for the missions," wrote Accolti, "and does not wish even to speak of them." But he had a talent for administration, which he was soon to have an opportunity to exercise with distinction as founder and first president of Santa Clara College. From the incredible isolation and hardships of a missionary's life in the wilds of British Columbia to the presidency of an American college was a step which Nobili now made with best of grace. The happy impression he made as college executive, clergyman, and citizen was widespread and when he came to die in 1856 Californians of all religious affiliations mourned his premature demise.

The abortive career of the Mission of New Caledonia was a keen disappointment to Father Roothaan. In February, 1847, he had written to Oregon instructing Fathers Nobili and Joset that under no circumstances was the mission to be abandoned. In March, 1850, he informed Joset: "I had decided and so written more than once that the new mission taken in hand with so much success by Father Nobili was to be kept up by assigning him at least one Father for companion. Goetz after being dissatisfied at first was beginning to get along with Father Nobili. But you have recalled both of them. Father Nobili himself in California! All my letters lost! It is distressing."¹⁹⁵ The very great difficulty of maintaining satisfactory communication between the Oregon Jesuits and Rome, from which center rather than from St. Louis they were chiefly directed in the first decade of the missions, thus proved a serious bar to the progress of their work. The attempt made to evangelize the Indians of what is now British Columbia was not afterwards resumed by Jesuit hands. At a later period the Oblate Fathers of Mary Immaculate entered the field, working with distinguished zeal among whites and Indians alike.

¹⁹⁴ Nobili à De Smet, March 28, 1850. (A).

¹⁹⁵ Roothaan à Joset, March 17, 1850. (AA).

Father Nobili's missionary excursions above the 49th parallel had lacked nothing of hazardous adventure. Father De Smet himself in the course of a rather audacious missionary journey penetrated north of the American line. He was eager to bring the Blackfeet to terms of peace with the Flatheads and with this object in view determined to visit the former in their native habitat east of the Rockies. It was a perilous undertaking and both Accolti and Nobili tried to dissuade him from it, while Mr. Fraser, commandant of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Colville, made a hurried trip that he might represent to him in person what he deemed to be the grave imprudence of the step he was about to take. "I advised him against it for the present," Nobili wrote to Father Roothaan, "because the Blackfeet, after being attacked and defeated by the Pend d'Oreilles, swore death to the first priest they should meet."¹⁹⁶ To De Smet himself Nobili wrote: "I beg you seriously to listen to Mr. Fraser, who will warn you of the evident danger you are going to incur among the Blackfeet."¹⁹⁷ Plainly De Smet himself in the face of such warnings could be under no illusions as to the danger in store for him. To Dr. McLoughlin he confided: "The Indians think it a most dangerous expedition at present though all are willing to accompany me thither."¹⁹⁸ His attitude in the matter is also revealed in a letter to Nobili: "I feel in myself an irresistible desire to visit those poor unfortunate savages plunged as they are in the deepest Indian superstitions. I am not unaware that my life there will be much in danger. Ah! can I offer it to God? Would it be acceptable? Pray, dear Father that I may be worthy of [such a blessing]."¹⁹⁹

It appears to have been De Smet's intention, when he left Walla Walla on this dangerous journey, to return to St. Louis by way of the Blackfoot country without recrossing the Rocky Mountains; but this detail of his plan was not carried out.²⁰⁰ The route he chose led him north past the sources of the Columbia and across the continental divide by Whiteman's Pass into the present Canadian province of Alberta. He failed, however, to meet the Blackfeet and, with the object of his mission unattained, had to retrace his way over the Rockies to the Columbia. Snow-shoes and dog-sleds were among the modes of conveyance he had to utilize in this perilous trip, which lasted from the fall of 1845 to the late spring of the following year, including a stay of two months at Fort Augustus, now Edmonton, on the east of the Rockies,

¹⁹⁶ Nobili à Roothaan, August 31, 1845. (AA).

¹⁹⁷ Nobili à De Smet, July 25, 1845. (A). Accolti à Roothaan, October 18, 1845. (AA).

¹⁹⁸ De Smet to McLoughlin, July 18, 1845. (A).

¹⁹⁹ Cited in Nobili à Roothaan, August 31, 1845. (AA).

²⁰⁰ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 530.

whence he visited the mission of St. Anne.²⁰¹ The return journey was marked by the severest physical discomforts, to which he would have succumbed had it not been for the aid received from a small band of Indians met with on the way. To this day there are local traditions of De Smet's visit to the Canadian Rockies, the memory of which is also perpetuated in Mount De Smet at the head waters of the Athabasca in the present Jasper Park, Alberta.²⁰²

On the conclusion of his northern adventure De Smet descended the Columbia to Fort Vancouver, whence he returned to the mountains, reaching the Flathead Mission in August, 1846. From here he set out for St. Louis on his third return journey East to civilization. Expenses for the support of the new establishments in the Northwest had been considerable and it was thought necessary to send a father to the States to provide for them. "The Fathers unanimously expressed their desire that I again undertake this long and hazardous voyage." De Smet took advantage of his journey east to pass through the Black-foot country where he succeeded in meeting and dealing successfully with the notorious tribe which he had failed to make contact with the year before. Having travelled by way of the Jefferson, Bighorn, Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers and met Brigham Young on the way, he arrived at St. Louis about December 1, 1846. He never again re-

²⁰¹ CR, *De Smet*, 2:485-552; Morice, *op. cit.*, 164. In 1845 De Smet "came over Whiteman's Pass to the Bow river where the village of Canmore is now situated." M. B. Williams, *Through the Heart of the Rockies and Selkirks* (Ottawa, 1929). At Edmonton (Fort Augustus), principal post of the Hudson's Bay Company in the region, De Smet met Father Thibault January 3, 1846; also "Governor" John Rowand or Rowan, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at the post named. For a letter of Rowand to De Smet, cf. CR, *De Smet*, 4:1559. Lake St. Anne or Manitou, residence of the two Canadian missionaries, Fathers Thibault and Bourassa, was about fifty miles northwest of Edmonton. "I remained fifteen days at the fort [Jasper] instructing them in the duties of religion—after Mass, on Easter Sunday all were regenerated in the waters of baptism and seven marriages renewed and blessed. The number of baptized amounted to forty-four; among whom was the lady of Mr. [Colin] Fraser (superintendent of the fort) and four of his children and two servants." CR, *De Smet*, 2:537. "I am glad to inform you concerning my Freemen and their children that since you had the goodness to Baptize and Marry them that a great alteration took place amongst the most of them excepting one instance, all the others seem to improve since you left us, how long they may continue so I cannot say." Fraser to De Smet, November 1, 1846. (A). For details of a later date on the Alberta posts visited by De Smet see Katherine Hughes, *Father Lacombe, the Black-Robe Voyageur* (Chicago, 1911).

²⁰² Baptiste Morigeau, baptized by De Smet, September 8, 1845, at the head waters of the Columbia (CR, *De Smet*, 2:499), was living as late as 1921. A Dutch edition (Ghent, 1849, p. 100) of the *Oregon Missions* contains a map indicating De Smet's route to the sources of the Columbia with the pictorial detail, "Loges de Morigeau. Ma tente."

turned to the Rocky Mountain Missions in any official capacity in their regard whether as superior or member of the missionary staff. Father Roothaan, as long as he lived, showed himself averse to De Smet's resuming his activities in the field which he was the first to open. "Your post," he wrote to him, "will be in St. Louis. From there you will be in a position to serve your dear Indians from afar." Later, Roothaan's successor, Father Beckx, authorized a superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions to secure, if possible, De Smet's services as a resident missionary, adding that certain unfavorable reports circulated about him were exaggerated and without foundation. But the founder of the Rocky Mountain Missions was not to resume any such connection with them. His destiny, as the General let him know, was to serve the Indian cause "from afar."

§ II. MISSIONARY STATIONS AND EXCURSIONS

What stood most in the way of the development of the missions was the lack of an adequate personnel both in numbers and, in a measure also, in efficiency. The actually available workers would seem to have had occupation enough in the immediate duties that fell to them in the resident missionary centers of St. Mary's, St. Ignatius and the Sacred Heart. Yet, while the Flatheads, Kalispel and Coeur d'Alènes were the major objects of the missionaries' attention, other upper Columbia tribes shared at intervals in their ministry. It is indeed a noteworthy circumstance that De Smet's program of missionary enterprise called for the eventual evangelization of all the Oregon tribes. He apparently seized every opportunity to make a beginning at least of apostolic work in every Indian body he met with in his travels in the expectation that hands would later be available for the serious working of all these fields. His own temperament, it can be seen, led him to pursue this course. As was a matter of common knowledge among his associates, he was most at home in breaking new ground, in sharing the interest and elation incident on new ventures. The patient, humdrum labor of cultivating a field already sown was not congenial to him.²⁰³ Nevertheless, a spirit of adventurous enthusiasm was an excellent thing to carry into the opening campaigns of the difficult missionary enterprise on which he had embarked. After all, the main output of missionary zeal and service continued to be centered on the three principal tribes already mentioned while at the same time the lesson was effectively taught that a certain eager and energetic reaching out after new conquests, conditioned withal by the dictates of prudence

²⁰³ See *infra*, Chap. XXIV, § 3.

and the circumstances of time and place, was the proper spirit for the Jesuit missionary to carry into his work.

As a matter of fact, not De Smet only, but also his Jesuit confrères in the Oregon field adopted, in theory at least, the policy of extending their ministry to new tribes as opportunity offered. "We shall be able," wrote Joset in October, 1845, "to make excursions right along to new peoples, to draw some of them to already existing missions and to prepare the way among others for new establishments. Thus we hope it may be possible little by little to draw the Flatbows as also the Upper Pend d'Oreilles or Lake People (*Gens du lac*) to St. Ignatius; the Okinagans (these are on the other bank of the Columbia) and the Spokanes to the Falls, where St. Paul's Mission will be opened; the Coutenays, Snakes, and some of the Blackfeet to St. Mary's. If the Caious [Cayuse] are found to be well disposed, this [tribe] will be a center for [work among] the Walla Walla and the Nez Percés. For as to establishing a mission in every petty tribe, it can hardly be thought of, so it seems; it would require priests without end and expenses would be unnecessarily multiplied. To establish missions it is indispensable to procure means for the Indians to live around the church. A grist-mill is needed, also a saw-mill, a forge for repairing tools, etc." ²⁰⁴ Again, Joset wrote in 1849: "We are too few to lend aid to the neighboring tribes, such as the Coutenays, Pend 'Oreilles, Blackfeet, Banax [Bannocks] and Snakes." And in March of the same year Father Adrian Hoecken expressed the opinion: "If excursions could be made to the nations named [Spokan, etc.], the greater part of them by far would receive the words of salvation." ²⁰⁵ Ravalli, De Vos, and Hoecken find mention as about the only missionaries to get in touch in an apostolic way with the outlying tribes. There was no one, Mengarini observed in 1845, to cultivate the Cayuse and Snakes "who count many baptized persons among them and for these we are all made responsible." ²⁰⁶

Whatever missionary excursions were undertaken were made in most cases from the first St. Ignatius. By the Canadians the Skoyelpi or Shuyelpi were dubbed the Chaudières, as they generally were to be found around the Kettle Falls (*Chaudières*) of the upper Columbia in search of salmon. Later they became known as the Colville Indians. ²⁰⁷ They had first been visited by Demers, who baptized some of their children, but "their passions, especially a strong one for gambling, kept them deaf to the voice of truth." De Smet, on his trip in the fall of

²⁰⁴ Joset à —, October 12, 1845. (AA).

²⁰⁵ Joset à Roothaan, Feb. 5, 1849; A. Hoecken à Roothaan, March 25, 1849. (AA).

²⁰⁶ Mengarini à Roothaan, September 30, 1849. (AA).

²⁰⁷ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 1: 326, art. "Colville."

1841 to Fort Colville at Kettle Falls, was invited by the Chaudières to visit them, which he did in May, 1842. "On the same day that I arrived among the Skoyelpi or Chaudière Indians, who resided near the fort, I undertook to translate our prayers into their language. This kept me only one day, as their language is nearly the same as that of the Flatheads and Kalispels, having the same origin. . . ." ²⁰⁸ A hundred children and eleven adults were baptized by De Smet on this occasion. The station thus opened by him was on the left bank of the Columbia between Fort Colville and the mouth of Clark's Fork. In 1845 Ravalli was visiting the Shuyelpi from St. Ignatius. At his instance and De Smet's the Indians built a chapel and a cabin for the missionaries. ²⁰⁹ Yet so far the bulk of the tribe clung to their old superstitions. Their definite turning to the Gospel appears to have been due to the influence of the chief, Martin Gilemen Xstolia, and especially to that of his son Antony, who with great display of courage put an effective stop to gambling. ²¹⁰ The Indians now began to visit St. Ignatius, only two days distant from their village, to meet the missionaries. Presently they underwent a remarkable change to the astonishment as well of the priests as of the employees at Fort Colville. In 1846 Father Hoecken was among them instructing and baptizing children and adults. In June of that year Father Nobili came down from his mission among the Okinagan to confer with Father De Smet at Colville. He spoke of the Shuyelpi in terms of eulogy. "Their nation numbers about 600 subdivided into various tribes. It is incredible what a change came over everybody after the first catechetical instructions of our Fathers. The commandant of the Fort [Colville] and all the other Hudson gentlemen are in amazement at it." Finally, so Joset felt in March, 1848, things were ripe for making a start. "Everybody says the opening of a mission at St. Paul can no longer be delayed without great loss to souls." ²¹¹ In April, 1848, Father de Vos was sent by Joset to reside among the Shuyelpi.

For three years Father De Vos carried on a strenuous ministry at St. Paul, unassisted by any of his Jesuit brethren, for no one could be spared to cooperate with him. The results he achieved were noteworthy. Father Vercruysse reported in 1851: "Alone as he was for three years, everything changed face. The Canadian employees of Fort Colville

²⁰⁸ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 381. "I gave the name St. Paul to the Shuyelpi nation." De Smet à Roothaan, August 7, 1845. (AA).

²⁰⁹ The chapel stood between the fishery and the fort on the left bank of the Columbia.

²¹⁰ Jonathan Edwards, *History of Spokane County, State of Washington* (1909), p. 143, gives the chief's name as Martin Illemaxsolix.

²¹¹ Joset ad Roothaan, March 18, 1848. (AA).

are no longer the same nor are the Indians of the locality and its environs. He is loved and respected and no longer makes use of an interpreter. Of all the missions, this is the one where most is done for the instruction of the Indians."²¹² Before the end of 1851 De Vos, apparently for reasons of health, had been transferred from Oregon to California, leaving his place among the Shuyelpi to be filled by Joset. Here the latter was visited in 1853 by Dr. Suckley of the Stevens expedition.

Arrived at Fort Colville November 13. Near the fort is the mission of St. Paul established among the Kettle Falls Indians on the left bank of the Columbia about one mile from the Kettle Falls. I visited the mission establishments three times during my stay at Fort Colville. It is superintended by the Reverend Father Joset, assisted by one other priest [Vercruysse?] and a lay-brother. Father Joset received me very kindly. He is a Swiss and very gentlemanly and agreeable in his manners. To him I am indebted for much valuable information concerning this part of the country. The mission establishments consist of a chapel, a dwelling-house and several other buildings. There is no farm attached to it. The missionaries can obtain all they need from the Hudson Bay Company.²¹³

St. Paul's Mission was closed by Father Congiato, superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions in the fall of 1858. On visiting it the previous July he made the discovery that the Indians had been demoralized by contact with the whites. Furthermore, Fathers Ravalli and Vercruysse, the resident missionaries, were thought by Congiato to be inefficient and their places he was apparently unable to supply. The Indians, besides, were assuming a threatening attitude towards the whites, who petitioned Congiato not to suspend the mission as this would leave them at the mercy of the natives. But danger on this head was at an end in the fall; most of the Shuyelpi seem to have moved away from the falls, the previous excellent salmon fishing at that point having become a thing of the past as a result of the opening of new fisheries at the mouth of the Columbia. The only Christians remaining at the Falls were some thirty Canadian families. Having given orders that these be attended by a visiting priest from the Coeur d'Alène Mission, Congiato closed St. Paul's in October, 1858.²¹⁴ In the sequel the Shuyelpi Indians, to whom it had ministered in the beginning with such happy results, made occasional contacts with the Jesuit missionaries, as in 1860 when Joset baptized eighty-four of their number.²¹⁵

²¹² Vercruysse à Roothaan, April 25, 1851. (AA).

²¹³ Stevens's report in House Executive Document, no. 129, p. 284. (Cf. note 163).

²¹⁴ Congiato à Beckx, —, 1858. (AA).

²¹⁵ The fate of the Shuyelpi is told by one of their number in a letter to

The Flatbows (Lower Kutenai) and Kutenai were two divisions of a tribe known under the name of the Skalzî. De Smet visited the Flatbows in the summer of 1845. "[August 15] I said Mass there, the first ever celebrated in their lands. . . . I baptized 90 little children and ten adults. . . . The new station received the name of the Assumption. . . . They will form in the future a station dependent upon St. Ignatius."²¹⁶ From the Flatbows De Smet preceded to the Kutenai. "August 25 [1845] we arrived at Tobacco Prairie . . . the remote residence of the Koetenays. Everything I had recommended to them on my first visit they were practicing. . . . August 26, feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, I sang High Mass. I baptized 105 persons, of whom twenty were adults. . . . I have given to this station the name of the Holy [Immaculate] Heart of Mary. One of our Fathers will soon visit it." After erecting a large cross De Smet continued his way north towards the sources of the Columbia.²¹⁷ The Kutenai later settled

De Smet, October 28, 1858. "Father Smet. I am a poor savage. My name is Michel and I belong to the Nation of Skoyelpys, which the Whites call the 'Chaudieres.' I have left my nation to follow the Fathers to whom I owe every thing; first, the knowledge of God and the true religion, and then all the other instructions I have. They have taught me to read and write, and more besides, for they have taught me to sing. They have taught me also to speak French. God has given me an excellent and pious wife. We are both quite young. We have learned the Christian Doctrine well and we have decided to consecrate ourselves to the spiritual and temporal good of our poor fellow countrymen. I know, Father, that you are a great friend of the Indians. I know also that, although far away from us, you never cease to do us good, and I thank you for it sincerely in the name of all the Indians. After having done us spiritual good, you are now doing us temporal good. In return we will try to do you spiritual good, by praying to the Great Spirit for you. I have heard from Father Congiato, Great Chief of all the Indian Missions, that you are thinking of coming to see us. All the hearts of the Indians would be very happy at your visit. Come quickly, Father, come to see and console your poor children who love you much. Your visit could perhaps bring back my nation to the right path. You know, Smet, that they are not behaving well. Gambling and whiskey have destroyed all the good that the Fathers did among them. The bad example of the Whites, who are looking for gold has ruined my poor nation; the Fathers have been obliged to abandon them. Only the lake people continue to be good. My heart will be happy when I learn that you pray for my poor nation. I bid you good bye with all my heart. Thy Child in Jesus Christ, Michel, Skoyelpy Indian." (A).

²¹⁶ De Smet, *Oregon Missions*, p. 216. The station was on the left bank of the Kutenai River in a northeasterly direction from Lake Pend d'Oreille. Cf. CR, *De Smet*, 2:487-491.

²¹⁷ De Smet à Roothaan, October 25, 1845. (AA). Cf. also CR, *De Smet*, 2:493. De Smet had visited the Kutenai for the first time in the spring of 1842. CR, *De Smet*, 1:371. The Station of the Immaculate Heart of Mary was situated on the Arc à Plat or McGilvray River north of the American border. "De Smet was the first missionary of religion to penetrate among the British Kootenays." Morice, *Hist. of the Catholic Church in Western Canada*, 1:295.

around the second St. Ignatius near Flathead Lake. They developed into a dependable and edifying group of Christians and Father Congiato pronounced them in 1858 to be the best at this time of all the mountain tribes.

St. Peter's Station was opened by De Smet in 1845. "I placed under the care of St. Peter the tribe inhabiting the shores of the great Columbian lakes." Adrian Hoecken visited these Indians to baptize the adults and De Smet was among them again in the spring of 1846. They are referred to in the missionaries' letters as "the Lake tribe" or "The Lake people" (*gens du lac*), as by Joset in 1851.²¹⁸

Southwest of the first St. Ignatius on the left side of Clark's Fork was the Station of St. Francis Regis. "On the 4th of August [1845]," De Smet informed Father Roothaan in October of the same year, "I left the Chaudières accompanied by several Cree half-breeds to examine a tract of land which they had chosen for the erection of a village. A number of buildings were already in course of construction. I gave the name St. Francis Regis to this new reduction."²¹⁹ In April, 1848, Father Vercruysse was detached from St. Ignatius and assigned by Joset as pastor to these half-breeds, with whom he resided somewhat over a year. It proved, however, embarrassing to leave St. Ignatius with only a single resident priest; moreover the St. Regis Station appears to have become practically deserted in consequence of the rush to California in 1849. Father Vercruysse was accordingly recalled to St. Ignatius and the Cree half-breed station was closed.²²⁰

Journeying to Fort Vancouver in the spring of 1842 De Smet made his first acquaintance with the Spokane on their lands in the present eastern Washington, where for some time previous two Protestant clergymen had been working among them. "A band of Spokanes received me with every demonstration of friendship and were enchanted to hear that the right kind of the Black-robos intended soon to form an establishment in the vicinity. I baptized one of their little children who was dying."²²¹ The Spokane, called also Zingomenes, numbered about

²¹⁸ "[The Station] of the Lakes of the Columbia, where Father Hoecken is to go shortly to baptize the children, has been placed under the patronage of St. Peter." De Smet à Roothaan, October 25, 1845. (AA). "The tribe of the Lakes forms part of the Shuyelpi nation. . . . The bulk of this tribe had been evangelized at Kettle Falls [St. Paul]." De Smet à Roothaan, May 29, 1846. (AA). From De Smet's letter it would appear that St. Peter's Station consisted of no more than some twenty families.

²¹⁹ De Smet à Roothaan, October 25, 1845. (AA).

²²⁰ Joset à Roothaan, October 29, 1849; Accolti à Roothaan, March 28, 1851. (AA).

²²¹ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 379. Edwards, *Hist. Spokane County, Wash.*, p. 139, discusses the question whether De Smet passed through the Spokane region on his trip to

eight hundred and four.²²² In 1847 Joset wrote of this tribe: "The Spokanes have more than once invited us to settle in their lands. We have never yet been able to accede to their request. Some of their number who reside among our neophytes [Kalispel] have made us conceive a good idea of their gentle and refined character. Such as have been baptized show themselves very good Christians. On the other hand, living by salmon-fishing and without labor of any kind, they are given to gambling and what is worse in my opinion, they live in complete anarchy. However, as soon as the number of our workers permits, we shall attempt some excursions among them."²²³ In 1849 Father Adrian Hoecken wrote of the Spokane that they were divided in their stand on religion, some wanting a Catholic, others a Protestant missionary.²²⁴ It was not until 1866 that Jesuit missionary work was definitely taken up on behalf of this interesting tribe. On December 8 of that year Father Joseph Cataldo opened in Peone Prairie northeast of Spokane the first house of Catholic worship in the Spokane district. "It was dedicated to St. Michael. Pretence at style of architecture there was none; yet within its narrow walls, in a space of eighteen by twenty feet, the Upper Spokane were converted to Christianity and in a comparatively short space of time."²²⁵

Only a slight measure of missionary endeavor was attempted by the Jesuits in favor of the group of four closely related tribes, the Nez Percés, the Cayuse, the Walla Walla and the Paloots. Of these tribes, which spoke slightly different dialects of the same language, the most important were the Nez Percés.²²⁶ These had very probably been associated with the Flatheads in the first Indian deputation to St. Louis from the Rocky Mountains. The first notions of Christianity had been brought among the Flatheads by Christian Iroquois from Canada. There are indications that the Nez Percés received religious instruction from the same source; but they were likewise indebted for their initial acquaintance with the Gospel to the Hudson's Bay Company agents and traders, especially Nicholas Pambrun of Fort Walla Walla. Both Captain Bonneville and Nathaniel Wyeth, on their arrival among the Nez Percés at a time when as yet no Christian missionaries had made their way to the tribe, found them familiar with certain

Fort Vancouver in 1842. "If so he was undoubtedly the first Catholic priest who ever visited Spokane." Spokane was on the old trail between Colville and the Coeur d'Alène Mission.

²²² Hodge, *op. cit.*, 2: 625, art. "Spokan."

²²³ Joset, *Missions Catholiques, etc.* (AA).

²²⁴ Hoecken ad Roothaan, March 25, 1849. (AA).

²²⁵ *Gonzaga Quarterly* (Gonzaga University, Spokane), 16: 82.

²²⁶ Hodge, *op. cit.*, 2: 65, art. "Nez Percés."

Christian practices, as is recorded by Washington Irving in his *Adventures of Captain Bonneville*. Polygamy was rare among them, Sunday was scrupulously observed so that they refused to hunt with Bonneville on that day, and crimes denounced in the Christian code were visited by them with severe penalties. Pambrun in particular proved himself to be an enterprising lay-apostle and, so he informed Bonneville, had been "at some pains to introduce the Christian religion and in the Roman Catholic form among them [Nez Percés], where it had evidently taken root."²²⁷ One would have thought the Nez Percés offered a particularly promising field for the Jesuits to cultivate and yet it was not until 1868 that the Society took up resident missionary work among them. On the other hand the Presbyterians were early on the ground, the Reverend Mr. H. H. Spalding opening a mission for these Indians at Lapwai in 1836. Spalding with his wife had come out from the States to Oregon with Marcus Whitman and his bride in 1836, the two women being the first Americans of their sex to cross the Rocky Mountains. Dr. Whitman settled among the Cayuse at Wailatpu near the Walla Walla River.

Though a mission in this quarter was long delayed, occasional contacts were made between the Nez Percés and their Jesuit neighbors. On Christmas day, 1841, thirty of the tribe received baptism at St. Mary's.²²⁸ In the autumn of 1845 eleven Nez Percés, all either chiefs or headmen, presented themselves at the Coeur d'Alène Mission for instruction and baptism. On their return journey they halted at Mr. Spalding's mission where the clergyman twitted them for making the sign of the cross, saying they would go to perdition if they took up the practices of the black-robos. This led one of their number, James by name, a one-time disciple of Spalding's, to take up boldly the defence of the religion which he and his travelling companions had begun to profess. Father Joset, who tells the incident, goes on to declare, however, that much must be said in Spalding's favor:

Still we must not identify Mr. Spalding with those fanatics who have almost no other occupation except to calumniate our holy religion. He is our nearest neighbor, his establishment being only sixty miles from our present position [Coeur d'Alène Mission]. We have had recourse to him to procure

²²⁷ Irving, *Adventures of Captain Bonneville* (New York, 1850), p. 300. "The same gentleman [Mr. Pambrun] had given them a code of laws to which they conformed with scrupulous fidelity. Polygamy, which once prevailed amongst them to a great extent, was now rarely indulged. All the crimes denounced by the Christian faith met with severe punishment among them. Even theft, so venial a crime among the Indians, had recently been punished by hanging by sentence of a chief."

²²⁸ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 338.

things for the farm, as seeds and live stock. He has shown himself very generous. What he did not give, he sold at a very moderate price. Moreover, he offered us his mill to grind our wheat. "You are beginning," he said, "you have need of assistance." I believe him in good faith and of so sincere a piety that I am hoping he will soon enter the Catholic Church. I assisted at the morning service which he held for his family and was very much edified at it. I transcribe here the last lines of one of his letters: "May the God of Missions and of peace grant us his Holy Spirit to comfort and strengthen us in our arduous labors among the benighted and to teach us always how to pray acceptably." They rear their children with a great deal of care. "If only they be good Christians," said his wife, "that is all we wish for." I have often said to myself that if any one was capable of spreading Protestantism among the Indians it would be such a man as Mr. Spalding.²²⁹

On the occasion of these visits of Joset's to Spalding, the Jesuit heard from the latter the story of his nine years' fruitless labor among the Nez Percés. There were ominous signs of the growing hostility of the Nez Percés and Cayuse to the Protestant missionaries. The windows of Spalding's school-house had been maliciously broken by the Indians and he himself suffered insults and sometimes physical injury at their hands. He saw no hope except in the presence of United States troops. As his position was daily growing more critical, he was ready to sell out his holdings and move elsewhere, especially as his wife and children were eager to get away. Joset suggested that he might himself become the purchaser. Spalding entered no objection and was ready to turn over the establishment to any missionary who would supplant him. Joset thought seriously of buying the buildings, forge, mill and other appurtenances, but for the moment lack of funds forbade him to take any step in this direction.

Such is Father Joset's account of his dealings with a clergyman who in later years was to acquire notoriety as a defamer of the Catholic Church and her ministers. It places Mr. Spalding in a more amiable light than that which is shed upon his memory by the rancorous events in which he was embroiled in later years. Very probably there is truth in the explanation which seeks to account for the violence of his later anti-Catholic sentiments on the ground that the Whitman massacre had left him with unstrung nerves and unbalanced mind. At all events it is pleasant to record that a Jesuit priest could feel himself indebted to Mr. Spalding for certain genuine tokens of Christian charity and benevolence.²³⁰

²²⁹ Joset, *Quelques remarques sur les sauvages, etc.*, 1845-1846. (AA).

²³⁰ Bancroft, *Oregon*, 1:665. "There can be no doubt that Spalding's mind was injured by this shock. All his subsequent writings show a want of balance which inclines me to regard with levity certain erroneous statements in his pub-

Shortly after Bishop Blanchet arrived at his episcopal see of Walla Walla, September 3, 1847, he began to look about him for an opening for missionary work among the native tribes of eastern Oregon as the Indians, apart from a mere handful of whites (about ten) in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, were the only inhabitants of his diocese. He wrote to a friend: "I have very much in mind to establish a mission among the Sakaptiens [Nez Percés]. They have with them a presbyterian minister whom for the most part they do not like. The presence of a black-robe in this place would force him to retire. Father Joset knows some of the chiefs and is going to speak to them."²³¹ Nothing came of the Bishop's hopes in this direction. The next year, 1848, Father Mengarini reported of the Nez Percés that "they were still immersed in all their ancient superstitions . . . with an aversion towards the Catholic missionaries and an incredible horror of them," very probably inspired by Mr. Spalding.²³² When a dangerous contagious malady broke out among the Nez Percés, the Jesuits offered their services but these were declined and all that could be done for the tribe was to baptize a few children. Previous reports about the tribe would seem to have been more encouraging; however, their attitude at this juncture towards the Catholic missionaries did not invite attempts on the part of the latter to evangelize them. But the turn of the Nez Percés for the Catholic message was not delayed indefinitely. Father Cataldo, the Jesuit, appeared among them in 1867, bringing a large number of them within the fold. The following year he opened on the north bank of the Clearwater a permanent mission on their behalf.²³³ In the eyes of the Nez Percés he was their providentially sent apostle and the faith they were privileged to receive at his hands became known among them as "the gospel according to Cataldo."²³⁴

The Cayuse, like the Nez Percés, were to stage some dramatic scenes in the relations between Indians and whites in the Oregon country. As a missionary prospect the Cayuse were not any more promising than the Nez Percés. In June, 1847, Father Nobili gave it as his opinion that hopes of successful work among the Walla Walla, the Nez Percés, the Spokane and the Cayuse were slender. Shortly before that

lications. I find in the *Oregon Statesman* of August 11, 1855, this line: 'H. H. Spalding, a lunatic upon the subject of Catholicism and not over and above sane upon any subject.' " Bourne, *Essays in Historical Criticism* (New Haven, 1913), p. 28.

²³¹ M. Blanchet à ———, October 13, 1847.

²³² Mengarini à Roothaan, February 21, 1848. (AA).

²³³ *Gonzaga Quarterly* (Gonzaga University, Spokane, Wash.), 16: 88.

²³⁴ Father Cataldo remained in active service as an Indian missionary up to his death, April 9, 1928.

date Father Joset had made some sort of attempt to open a station in the Cayuse country, planting a cross at a point about thirty miles from Fort Walla Walla. The cross stood but a brief spell, being torn down by the natives.²³⁵ Bishop Blanchet's first actual missionary venture, made within a few weeks of his arrival at Walla Walla, was among the Umatilla and Cayuse, the location being only a short distance from Dr. Whitman's establishment at Waiilatpu. The doom of the latter had already been pronounced. The Bishop and his clergy arrived in the country just in time to be involved in the storm of abuse and calumny that followed in the wake of the historic Whitman massacre of November, 1847. Measles brought into the country by the immigration of 1847 and passed on to the Indians, an illusion of the latter that the philanthropic doctor instead of attempting to cure their sick meant to kill them, and a dozen other circumstances tending to fan the fires of native resentment against the whites issued in the tragic deed perpetrated by the frenzied Cayuse on the little American colony at Waiilatpu. No one nowadays seriously believes that the massacre was the outcome of a Catholic plot; that such a charge should have met at one time with considerable credence only evidences to what lengths religious prejudice can go. "We are clear in our conviction," writes Bishop Bashford of the Methodist Episcopal Church recording the most enlightened and scholarly opinion on the subject, "that the massacre was not planned or deliberately encouraged by the Roman Catholic priests."²³⁶

It will be of interest to cite here the words written some months after the catastrophe by Father Nobili to his General in Rome. The Jesuit had met Whitman at Walla Walla and was greatly impressed by the latter's evident devotion to the Indians, as were all who knew him, for he was an undoubted friend of the red man. Nobili speaks of him as "the excellent Dr. Whitman, deservedly loved by all the Americans for the assistance which he lent them when they came from St. Louis [*sic*] tired and hungry and passed by his residence. They love him, too, for his boarding and educating so many little orphans." Whitman had told De Smet of the threats against his life; he had the same story to tell Nobili:

They [the Cayuse] spared neither his clothes nor his letters, which they tore to pieces, nor did they spare his horse, when he came here to Walla

²³⁵ M. Blanchet à Bourget, undated, but written before the Whitman massacre. Montreal Arch. Archives. Cf. C. B. Bagley (ed.), *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon* (Seattle, 1932), 1:151-238 for Father J. B. A. Brouillet's *Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman and other Missionaries by the Cayuse Indians of Oregon in 1847 and the Causes which Led to that Horrible Catastrophe*.

²³⁶ Bashford, *The Oregon Missions. The Story of How the Line was run between Canada and the United States* (Cincinnati, 1918), p. 75.

Walla, as he told me himself; they even went so far as to threaten every now and then to kill him and his entire family. Who would have believed it? The bloodthirsty wretches have put their threats into effect. I had already proceeded far in copying out these sheets to take advantage of the first opportunity to send them to Europe when, from a private letter from one of the Triumvirs who govern the Hudson's Bay Company district in Oregon and from a very long official report sent out to the Gentlemen of New Caledonia, I became acquainted with the terrible news. Poor Doctor Whitman, his wife and eleven others, to wit, his entire family were on a sudden slaughtered by the Kayous and [ms.?] in their own homes. Eleven other men, nine women and forty-one orphans, were made captives by the Kayous and Nez Percés. One of the Hudson Triumvirs [Ogden], noble and generous soul that he was, finally rescued them. All the American missions except the one nearest to Colville have been [ms.?] and abandoned, and the Americans themselves persecuted to death by the frenzied savages. And all this in consequence of a disease [measles] which has wrought havoc among the savages everywhere even in New Caledonia and which was and is still ascribed to poison brought in by the Americans. War has broken out. What will be its consequences? My Indians in the British dominions, also under the scourge of God's hand, are submissive and quiet.²³⁷

Instant war on the part of the American settlers against the Cayuse was provoked by the atrocious deed at Waiilatpu, the perpetrators of which were eventually taken into custody, tried, convicted and hanged. Meantime, the Protestant missionaries in eastern Oregon were withdrawn and even Bishop Blanchet in compliance with government orders had to suspend his operations among the Cayuse and move from Walla Walla to the Dalles. Attempts were made by the Protestants to have the Rocky Mountain missions of the Jesuits also closed, but these were allowed to remain open as the Indians in this section of the territory were on the best of terms with the whites. The excitement caused by the Whitman massacre had simmered down when an incident occurring in the midsummer of 1848 kindled anew the flames of bigotry. As a measure incident to the Cayuse war a law had been passed by the Oregon territorial legislature forbidding the delivery of all firearms and ammunition to the Indians. Father Joset on hearing of this measure came down to Oregon City, where the legislature was sitting, to enter a protest against it on the ground of the hardship it would entail on the Catholic Indians, who were peaceably disposed and loyal to the provisional government. These Indians got their livelihood by hunting; moreover, the Flatheads absolutely needed arms to defend themselves against the Blackfeet. One of the legislators in particular was much impressed by Joset's representations and pledged himself to make

²³⁷ Nobili à Roothaan, June 30, 1848. (AA).

efforts to have the law repealed. It happened at this juncture that a considerable supply of arms and ammunition for the Jesuit missions had arrived at Fort Vancouver. It was in fact the entire annual shipment for all the mission-posts of the Upper Columbia country, consisting of one thousand and eighty pounds of powder, fifteen hundred pounds of balls, three hundred pounds of buckshot and thirty-six guns. Joset, expecting that the law would soon be repealed, directed Accolti to forward the consignment to its destination. This the latter did, and without any attempt, it would seem, to conceal the character of the consignment. At the Dalles Lieutenant Rodgers intercepted the material, seized it, and reported the affair to Governor Abernethy, who directed him to explain to Father Accolti what had been done.²⁸⁸ The latter, in a communication to Major Lee, commanding the American forces against the Cayuse, pointed out that the law did not prohibit the shipment of munitions but only their distribution among the Indians; and he asked that, in case the munitions were not to be confiscated, they be returned to Fort Vancouver. What disposition was finally made of them is not known; but the incident itself was at once seized upon by prejudiced minds as evidence of an attempt to smuggle arms into the interior to be put into the hands of the Catholic Indians for the extermination of the Protestants. The preposterous charge met with widespread credence and anti-Catholic hostility was soon fanned to a white heat. In December, 1848, a petition for the expulsion of the Catholic clergy from Oregon was introduced into the territorial legislature but failed of passage. Presently news of the discovery of gold in California began to occupy the public mind with the result that it became diverted entirely from the proposed penal measure against the Catholic clergy, of which nothing further is subsequently heard.

²⁸⁸ Bancroft, *Oregon*, I: 743.

CHAPTER XXV

THE OREGON MISSIONS, II

I. DE SMET AND OREGON GEOGRAPHY

The contributions made by Father De Smet to the geographical nomenclature of the Pacific Northwest are an interesting aspect of his career. That these contributions, with a few exceptions, did not prove permanent need not detract from the credit he may be given for these well-meant and often clever attempts to label in some dignified way the watercourses and bodies of still water which he encountered in his travels, for as to mountains he seems to have made no effort at all to give them names. It was his privilege thus to play as it were at the game of topographical designation for at the period of his earliest travels in Oregon no detailed maps of this region were available. In fact, for certain features of the country, e.g. the sources of Clark's Fork of the Columbia, his own maps would seem to furnish the earliest accurate information we possess. Moreover, if the lakes and rivers he came to know had names other than their Indian ones, which in some cases was probably the fact, such names were seemingly little known. At all events, De Smet freely attached labels of his own invention or choice to numerous bodies of water in the Oregon country independently of any designation they might otherwise have had among the few roaming whites of the territory. The nomenclature he devised was partly religious, partly personal in character, being borrowed either from the Catholic Church's calendar of saints or from the names of living acquaintances, in particular of relatives and friends in Belgium, especially if these were benefactors of the missions. As a matter of fact, De Smet's attempts to give the names of generous friends a place in Oregon geography were often, it would appear, nothing more than naive and innocent propaganda with a view to enlist their interest still further in the material upkeep of the missions. A substantial burgher in Ghent or Antwerp would no doubt feel moved to support the missionary cause all the more if he saw his name attached to some stream of running water in the wilds of western America.¹

¹ Maps carrying the names of living Jesuits and friends and benefactors of the missions seem to have been included only in European editions of De Smet's letters. Thus in a French edition (Ghent, 1848) of the *Oregon Missions* are

The Bitter Root River (*La Racine Amère* of the Canadian trappers) was called by De Smet the St. Mary's as the basin which it drained was called by him St. Mary's Valley.² Deer Lodge Creek or Hell Gate River, the main fork of the Bitter Root, he named the St. Ignatius.³ On his way to the Bitter Root in 1841 he journeyed with his party through a mountain-pass "watered by a copious rivulet. We gave to this passage the name of 'the Fathers' Defile' and to the rivulet that of St. Francis Xavier."⁴ On his way to Colville in the autumn of 1841 the missionary passed by the Lolo Fork of the Bitter Root, which Lewis and Clark had ascended in 1805 on their way to the Pacific. As it was without a name, at least De Smet was under this impression, he called it "the river of St. Francis Borgia."⁵ On the same journey to Colville in 1841 he named two rivers which unite to form a tributary of Clark's Fork, St. Aloysius and St. Stanislaus; then, finding himself on All Souls Day, November 1, on the shores of a little lake six miles round at the entrance to Horse Prairie, he called it the Lake of Souls.⁶ In the fall of 1844 on his way from the Willamette to the mountains he remembered a distinguished Belgian benefactor of the Missouri Jesuits. "Toward noon we skirted a beautiful little lake, which I named De Nef, in memory of one of the great friends and benefactors of the mission."⁷ On the same journey of 1844 another Belgian benefactor, whose gift made possible the beginnings of Marquette University, likewise received recognition. "We camped toward nine in the evening on the shore of Lake De Boey, which was literally covered with wild swans, geese and ducks. One of the hunters fired off his gun over the lake, and the innumerable multitude of birds rose in a mass, the beating of their wings resembling the deep sound which

maps showing rivers named for Hoecken, Point, Joset, Claessens, Specht; also lakes named Gustave, Sylvie, Elmore, Rosalie, Clemence, Hughes, etc.

² The Bitter Root was named Clark by Meriwether Lewis, William Clark's companion in the overland expedition of 1804-06. Elliott Coues, editor of the Lewis and Clark journals, resents De Smet's attempt to call the river St. Mary's, allowing himself an unworthy fling for a scholar: "Who she was or what she had to do with Clark's river nobody knows except Father De Smet perhaps." Coues (ed.), *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark*, New York, 1893, 2: 585.

³ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 307. According to Coues, *op. cit.*, 3: 1071, De Smet coined the name Hell Gate (*Porte d'Enfer*). De Smet's own statement does not bear this out. CR, *De Smet*, 2: 582.

⁴ *Idem*, 1: 307.

⁵ *Idem*, 1: 343. Cf. Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 46, for comments on De Smet's naming of rivers.

⁶ *Idem*, 1: 345, 347.

⁷ *Idem*, 2: 463. In the northern part of Spokane County and now known as Blake's Lake. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 8: 287.

ordinarily accompanies an earthquake.”⁸ Finally, the present Priest Lake, which discharges by Priest River into Clark’s Fork, was called by De Smet at least as early as 1846 Lake Roothaan as a tribute to the General of the Society of Jesus.⁹ A curious instance of his inventiveness in the matter of geographical names occurs in a passage from a journal:

On the 2nd of November [1844] we reached the Spokane River, coming from the southeast. I have made a map of the headwaters of this interesting river. I have called the two streams hitherto unknown on the maps, which form the great Coeur d’Alène Lake, whence the Spokane River derives its waters, by the names of St. Ignatius and St. Joseph. They in turn are formed by a great number of branches, the four principal of which are known today by the names of the four Evangelists; and the various mountain streams which form these last bear the names of all the Catholic hierarchy of the United States. I have moreover counted forty-eight little lakes, lying at the base of the mountains, which are named after venerables of the company of Jesus. The mission of the Sacred Heart lies nearly in the centre of this system. The head of this river therefore forms a fine Catholic group—may the inhabitants of this region be worthy of the fair names which environ them.¹⁰

Of the Oregon place-names originated by the versatile De Smet only a few survive in present-day geography. Such are the St. Joseph River, one of the feeders of Coeur d’Alène Lake, St. Francis Borgia River as an alternative for the Lolo Fork, and Lake Roothaan and Black-gown River in the substituted forms of Priest Lake and Priest River. That practically all of the names in his published maps having Catholic associations have become obsolete is to be explained partly by the circumstances that they naturally made no appeal to the non-Catholic stock that later settled the country, partly to the circumstances that they never at any time gained currency or publicity in Oregon

⁸ *Idem*, 2: 457. “Encamped $\frac{1}{2}$ mile above outlet of Lake De Boey.” Suckley’s Report, 1853.

⁹ *Idem*, 2: 550. Dr. Suckley of the Stevens expedition, while on a reconnaissance canoe trip from Fort Owen to Fort Vancouver, 1853, was in the neighborhood of Lake Roothaan, which he thus describes (U. S. 33d Congr. 1st Session House Doc. 129, p. 276): “I learn that about thirty-five miles to the north there is a beautiful sheet of water called Lake Roothaan. It is about the same size as Lake Kalispem and, like it, beautifully clear and surrounded by lofty mountains, but surpasses the latter in beauty by the great number of small islands it contains. The outlet of the lake enters Clark’s River about five miles above the falls.”

¹⁰ *Idem*, 2: 456. Additional names bestowed by De Smet included the “Plain of Prayer” on the borders of Lake Okinagan, where he evangelized the Okinagan in 1842 (CR, *De Smet*, 1: 383) and “St. Mary’s lake” between St. Ignatius and Fort Benton (*Idem*, 2: 772).

itself and were generally unknown outside the pages of Father De Smet's books.

As to De Smet's own name, attempts to give it a place in the geography of the Northwest are on record.¹¹ Two such instances, it so happens, belong to localities outside the limits of the Oregon country. On going down in the spring of 1842 from the mountains to Fort Vancouver De Smet evangelized a small band of Shuyelpi or Kettle Falls Indians on the shore of a small lake in northern Washington called by him SkaramEEP. "In memory of my visit they gave the name of Leêeyou Pierre (Father Peter) to an immense rocky mountain, which dominates the whole region."¹² Three years later in the course of his adventurous trip to the Canadian Rockies, he did some effective work among a group of Iroquois Indians as he tells in a letter indorsed "Foot of the Great Glacier, at the source of the Athabasca." "As the time approached at which I was to leave my new children in Christ, they earnestly beg leave to honor me before my departure with a little ceremony to prove their attachment and that their children might always remember him who had just put them in the way of life. Each one discharged his musket in the direction of the highest mountain, a large rock jutting out in the form of a sugar loaf and with three loud hurrahs gave it my name. This mountain is more than 14,000 feet high and is covered with perpetual snow."¹³ Mount De Smet or Roche De Smet, highest peak of the De Smet range, is six miles west of the site of Jasper House or Fort Jasper, which was on the Athabasca, where it emerges from the Rockies.¹⁴ This location is in the present Canadian province of Alberta. Lake De Smet in Johnson County, Wyoming, was so named by the members of the party who accompanied De Smet in 1851 to the Great Council: "We arrived quite unexpectedly on the border of a lovely little lake about six miles long and my travelling companions gave it my name."¹⁵

¹¹ Three places, all in the Pacific Northwest, are named for De Smet; one in Kingsbury County, South Dakota, on the Northwestern R.R.; one in Ravalli County, Montana, on the Northern Pacific R.R.; and one in Benewah County, Idaho.

¹² CR, *De Smet*, 1: 382.

¹³ *Idem*, 2: 538. M. B. Williams, *Jasper National Park* (Ottawa, 1928), p. 150, gives the height of "Roche de Smet" as 8,330 ft.

¹⁴ Hughes, *Father Lacombe, the Black-Robe Voyageur*, p. 67. Cross River in Alberta preserves the memory of the "Cross of Peace" erected by De Smet in September, 1845. CR, *De Smet*, 2: 504.

¹⁵ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 668. "Some two hundred miles to the Northwest of Scott's Bluff is an extinct crater of a volcano and the basin has filled with the clean sweet water of the Big Horn Mountains. The lake, fed by everlasting springs, is named Lake De Smet." Shumway, *History of Western Nebraska and*

§ 2. FINANCING THE MISSIONS

In their earliest years the Rocky Mountain Missions, as the creation of the Jesuit administrative unit centered at St. Louis, looked principally to the latter for the material means necessary to keep them economically afloat. The travelling and living expenses of the missionaries had to be paid, residences and chapels built and furnished, farm implements procured, hired help engaged and other necessary expenses incurred. These expenses had to be met out of the funds gathered for the purpose by Jesuit superiors and especially by De Smet himself, who, to instance only one of his soliciting ventures, collected about two thousand dollars in New Orleans and other American cities before starting out for the mountains with his pioneer party of 1841.¹⁶

The Association of the Propagation of the Faith, which furnished aid through the Father General, proved to be the main material support of the missions. In both 1844 and 1845 the sum of forty thousand francs (eight thousand dollars) was appropriated to the Oregon Missions from this source. With the outbreak in continental Europe of the revolutionary troubles of 1847 and 1848 the Propagation subsidies began to diminish. In 1848 Father Roothaan was able to assign to the Rocky Mountain Missions 32,549 francs of Propagation money, but in the following year the allocation did not go beyond twenty thousand. "I will always do what I can," Father Roothaan assured the superior of the missions, Father Joset, in August, 1845; "but it must be remembered that everything comes from alms; for the most part it is the widow's mite."¹⁷ It was soon found that the best plan for applying these grants to the Oregon Missions was to place the money on deposit in London with the procurator of the English Jesuit province, at this period Father George Jenkins. Most of the supplies for the missions were obtained on credit from the Hudson's Bay Company's posts in Oregon, especially Fort Vancouver, and the bills thus incurred were paid by the English procurator on behalf of the missions at the headquarters of the company in London. It was important of course that the Oregon procurator should not overdraw his account with the procurator in London, a thing which was sometimes done, as in 1848 and again in 1849 to the no small displeasure of Father Roothaan. Communication between the Oregon country and London by the ships of the Hudson's Bay Company was so much more satisfactory than the long and difficult overland communication with St. Louis by the Oregon

Its People (Lincoln, Neb., 1921), 2:23. "It is soon to be utilized for stowing the waters of Piney Fork to be used in irrigation." CR, *De Smet*, 2:668.

¹⁶ CR, *De Smet*, 1:274.

¹⁷ Roothaan à Joset, August 6, 1845. (AA).

Trail that Roothaan himself in 1844 or 1845 devised the above-mentioned arrangement with the Jesuit procurator in London. Moreover, at the same time he made the Oregon Missions financially independent of the vice-province of Missouri. With the removal of De Smet from the post of superior in 1846 the connection in Jesuit affairs between Oregon and St. Louis became still more remote.¹⁸

The difficulty at all times was to keep the mission expenditures within the modest limit of available resources. In 1848 the Hudson's Bay Company presented the Jesuit procurator in London with claims against Father Accolti six thousand dollars in excess of the actual deposit for the Oregon Missions.¹⁹ This excess sum the English procurator paid out of his own funds, being shortly after reimbursed by Father Roothaan out of the subsidies allowed him by the Association of the Propagation of the Faith. "I have several times written to you," the General explained to Joset in March, 1850, "that you ought to realize the difficulties in which we find ourselves just now, the Propagation of the Faith not being able to furnish as much as in preceding years in view of the agitation and topsy-turvy condition of things in Europe. It is necessary to understand that we have no funds for the missions except what comes from alms and these are neither guaranteed nor perpetual. I have done what I could and shall still do what I can. But the strictest economy is necessary and it is this point, as far as appearances indicate, which people fail to grasp."²⁰

The high cost of living in Oregon of the forties added much to the economic embarrassment of the missions. Particulars in this regard are frequent in Father Accolti's correspondence.²¹ For the supplies which as procurator it was his business to assemble and forward to the missions in the upper Columbia Valley, he was dependent mostly on the Hudson's Bay Company, which had a monopoly of merchandise and provisions in the Oregon country. The regional headquarters of the company was at Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the Columbia a few miles above the mouth of the Willamette. Here from 1824 to 1846 famous John McLoughlin, the Company's chief factor or "Governor," kept a sort of baronial court the while he maintained peace among the Indians, dispensed hospitality and the necessities of life to the arriving American immigrants and for the rest promoted within the

¹⁸ Elet in 1849 asked Father Roothaan where he was to send two hundred and fifty dollars, which he had received from a friend for the Rocky Mountain Missions.

¹⁹ For De Smet and Oregon mission funds, cf. *infra*, Chap. XXX, § 3. Elet à Roothaan, June 13, 1849. (AA).

²⁰ Roothaan à Joset, March 17, 1850. (AA).

²¹ Cf. *infra*, § 7.

limits of justice and humanity the interests of the great company of which he was the very efficient servant. His open profession of Catholicism after 1843 evoked the hostility of the bigoted element among the American settlers while the uninterrupted aid he had lent to the latter, often at considerable financial loss to himself, drew upon him the unfriendliness of the company and this in the end occasioned his resignation from its service. The story of his declining years, clouded by the ingratitude and injustice visited upon him by the very individuals he had befriended on their first arrival in the country, is a familiar chapter in the history of the Pacific Northwest. A later and more appreciative generation calls him "the Father of Oregon," and as such his name is secured a high place in history.²² "Of all the men," concludes Holman, his biographer, "whose lives and deeds are essential parts of the history of the Oregon Country, Dr. John McLoughlin stands supremely first—there is no second."²³

McLoughlin's relations with the Jesuit missionaries were cordial and letters of his are extant in which he expresses his satisfaction at seeing these bearers of the Gospel tidings enter the missionary field in Oregon. Of the Jesuits working in that field none perhaps came to have more intimate relations with him than Father Accolti. At the latter's first arrival in Oregon in 1844 it was the chief factor who gave him and his associates welcome at Fort Vancouver, where as also subsequently at Oregon City the two were often brought together in business dealings or private association. This is the picture we get of "the Father of Oregon" in a letter written by Accolti from Oregon City in November, 1852: "The old gentleman, Dr. McLoughlin, is always the same with his strong hearty vigorous herculean complexion; but he is too much ingulphed in his temporal business; too much indeed for an old man as he is with one foot on the slippery brink of the grave. From morning till evening he is continually involved in the mist of his grist-mill flour and never appears in public (Sunday excepted) but entirely aspersed with white powder from the head to the feet as an old country-miller."²⁴

²² McLoughlin's statue is in Statuary Hall, the Capitol, Washington.

²³ Frederick V. Holman, *Dr. John McLoughlin, Father of Oregon* (Cleveland, 1907), pp. 111-114. O'Hara, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

²⁴ Accolti to De Smet, November 20, 1852. (A). While friendly to the missionaries McLoughlin was by no means disposed to grant them favors to the prejudice of the company. Shortly before the factor left the company's service, which was early in 1846, Father Accolti wrote to him to inquire how many cattle were to be delivered at Fort Vancouver in return for the cattle obtained by Father De Smet in 1842 at Forts Colville and Walla Walla. He was answered that payment was to be made not in kind, but in cash, at the rate of fifteen dollars a head. As thirty-one head of cattle had been issued to Father De Smet, this

Father Accolti was hard put to it to procure supplies for the missions at reasonable rates. "The prices of articles of commerce," he informed De Smet in February, 1846, "are exorbitantly high. A pair of French shoes—\$5.00; a pair of water-boots—\$10.00; a blanket—\$6.00, etc. In proportion everything is dearer at the Falls [Oregon City]. And mark still another invention. The money of the Fort and of the Falls is at present all the same, i.e. American dollars. All the more important articles are now sold at the Falls and for most of them it is useless to have recourse to Fort Vancouver. The price of wheat at the Fort has fallen to 60 cents. Examine all these things and you will see a good deal of artifice about them. We must have patience."²⁵ At first the Hudson's Bay Company sold supplies to the Catholic missions at a discount, even as high as fifty per cent.²⁶ In February, 1845, Father Demers wrote from Oregon City to a friend that the company was then refusing all discount and selling on a hundred per cent basis. The reason for the change he imagined to be the company's desire to retaliate on De Smet for having the year before brought a party to Oregon on a chartered vessel, thus cutting into the company's transportation monopoly.²⁷ Whatever the reason for the new policy, the fact remained that supplies had now to be bought at the regular market rates. Accolti took the matter up both with McLoughlin and with the latter's successor at Fort Vancouver, Peter Skene Ogden; both declared that no relief was possible. Prices were fixed at the company's office in London and no discretion in demanding them was allowed to its agents abroad. Even McLoughlin himself could not obtain a reduction on goods he bought from the company to carry on a private business of his own in Oregon City. Accolti reports a conference which he had on the subject with McLoughlin sometime in 1846 after the latter had severed his connection with the corporation. The one-time factor suggested three plans by which the Jesuit missions in Oregon could better their economic position. One was for them to combine with the "Catholic Mission," as the establishments of Blanchet

with accrued interest at six per cent made a bill against Father Accolti of \$514.50. McLoughlin explained that he could not do otherwise in his regard, as such was the established practice of the company and he gave "thirty-six other reasons suggested to him by a merchant's dialectics." Accolti à De Smet, February 1, 1846. (A).

²⁵ Accolti à De Smet, February 1, 1846. (A).

²⁶ Demers à Cazeau, February 21, 1845. Quebec Archd. Arch.

²⁷ *Idem.* Though Father De Smet in his published letters speaks of the numerous courtesies of the Hudson's Bay Company to the missionaries, the latter did not commend all features of the company's policy, especially in its treatment of the Indians. Cf. A. G. Morice, O.M.I., *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, formerly New Caledonia* (Toronto, 1904), p. 99 *et seq.*

and Demers in lower Oregon where known, and buy their supplies in common. If the joint purchases of the combined missions amounted to five or six thousand dollars a year, the company, so McLoughlin surmised, would be ready to offer discounts. Another plan was to buy mission-supplies in Europe and have them shipped to Oregon in the company's boats at the usual rate of five pounds a ton. The third and most promising plan of all, it seemed to McLoughlin, was for the Jesuit procurator in Oregon to buy supplies for five or six years in Europe and have them transported to Oregon in a specially chartered vessel.²⁸ None of these devices, as far as known, were resorted to by the missionaries.

With the discovery of gold in 1848 the prices of commodities in Oregon soared higher than ever. But however extreme the prices charged by the Hudson's Bay Company, there was, on the other hand, some compensation in the free transportation which it granted the missionaries. Not only did they travel in the Oregon country without charge in the company's barges but their supplies were carried by the same barges into the interior as far as Forts Walla Walla and Colville. Sometimes even horses and men for freighting the supplies from the forts to the missions were also furnished gratis, as was done for Father Joset by Fraser, the Colville commandant, in 1846. Both Jesuits and diocesan missionaries make frequent acknowledgment in their letters of the courtesies extended to them by the company's agents. Birnie at Fort George, McLoughlin at Vancouver, McKinlay and McBean at Walla Walla, Fraser and Lewes at Colville and Ermantinger at Fort Hall, meet with particular mention. "The attention shown Father Nobili in the trading-posts of New Caledonia is beyond all praise," De Smet wrote to Van de Velde in 1846. "Truly and deservedly has Commodore Wilkes stated, 'that the liberality and hospitality of all the gentlemen of the Honorable Hudson Bay Company are proverbial.' Indeed we experience this and participate of [in] it on all occasions."²⁹ This attitude of the company toward the missionaries was probably due in greater or less measure to the influence brought to bear upon its personnel by McLoughlin; but it was also, no doubt, motivated to a large extent by a desire on the part of the corporation in general to cultivate the good-will and confidence of its employees, a majority of whom were French-Canadians and therefore Catholics. At the same time, the friendly treatment accorded the Catholic missionaries in Oregon by the great fur-trading corporation gave ground for complaint on the part of the ultra-Protestants of the region and was gratuitously

²⁸ Accolti à De Smet, 1846. (A).

²⁹ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 552.

interpreted by them as recompense meted out to the missionaries for their alleged readiness to serve British as against American interests.³⁰

In January, 1851, Father Accolti was still in business relations with the Hudson's Bay Company. The total debt of the missions at this juncture was approximately five thousand dollars, all of which, it appears, was due the corporation. Accolti was drawing at this period on the company's office in San Francisco for \$741.88, which he engaged to repay at Oregon City with products of the St. Francis Xavier farm. He hoped to clear the entire debt within two years provided the Association of the Propagation of the Faith did not fail him.³¹ As a matter of fact subsidies from this quarter had been falling off and in 1849 only fifteen hundred dollars was placed by Father Roothaan to the credit of the Oregon Mission in London. This sum, as Accolti informed the General in a letter of 1850, which throws light on the economic struggles of the missions, was far from sufficient to meet their annual needs:

To get Indians to work you must pay them and pay them by clothing them from head to foot, and to clothe them you must absolutely buy what they need. A mission cannot keep up without horses. It is a capital of the first necessity. Without horses you cannot work or travel or transport the necessities of life. To procure horses you must buy them from the Indians by means of clothing, blankets, tobacco, etc. The two last winters, being very severe ones, carried off almost all the horses belonging to our mission. Formerly the Hudson's Bay Company would undertake to transport the mission freight as far as Walla Walla and Colville, that is, more than half the distance to the missions. But now, as barges are no longer going up to those posts, the Hudson's Bay Company can no longer help us. It is necessary, therefore, to come down every year with a large number of horses and for so many horses you have to employ a proportionate number of Indians, whom you must pay well, etc. For sustenance in the mountains you must have a stock of dried buffalo-meat and to procure this you must pay for it. All this computed and with all expenses and transportation charges counted in, Your Reverence will easily understand that this sum of \$1500 is disproportionate to the needs of the five missions especially at a time when everything is so enormously dear in Oregon as also in California. A distressing result of the discovery of the gold-mines, which places us in the falsest possible position before the world.

Father Joset has written to Your Paternity that some of the Residences might be able to support themselves by their products. Either he is deceived or the statement calls for some explanation. The products of the Residences

³⁰ "It increased the hostility of the latter [the Americans] toward the [Hudson's Bay] fur company and especially towards McLoughlin, to whose jealousy of them the Methodists attributed the action of the Company in allowing or, as they believed in inviting the Catholics to settle in the country." Bancroft, *Oregon*, I: 332.

³¹ Accolti à Roothaan, January, 1851. (AA).

in the mission-district might keep the [Jesuit] community as also the Indians in the employ of the Residences from starvation; this I willingly admit. But I cannot see how these products can procure clothes for our people and for the Indians who are working at every Residence. I cannot see how by means of these products you can purchase horses, make journeys, etc. In conclusion, to get these products you must pay the Indians and to pay them you must buy merchandise at Fort Van Couver and elsewhere and so, there we are. It's a circle from which there is no escape.

Father Accolti then goes on to say that the Willamette farm was beginning to yield two thousand dollars a year; this, however, was when he had hands to work it. But now it was almost impossible to hire labor except for exorbitant wages. Farm-hands asked five or six dollars a day while even the Indians who came down to the Willamette to hire themselves out were given "a three-dollar wage." "Every one in Europe would take this to be an exaggeration but I say before our Lord that it is the pure truth."⁸² The mission finances, however, quickly improved and within a few years of Accolti's statement to the General the Rocky Mountain residences were out of debt or at least well provided for. In 1858 Father Congiato assured the General, Father Beckx, that beginning with 1854 the missions had been cared for even beyond their needs. Food was then abundant and wholesome and two thousand dollars was enough for the annual support of the missionaries.

For the St. Louisan of today the Pacific slope has none of the mystery that attaches to geographical remoteness. Railroad, telegraph, motor-car, aeroplane and radio have made an easy bridge over the spaces that lie between. But in the forties and fifties the Oregon country and California were romantically remote from Missouri. What Oregon meant in the popular mind is illustrated by the objection seriously urged at one time in Congress against its organization as a territory and state on the ground that its incredible distance from the East would make it impossible for it to be represented at Washington. Congressional sessions would have come and gone before the members from Oregon would have completed their journey of three thousand miles from the land of the setting-sun.⁸³ To the Jesuits in St. Louis the field where De Smet and his associates were plying their missionary tasks *ultra Montes Saxosos*, "beyond the Rocky Mountains," seemed as foreign and far-away as India and China seem to most Americans today. This impression was especially borne out by the almost in-

⁸² Accolti à Roothaan, March 28, 1850. (A).

⁸³ For the crude ideas about Oregon prevalent at the time cf. Bancroft, *Oregon*, I: 355 *et seq.*

credible delay in mail-communication between the Rocky Mountain region and Missouri. Six months after the departure from St. Louis of Father De Smet's party of 1841 their fellow-Jesuits were in suspense as to their safety. "I heard yesterday," Verhaegen hastened to inform the General, August 22 of that year, "that the party Ours started off with was captured and massacred by the Indians and that the priests also perished. To me the rumor seems to be quite unfounded." Two days later he wrote again to Father Roothaan: "We have not learned yet whether they arrived safe and sound and I cannot say when we shall receive the good news. We are daily praying for those zealous men and we trust our prayer will be heard." "I make mention again," said Father Van Assche to the General in 1844, "of the great difficulty, rather should I say of the impossibility of communication. It ordinarily requires two years to get an answer, very often three or four years and there is no regular and certain communication. So far we have heard nothing of Father De Vos; perhaps we shall hear this year, perhaps next year, we simply do not know."⁸⁴ De Vos had left St. Louis in April, 1843. Van Assche's letter is dated July 24, 1844. In September, 1845, De Vos was still unheard from, as Van de Velde anxiously informed the General: "Not a single one of the travelers who started out for the Columbia River these last two years has returned," which was perhaps an overstatement. However, in 1844 Van de Velde informed Roothaan that the following year would see a new mail-service to the Far West, making possible an exchange of letters between the national capital and Oregon in six months.⁸⁵ Previous to this time there was no regular government mail-service putting the remote western country in touch with the East. One simply entrusted his letters to some reliable trader or emigrant or other individual travelling in the desired direction. This is illustrated by the case of a Cincinnati who arrived at the Willamette early in 1846 or probably toward the end of the preceding year. He carried with him a packet of letters, many of them addressed by the Notre Dame nuns of Cincinnati to their sister-nuns of the Willamette, while others were for Father Joset. "He would rather have lost \$500 than a single one of these letters," he assured Accolti.⁸⁶

Correspondence with the Father General in Rome was on the whole more expeditious than with superiors in St. Louis. European mail sometimes came by way of Canada, more often by ships that made the long journey around the Horn and put in at Fort Vancouver. The missionaries' letters make frequent mention of their anxiously awaiting the

⁸⁴ Van Assche ad Roothaan, July 24, 1844. (AA).

⁸⁵ Van de Velde ad Roothaan, September 6, 1845; January 17, 1844. (AA).

⁸⁶ Accolti à De Smet, February 9, 1846. (A).

arrival of the European post at the fort. As an instance of the time required for mail from Rome, Father Mengarini at St. Mary's in what is now western Montana received on July 17, 1847, a letter from the General dated August 31, 1846. Another letter from the General of date August 8, 1845, was received July 5, 1847, almost two years later. The General's appointment of Father Accolti as superior of the missions reached the latter in San Francisco a year later; so also the General's permission to Father Point to go to Canada was a year on the way. In March, 1850, Roothaan wrote to Joset: "I have finally received here in Rome your letters of March 12 and 18, 1848, that is, a year and a half [two years] late. And now I see you have not received my letters written while I was in France and sent by different routes, sometimes in duplicate. It is distressing."⁸⁷ Little wonder that Father Roothaan advised Joset that he would have to get along largely without counsel from Rome. "How hard it is," comments the General, "at such a distance and with such delays in the mail to settle everything from here! Rather it is impossible. So let your Reverence act in my place and with the discretion customary with you in the past."⁸⁸ Even between the Oregon stations mail was an exceedingly slow affair. Father Joset, writing from St. Ignatius in 1849, let the General know what a problem it was for him to keep in touch with his subordinates:

Communication with our men is very rare. From Superiors, as is obvious, we hardly get an answer in eighteen months. Even with resident members of the Mission correspondence is very slow. With Father Accolti or the Willamette Residence a two-way delivery of letters is possible only twice a year; with New Caledonia, the same; with St. Mary's mission, three or four times a year by hired carriers, such as can scarcely be secured at the Wallamet or in New Caledonia except for very high wages. As a result the Superior is deprived of the advice not only of his mediate subjects, but even of consultants.⁸⁹

§ 3. AID FROM ST. LOUIS

The Rocky Mountain Missions were withdrawn by Father Roothaan from the jurisdiction of the St. Louis Jesuits in 1852. From the time they thus passed out of the hands of the latter they could not regularly rely upon them for necessary aid in personnel and financial support. Yet Father De Smet, though standing no longer in any official relation to these missionary centers which he had set on foot, never to his last day lost interest in them and, what is more, never ceased lending them help by whatever means he could command. The sup-

⁸⁷ Roothaan à Joset, March 17, 1850. (AA).

⁸⁸ Roothaan à Joset, February 15, 1847. (AA).

⁸⁹ Joset ad Roothaan, February 5, 1849. (AA).

plies of various kinds for the Jesuit Indian missions on either slope of the Rockies were shipped during the sixties from St. Louis. The itemized orders were sent by the superiors of the missions to De Smet, who made the purchases and saw them packed and safely placed on board some upstream Missouri River steamer or else personally accompanied the cargo. The bills for the purchases thus made were either charged against the missions or else were met by De Smet out of the funds gathered by him in Europe and America on behalf of the Indians. Often the articles ordered by the missions were begged by him from St. Louis merchants while his wide acquaintance with steamboat officials generally enabled him to ship the cargoes free of charge.

De Smet's resourcefulness in thus getting together and forwarding at greatly reduced costs large consignments of mission-supplies to the remote Rocky Mountain region is often instanced in his correspondence. "I next thank your Reverence," he wrote on one occasion to Father Thomas O'Neil, rector of the Bardstown college, "for your charitable contribution to the R[ocky] M[ountain] Missions. I succeeded in forwarding to F[ather] Hoecken a large amount of goods, contained in about 40 boxes, 24 bags and bales, bundles of spades, hoes, shovels, axes and handles, cross cut saws and whip saws, four ploughs, etc.—with a large trunk of chasubles, albs, etc. I hope I shall be able to pay the whole from charitable contributions—the amount may come to near \$1300."⁴⁰ Father Adrian Hoecken, to whom this consignment was directed, was superior at the time of the Blackfoot Mission on the Sun River near Fort Shaw. In reference to this same consignment De Smet wrote May 7, 1860, to Father Congiato, superior of the California and Rocky Mountain Missions. "The full value of the goods forwarded to Fort Benton may be fairly put down at Fourteen Hundred Dollars (\$1400). . . . I purchased a good ways above the alms I received. However, perceiving from your last letter of the 5th April that your purse is low in San Francisco, I shall try my best not to draw on you in California—and in that case the \$1400 or rather \$1265 (the \$135 subtracted) are pure alms and gifts. I beg your Reverence to take it in consideration—in the endeavor I have made to obtain alms. I included all the Missions."⁴¹ A letter of De Smet's to Father Hoecken, also in

⁴⁰ De Smet to O'Neil, May, 1860. (A).

⁴¹ De Smet to Congiato, May 7, 1860. (AA). "I wrote to you that Father De Smet would soon start for the Indian tribes who live along the Missouri river and are destitute of all spiritual aid. His departure was delayed for several reasons and fortunately so, as four days before he took ship came hunters and traders from the Rocky Mountains with a letter for him from Fathers Giorda and Menetrey, who asked for a number of things which they badly needed. It was thought advisable to make a loan immediately of 1500 dollars and purchase nearly everything, the more so as Father De Smet was allowed to take the things along with

reference to the above-mentioned shipment, reveals the pains he was at to be of service to the missionaries:

Very Reverend F. Provincial received your two letters and lists. I can appreciate your motives in not sending me a line. I let it pass. It will not hinder me in the least in rendering you all the service I can towards promoting the good cause and welfare of the poor benighted Indian tribes. Before your 1st letter and list arrived I had been advised by F. Marasci [Maraschi] from San Francisco not to send provisions or anything else from St. Louis to the Mountains. At the receipt of your list I forwarded a copy of it, the same day, to California to Rev. F. Congiato. The steamer being announced to leave by the 1st of May, no time was to be lost [sic] and I had not a cent to rely upon. I set out immediately on a begging expedition and obtained between seven and eight hundred dollars. I next visited Mr. Ch[arles] Chouteau, the proprietor of the boat, and obtained from that charitable gentleman permission to place the weight of three tons (6000 lbs.) in goods on board of his steamer. List in hand, during eight days I begged and purchased goods, storing them all the while in the ware-house of a friend—when the boxes had accumulated to about forty in number and the bags and bales to 24, with four ploughs, two barrels of pork and one barrell vinegar, I had the objects weighed and to my great astonishment they overreached 7000 lbs., leaving me 1000 lbs. over my allowance or permit of Mr. Chouteau. This necessarily put a stop to my begging.⁴²

In such practical ways was De Smet keeping in touch with the mission-posts he had set up in the Rockies in his younger days. His services in this regard were freely and gratefully acknowledged by the superiors who were there continuing his work. Father Congiato wrote to De Smet in 1860: "May God continue to bless that noble Province [of Missouri] and your Reverence above all, who are and have always been the best friend and the greatest benefactor that our Missions of the Rocky Mountains had, have and will ever have." "He [Father Giorda] thanks me," said Father Coosemans in 1863, "for having allowed Father De Smet to do everything for the Indians, adding that he does not know how these missions could get along with-

him without charge. He will himself deliver them to the Fathers' hired men, who are to be sent with wagons to Fort Benton, 3000 miles away. The good Father added, out of money given to him by friends, merchandise to the value of 500 dollars and more, which of course he gave by way of a gift to the missionaries. A good-sized room was fitted up for him on the boat so that Mass could be said every day." Murphy ad Beckx, May 28, 1862. (AA).

⁴² De Smet to A. Hoecken, May 3, 1860. (A). Cf. also De Smet to Hoecken, March 6, 1863, in CR, *De Smet*, 4:1512. "I brought the Fathers about seventy boxes, bags and barrels, several plows, a wagon and an ambulance, all free of charge. This included at least \$1000 over and above their allowance which I had scraped together."

out his assistance.”⁴³ The following year Giorda, noting in a letter to Father Beckx what he thought to be certain oddities on the part of De Smet, averred: “All things taken together we cannot but be grateful to Father De Smet for his good will and benefactions toward these missions.”⁴⁴

In 1866 the question was raised by Father Giorda whether the sums spent by Father De Smet on the Rocky Mountain Missions did not really belong to them from the beginning, inasmuch as they had been largely contributed for this particular object. They were, therefore, not to be regarded as merely personal largesses, so to speak, on the part of De Smet. “I should like to know (if I be not too presumptuous) to what extent we can draw upon the said Father and upon his purse. For I have never been able to find out whether Father De Smet’s money belongs to the Missouri Province, or to Oregon or to the Father General.”⁴⁵ Father Razzini, Visitor in California in 1873, was told by Father De Smet himself that large sums were collected by him in Europe, especially in Belgium, for the Rocky Mountains and, so said De Smet, “I am in agreement with Reverend Father Provincial to send supplies and assist this Mission at all times, as I have done and shall continue to do.” Father De Jonghe, superior of the Jesuit residence of Ghent, assured Razzini that he had himself turned over to De Smet many thousands of francs collected in that city “solely for the Rocky Mountains.”⁴⁶ With regard to monies collected in Europe and America by De Smet for the Indian missions, there is nothing to indicate that they were contributed by the donors exclusively in favor of the Rocky Mountain Missions. He had missionary schemes of his own to promote, e.g. the Sioux mission, which was actually attempted in 1871. Whatever funds were gathered by him specifically for the Rocky Mountain Missions were without doubt applied in that direction. The significant thing is that De Smet interested himself to the end in such effective ways in these early creations of his apostolic zeal though he was under no obligation to do so, seeing they had passed to a provincial jurisdiction (Turin) of the Society other than his own.

The manner in which supplies for the Rocky Mountain Missions were forwarded from St. Louis discloses some interesting facts. These supplies in many if not in most instances were carried gratis in the boats of the American Fur Company as were the missionaries them-

⁴³ Congiato to De Smet, January 30, 1860. (A). Coosemans à Beckx, November 18, 1863. (AA).

⁴⁴ Giorda à Beckx, May 5, 1864. (AA).

⁴⁵ Giorda à Beckx, February 6, 1866. (AA).

⁴⁶ Razzini à Beckx, 1873. (AA).

selves.⁴⁷ The persons chiefly instrumental in securing this service to the missionaries were Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and his son, Charles P. Chouteau of St. Louis, the latter of whom made it a life-long subject of pride that he was the first student to register in St. Louis College after it passed into Jesuit hands. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., had won distinction as the premier merchant of St. Louis, being for years head of the American Fur Company, which controlled for a considerable period the entire fur trade of the Northwest. His son after him was identified with the business and for a while was captain of one of the company's boats, the *Spread Eagle*, on which De Smet was more than once a passenger. In April, 1861, Father Adrian Hoecken, while on a furlough at Santa Clara College in California, submitted to the Visitor, Father Sopranis, an itemized statement of some of the services rendered to the missions by the American Fur Company, "especially through Charles P. Chouteau and Mr. A. Dawson, a Scotch Protestant at Fort Benton." Freight to the amount of six thousand pounds had been transported gratis from St. Louis to Fort Benton, head of navigation on the Missouri River, a distance of some twenty-five hundred miles. For this long haul the government was paying at this time a charge of ten cents a pound. Moreover, the company had furnished, also without charge, men, wagons and horses to transfer the freight to the mission, presumably St. Ignatius, a distance of three hundred and fifty miles, the operation taking thirty-six days. Again, the company had on other occasions placed its men and wagons at the service of the missionaries, besides presenting them at intervals with acceptable gifts, as flour, dried meat and, in one instance, "60 buffalo tongues." Assuming apparently that Mr. Chouteau would receive due attention from the Jesuits of St. Louis, Hoecken asked his superior to send Mr. Dawson a book or other gifts in appreciation of the kindness showed by the company.⁴⁸ Without impugning in any manner the company's motives in following the policy it did, it is permissible to recall that even from the standpoint of mere business the latter was probably receiving from the missionaries services of more value than those which it rendered them. The pacifying influence of

⁴⁷ As early as 1847 Father Point descending the Missouri in an American Fur Company boat was given transportation gratis. "What I must not qualify or delay [to express] is my thanks for the personal services rendered to me at Fort Lewis and for the happy influence which the very name of Mr. Pierre Chouteau exercises over all parties even the most unfriendly. The exceedingly sympathetic attitude of these gentlemen [of the American Fur Company] towards our work has been a source of consolation to me especially at the end of my steamboat trip; they would not have the Captain accept anything for my passage." Point à De Smet, June, 1847. (A).

⁴⁸ Hoecken to Sopranis, April, 1861. (AA).

the missionaries on the Indian tribes helped greatly to promote the conditions which made the fur-trade possible.

The courtesies extended by Charles P. Chouteau to the missionaries were especially appreciated. In May, 1862, De Smet was a passenger all the way from St. Louis to Fort Benton on an American Fur Company boat, the *Spread Eagle*. "The respectable and worthy captain, Mr. Charles P. Chouteau had had a little chapel prepared on board—I had the great consolation of offering the holy sacrifice every day during my long voyage."⁴⁹ Informing a correspondent that a cargo of goods for the Rocky Mountain Missions sent from St. Louis had reached its destination, De Smet wrote in 1863: "I have since learned that the Reverend Fathers have received the provisions, clothing, church vestments, tools, etc., intended to supply the different missions. My little cargo amounted in all to nearly 1500 pounds. The worthy captain of the steamboat, Mr. Charles Chouteau, was so exceedingly obliging and charitable as to give me a free passage, together with the two brothers, as well as transportation for our baggage and all the things destined for the Missions—a charity on his part which would otherwise have cost us upward of \$1,000. We shall pray and venture to hope that heaven will reward him with all his respectable family for his great goodness and charity to the missionaries and their missions. This good work he repeats with pleasure every spring and at each departure for the mountains."⁵⁰

On his voyage of 1864 to the upper Missouri De Smet met with a similar attention. "As on former occasions Mr. Charles Chouteau received me on board his boat with his habitual kindness and cordiality. He gave me the quietest and most commodious stateroom and at once had an altar prepared therein. Thanks to his charity I found myself installed as if at home in one of the Society's houses. I have the consolation of offering the holy sacrifice every day in a kind of antechamber contiguous to mine. A good number of Catholics can assemble here and they come every Sunday to assist at Mass and fulfill their religious duties."⁵¹

In 1863 the American Fur Company, or, as it was sometimes styled by De Smet, the "Honorable St. Louis Fur Company," withdrew from a business which had begun to be unprofitable owing to the gradual disappearance of fur-bearing animals in the Northwest. "Mr. Charles Chouteau, the great benefactor of the Missions," De Smet wrote in August, 1865, "has sold out his whole concern in the trading-posts on the Missouri river, except at Fort Benton. He may even sell that post

⁴⁹ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 783.

⁵⁰ *Idem*, 3: 803.

⁵¹ *Idem*, 3: 819.

before long. This would bring a great contrariety [*sic*] in regard to the upper missions, as freight on all the goods might be exacted, which would make a considerable amount. However, let us hope in kind Providence. Should Chouteau cease running on the Missouri, some other kind friend might step in his footsteps.”⁵²

The “kind friend” whom De Smet hoped to be able to rely on after the passing of the Chouteaus seems to have made his appearance in the person of Captain Joseph La Barge (1815-1899). Between him and the missionary there was not merely friendship but intimacy. Probably no one among the lay acquaintances of the missionary was closer to him in his latter years than this well-known Missouri River captain. It was on La Barge’s boat, the *St. Ange*, that De Smet made his tragic upriver voyage in 1851 which witnessed the death by cholera of his companion, Father Christian Hoecken; and it was in order to bless La Barge’s newly launched steamer, the *De Smet*, that the veteran missionary pioneer of the frontier made his last public appearance, May 13, 1873, only ten days before his death. When De Smet was in Europe in 1869 Father Keller wrote to him from St. Louis: “Father [Thomas] O’Neil still has charge of your books and affairs—but nothing has been done in regard to the Rocky Mt. Missions—no goods bought yet. We shall see Capt. La Barge next week and try to get them to take some freight up free. If we succeed in this, we shall send up a part of this list. If not, we may send nothing as they say they would rather purchase up there than pay full freight on goods from St. Louis.”⁵³ At Captain La Barge’s funeral from the Jesuit Church of St. Francis Xavier in St. Louis, April 6, 1899, Father Walter Hill paid tribute to the generous and important services rendered by this Missouri River celebrity to the Jesuit missionaries of his day.⁵⁴

§ 4. MINISTRY AMONG THE WHITES

The Jesuit ministry in Oregon was not expended merely on the Indians; it reached out also, though on a smaller scale, to the whites. It was primarily indeed on behalf of the Indians that the Society of Jesus had entered the Oregon field; but circumstances modified to an extent the Society’s program and made it share in the ministerial care of the pioneer Catholic white population of the country. Father Blanchet had appealed to De Smet on his first arrival at the Bitter Root in 1841 to make the valley of the Willamette in lower Oregon the

⁵² *Idem*, 3: 836.

⁵³ Keller to De Smet, March 24, 1869. (A).

⁵⁴ Hiram M. Chittenden, *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri Run; Life and Adventures of Joseph La Barge* (New York, 1903), 2: 440.

principal field of his operations. He spoke enthusiastically of the prospects of the Church in that region and of the need there for "a convent, college and schools." In the event the first decade of Jesuit activity in Oregon did include a measure of apostolic work among the whites of the lower Columbia region; but it was temporary and provisional in character and after the mid-fifties there were no Jesuit priests at all in that quarter until their reappearance many decades later. Father De Vos, after some months spent with the Flatheads, had been put by De Smet in the fall of 1844 at the head of St. Francis Xavier's residence in St. Paul, the contemplated headquarters for all the Jesuit missions in the Pacific Northwest. "Reverend Father De Vos," Father Blanchet informed the Bishop of Quebec in November, 1843, "has been invited by Dr. McLoughlin to come down and make the torch of the faith flame amid the nations that surround the white population."⁵⁵ Later he wrote again to Quebec: "Father De Vos, who is spending the winter among the Flatheads, proposes to come down next spring with his companion [Adrian Hoecken], whom he brought along from St. Louis. So we should do wrong to lose hope."⁵⁶ The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, brought over from Belgium by De Smet in 1844, opened an academy at St. Paul within a few weeks of their arrival, with thirteen children of the Canadian farmers of the district in attendance. Only a half league away from the Jesuit residence in St. Paul was the sisters' convent and academy, the chapel of which saw its first Mass October 17, 1844, Father De Vos being celebrant. On November 7 following the same father began a retreat of eight days for the sisters, the first occasion on which the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius were given to religious women in the Oregon country.⁵⁷ During Blanchet's absence from the vicariate, 1844-1847, Father Demers administered church affairs as vicar-general. Father De Vos was also at this juncture given the powers of vicar-general, a post from which he subsequently withdrew on instructions from De Smet. Father Roothaan himself expressed disapproval of the appointment, as it invested the incumbent with a measure of authority over the secular clergy and might easily lead to unpleasant complications.

Of the group of Jesuits in lower Oregon at this period, which included De Vos, Accolti, Nobili, Ravalli and Vercruysse, the first was the only one well enough acquainted with English to deal with the arriving emigrants from the states.⁵⁸ Accolti, besides working at Eng-

⁵⁵ Blanchet à ———, November 6, 1843. Quebec Archd. Arch.

⁵⁶ Blanchet à Signay, November 28, 1843, Quebec Archd. Arch.

⁵⁷ O'Hara, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁵⁸ One of the Oregon missionaries, apparently De Vos, wrote at this time to Father Roothaan: "The Italian Fathers are engaged [1844-1845] chiefly in study

lish, set himself to learn Spanish with a view to aiding the Spaniards and Mexicans who were coming up from California. As to De Vos, he was early in 1845 placed in charge of the parish in Oregon City, Father Accolti succeeding him as superior at St. Paul. Oregon City, laid out on Dr. McLoughlin's claim, was bidding fair to develop into the metropolis of Oregon. Its first Catholic church, St. John's, subsequently the cathedral, was blessed and opened to the public February 8, 1846.⁵⁹ Father De Vos acquitted himself of his new duties with enterprise and zeal. "The Archbishop lately gave me charge," he says, "of all the part to the [east ?] of the Willamette River that I might make excursions among the Irish and Americans who are colonizing this part." Among his converts from Protestantism were persons of distinction in contemporary Oregon life, including Dr. J. E. Long, secretary of the provisional government, and Peter H. Burnett, first chief-justice of Oregon and later first governor of California. Burnett had made acquaintance with De Vos in 1843 when the two found themselves together in the great emigration that went over the Oregon Trail in that year. "After an impartial and calm investigation," he writes in his *Recollections*, "I became convinced of the truth of the Catholic theory and went to Oregon City where I found the heroic and saintly Father De Vos, who had spent one or more years among the Flathead Indians. He received me into the Church."⁶⁰ Burnett later recorded his religious experiences in a carefully reasoned volume, *The Path which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church*.

Father De Vos's ministry was not confined to Oregon City. He made ministerial trips through the valley of the Willamette and even among the Indian tribes of the Columbia banks as far as the sea. A letter of his to Father Roothaan enters into details on this phase of his work:

Ever since I left the Residence of St. Francis Xavier to betake myself to the Falls [of the Willamette] and [afterwards] to its mouth, God has designed to bless my ministry. On St. Ignatius day I received the abjuration of the Secretary of the Provisional Government [Dr. Long] and of his wife. I baptized and remarried them the same day. Since their conversion their life is truly exemplary. At Fort Vancouver, where the Governor [McLoughlin], a convert from Protestantism of nearly three years ago, preaches by his example, I had the consolation to baptize seven adults, of whom six were

of the language of the country. Father Ravalli by his knowledge of medicine and exercise of the sacred ministry rendered great service to all the habitants in St. Paul's mission; for every dwelling-house had its sick." (AA).

⁵⁹ O'Hara, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁶⁰ *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 5:180. A new edition of Burnett's work, edited and abridged by Rev. James J. Sullivan, S.J., was published in St. Louis, 1909.

tschinoack [Chinook] Indians and one a Walla-Walla mixed blood, as also a good number of children.

Father Nobili had done a great deal of good in this place. He succeeded in bringing to the sacraments, with three or four exceptions, all the employees of the fort (most of them Canadians or Iroquois). The missionaries before him had failed. The memory and name of "the little father" will be long in benediction here and in all the neighborhood. All the persons he brought back to the right faith are persevering and continue to go to confession every month. At the beginning of October I went to the mouth of the river [Columbia] and as far as John and Baker Bay to visit there the tschinook and Hosops (these last had never seen a priest nor had any priest been in their lands before). These poor people are as wild as can be imagined. They received me kindly and gave me their children to baptize. On my way to and from the Tchinouck I visited all the Indians on both sides of the Columbia from Fort Vancouver to Fort George. All these Indians are very superstitious and corrupt. . . . Though nothing else were done except to baptize their children, the majority of whom die very young, a person would be amply repaid for his trouble.⁶¹

In a letter of 1847 to a St. Louis Jesuit, De Vos, while depreciating his own labors, made an appeal for co-workers in the now highly promising missionary field on the Pacific Coast:

Your Reverence will observe that your letter did not find me among my dear Mountain Indians, but in the heart of an American settlement. And what, you may ask, are my occupations among these good people. Scarcely any; though I think that if there had been but one zealous missionary, well acquainted with the English language, such as your Reverence, Fathers Verhaegen, Elet, Carrell, Aelen, etc., he would do wonders in this new country. Your Reverence knows that I am a very indifferent speaker and yet they come and listen to me with the greatest attention and seem to be pleased with the ill-spoken instruction which I gave them. Do, dear Father, send us two or three good missionaries filled with the spirit of our Holy Institute, well-versed in controversy and the English language, and regardless of the difficulties, dangers and contradictions which now and then they will have to encounter, regardless also of fever and rheumatism and above all indifferent to sunshine and rain—for in Lower Oregon we may say that it rains but once a year, from the end of October till the beginning of May.⁶²

In 1847 Father De Vos returned to the upper country to resume the career of an Indian missionary which he had hoped to pursue when he left St. Louis in 1843 for the West. A year among the Coeur d'Alènes was followed by three years among the Shuyelpi, of which

⁶¹ De Vos à Roothaan, November 7, 1845. (AA). Three variants for Chinook occur in this letter.

⁶² St. Louis *News Letter*, Oct. 22, 1847.

mission he was superior. But missionary life proved too severe a strain on him and in 1851, being fifty-four, he was called to California, where at Santa Clara College he passed away in 1859.⁶³

The fruitful apostolate of De Vos among the Americans was paralleled in many ways by Father Louis Vercruysse among the Canadians. The men of his flock, for the most part former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, were now engaged in farming. A superior of Vercruysse once characterized him as "brusque and irritable," but a thoroughly honest man withal, who gave no quarter to the failings of his congregation. He inveighed especially against the intemperance that was common among the Canadians of the Willamette. His sermons on the subject, Father Demers wrote to Quebec, "were enough to make the devil himself shudder." But on the whole the one-time voyageurs and trappers now engaged in the less romantic pursuit of tilling the soil showed themselves a distinctly decent and law abiding type of people. They were loyally devoted to the Church and its pastors and did not shrink from serious discomfort when it was a question of living up to their duties as church-members. This finds illustration in a letter addressed by Father Vercruysse in 1846 to a brother of his, a resident of Courtrai in Belgium. The locality in the Grand Prairie referred to in the letter was known as St. Louis and was distant only a few miles from St. Paul.⁶⁴

For the past four or five years the [Hudson's Bay] Company has allowed them to settle in the Willamette [Valley], where they marry Indians or mixed bloods. These families number now 150. Having neither seen nor heard of a priest during the entire term of their service, they live in utter disregard of their religious duties. Mgr. Blanchet lately began to make them the object of his particular attention. By agreement with Father De Smet, he has given me [1844] charge of a group of these people who occupy a tract seven or eight leagues in length by four or five in width called La Grande Prairie. They were without a church. I was told I should never succeed in this project; I answered that with God's help one may succeed in anything. Up to this these poor people have been coming, in winter as well as summer, to Mr. Blanchet's church, now our Cathedral, situated a half-league from Lake Ignace. This famous cathedral, 40 feet long, 30 broad and 22 high, open to every wind, is as miserable a looking shed as I ever saw. Now these good people find their way to church from a distance of two, three and even five miles around, mounted on horseback and with their wives and children riding behind. Rain, hail or snow, it makes no difference; they remain camping under the trees until Vespers. The sight has more than once moved me to pity; but then what a consolation to behold such fervor in men once

⁶³ Cf. *infra*, § 6.

⁶⁴ Bancroft, *Oregon*, 1:71, has a map of French Prairie. Cf. also O'Hara, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

utterly abandoned. One Sunday afternoon about half-past three o'clock I had them come together and discussed with them the question of a site for a new church. They all began to speak at once, each one wishing it near his own house. Realizing that I had not proceeded in the right way, I commanded silence and then told them they had best abide by my decision. To this they unanimously agreed. The following Sunday I pointed out to them the place I had chosen. Then I selected two Canadians, sensible men, who had considerable influence over the others, and mounting our horses we succeeded in two or three days in making the rounds of the Grande Prairie. We were given a pleasant and honorable reception on all sides and people eagerly agreed to the levy of timber and other things which I proposed.

Here then are the means at my disposal for building the church, which will be the largest and finest in the Willamette. One thing only will be lacking—a bell. May it not be possible to obtain one from Europe, perhaps even from Courtrai? If ever it come, I will call it Philomene. To enable my parishioners to hear it well, it ought to weigh from 350 to 400 pounds. Every time I hear it ring I will say to myself—lo! Courtrai is calling my good Canadians to come and hear the word of God. You will preach by your bell on top of the church while I on my part am preaching inside.⁶⁵

In the sequel disagreement on some or other ground developed between Father Vercruysse and his parishioners. The outcome was that he was relieved of his duties at St. Louis in the Willamette Valley and sent to the upper country where he labored for twelve or more years among the Canadians of Colville, as also among the Kalispel. He eventually returned to Belgium, his native country, and died there at Courtrai in 1867.

It is surprising at what an early date Catholics entered the educational field in Oregon. Even in the days of the vicariate-apostolic provision had been made for the education of the children of the Canadian settlers. The first Catholic school in the Pacific Northwest may be said to have been the one maintained at his own expense by Dr. John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver. Later, the liberality of Joseph Larocque, chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, who donated forty-eight hundred francs for the purpose, enabled Father Blanchet to erect a school for boys at St. Paul, which he dignified with the name of St. Joseph's College, in honor of its generous founder.⁶⁶ It opened its doors in the fall of 1843 under the direction of Father Langlois. On the first day thirty boys were registered as boarders, mixed bloods, most of them, and farmers' sons, except one Indian boy, the son of a chief. A year later the Sisters of Notre Dame opened an academy at St. Paul, which

⁶⁵ Vercruysse à M. son frère à Courtrai, November 10, 1844. Printed in Ghent. O'Hara, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁶⁶ O'Hara, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

was to provide effectively for the education of girls. The reenforcement of nuns under Sister Renilda which arrived in 1847 with Archbishop Blanchet enabled the sisters to open a school in Oregon City, which began classes September 12, 1848. It was so great a surprise to meet with well-conducted sisters' schools in such a wilderness as Oregon was in the forties that travellers of the day rarely failed to comment upon them. Thus Lieutenant Neil M. Howison, U.S.A., who was in the Willamette Valley in 1848: "The French missionaries, to wit, a bishop, a number of priests and seven nuns, are succeeding in their operations. They are amply furnished with money [?] and other means for accomplishing their purpose. They educate a number of young Indians, principally girls, and all the offspring of the Canadians. . . . They are strict Catholics and exercise unbounded influence on the pupils of the French settlements, who are improving in every way under their precepts. The mission derives its support from Europe and I was told that the Queen of France and her daughter, of Belgium, are liberal patronesses."⁶⁷ The British officers, Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, who went through the Oregon country in 1845, were present at the examinations of sixty school-children in St. Paul, "the sons and daughters of the Catholic half-breed population." They found the Methodist school-house twenty-five miles up the Willamette on the same side of the river, "in wretched repair," with few pupils in attendance and they regretted not being able to give as "prosperous [an] account of the Methodist missionaries as of the Roman Catholic Brethren."⁶⁸

As a matter of fact, the Catholics, though later on the scene than the Protestants, were succeeding so well in the educational field that they seemed in the eyes of the latter about to monopolize it. The Reverend Ezra Fisher, pioneer Baptist missionary, was greatly exercised over the prospect as appears from his correspondence. "The Romans are very industrious in attempting to occupy every important point with a school," he wrote in 1846. "I was credibly informed that a proposition was recently made by the priests to the proprietors of Portland, the highest point which merchants reach in the Willamette, to build a church and establish a permanent school in the place if the proprietors would give the site and pledge their attendance at the services of the

⁶⁷ *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 14: 44.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, 10: 52. M. Duflot de Mofras, attaché of the French legation in Mexico, visited Archbishop Blanchet at St. Paul and was received by him "as a compatriot and brother." He speaks of the Bishop's farm, "the produce of which is applied to the relief of widows and orphans and to the foundation of schools and workshops for adult apprentices." Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration du Territoire de L'Oregon, Des Californies et de la Mer Vermeille executé pendant les années, 1840, 1841 et 1843* (Paris, 1844), 2: 216.

Roman church [?]. . . . The influence of this sect is becoming stronger in this territory. I am informed by indubitable authority that there is not a place in the whole territory where the higher branches can be acquired except by a private teacher or in a Catholic school.”⁶⁹ News of the impending return in 1847 of Archbishop Blanchet from Europe with reinforcements was anything but agreeable to Mr. Fisher. “We are in daily expectation of the arrival of a vessel freighted with Roman missionaries, priests, teachers, nuns and missionary funds to the amount it is said of \$130,000, to be expended in Oregon. . . . Romans are sparing no pains to secure the influence and wealth of Oregon to their church; their priests are all Jesuits.”⁷⁰ The statement that the Catholic clergy of Oregon at this period were all Jesuits, is, of course, not in keeping with the facts. Though the initial Catholic successes did undoubtedly provoke a measure of unfriendly feeling towards the Catholic Church in Oregon in the period of pioneer settlement, not a little appreciation of the services it was rendering to the country was voiced even in Protestant quarters. Dr. Elijah White, who first went out to Oregon as a Baptist missionary and was later first United States Indian agent for the territory, said on the subject: “The Reverend Mr. Blanchette and associates, though zealous Catholics, are peaceable, industrious, indefatigable and successful in promoting religious knowledge among the Canadian population and aborigines of this country. Their enterprise in the erection of mills and other public works is very commendable and the general industry, good order and correct habits of that portion of the population under their charge is sufficient proof that their influence has been for good.”⁷¹

In view of the favorable impression which the Catholic schools were thus making even in non-Catholic circles, it is not surprising that the project was entertained of a Jesuit college, which, it was hoped, would meet with support from all classes of people. St. Joseph's College at St. Paul was in reality never more than an elementary school maintained with ever-increasing difficulty. In 1844 Father Langlois, its principal, petitioned the vicar-general for leave to spend the students' vacation-period with the Jesuits of the Flathead Mission with a view to engaging the services of two of the coadjutor-brothers of the mission

⁶⁹ *Correspondence of Ezra Fisher, Pioneer Missionary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Oregon* (n.d.), p. 181.

⁷⁰ *Idem*, p. 214. A tendency to call all Catholic priests Jesuits is not uncommon among the uninformed. Cf. Nixon, *How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon* (Chicago, 1895), p. 234. “That man was a French Jesuit priest by the name of J. B. A. Brouillet.” Brouillet was a diocesan priest, not a Jesuit.

⁷¹ A. J. Allen (ed.), *Ten Years in Oregon—Travels and Adventures of Dr. Elijah White and Lady West of the Rocky Mountains* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1850), p. 194.

as teachers in his school.⁷² This leave was refused by the vicar-general on the ground that Langlois's presence could not be spared and for the additional reason, a very good one, that Jesuit brothers would not be available as their rule did not permit them to live apart from the priests of the Society.⁷³

In May, 1849, the emigration of families from French Prairie in consequence of the discovery of gold in California was so considerable that the following month St. Joseph College was closed. It never afterwards resumed operations. Long before this, however, efforts had been made by Blanchet to have the Jesuits open a school of higher education in Oregon. In 1845 he personally appealed to Father Roothaan in the matter. Later, in July, 1849, on learning of the troubles the Society of Jesus was meeting with in revolutionary Europe, he again appealed to the Jesuit General for the immediate dispatch of fathers from Europe to establish a college as also new missions among Indians and whites.⁷⁴ Among the Oregon Jesuits themselves the question of a college met with divided opinion. Some of their number, as Father Gazzoli, took the stand that a college would be against the interests of the Indian missions; by others this was denied, especially by Father Accolti, who was the most vigorous supporter of the proposed college. "The establishment of the Sisters at the Falls [Oregon City]," he wrote to De Vos in March, 1849, "is going on wonderfully well. Every day they have applications for the admission of girls. The house (your old habitation) being too small, they are going to undertake a large building on the lots of Dr. McLoughlin, which have been recovered. The Archbishop doesn't like this, as he will thereby lose the music in his Cathedral and all the advantages which come from having them close by." His Grace was coming to reside permanently in Oregon City "in Pomeroy's house near the church." "If we only had an establishment in Oregon City we should do as much good ourselves with God's grace, for educational facilities are very rare and yet everybody desires them, those especially who know our colleges of St. Louis and Cincinnati." ⁷⁵ In March, 1850, Accolti suggested to the General that a beginning be made of a boarding-school at Oregon City, or else at St. Paul, where such step would have the advantage of securing title to the extensive property held there by the Jesuits.⁷⁶ All Oregon land-titles were still in doubt, but the law extended special protection to property held by educational institutions. In April and again in June of the same year

⁷² Blanchet à ———, July 5, 1844. Quebec Archd. Arch.

⁷³ O'Hara, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁷⁴ Blanchet à Roothaan, July 3, 1849. (AA).

⁷⁵ Accolti à De Vos, March 15, 1849. (AA).

⁷⁶ Accolti à Roothaan, March 28, 1850. (AA).

Accolti continued to urge the matter with the Father General. Dr. John McLoughlin had offered lots in Oregon City on condition that a boarding-school be opened in three years; for the sake of the Catholic cause the opportunity should not be let slip. The general sentiment in favor of a Jesuit college in lower Oregon is revealed in a letter addressed from San Francisco to Father Elet by Father Brouillet, vicar-general to the Bishop of Walla Walla:

As a member of the Oregon clergy and aware of the interest and ardent zeal which you have always shown in regard to the missions of this country, I address myself with confidence to you today on behalf of these same missions. Everybody is asking for a college here, Protestants as much and perhaps even more so than Catholics. The clergy, with the Most Rev. Archbishop at their head, realize the advantages and necessity of it. Repeated efforts have been made by his Grace to fill this void in this diocese but without success. Burdened with a crushing debt and having only the most meagre revenue, the Archbishop cannot himself make any pecuniary sacrifices for this object, and, furthermore, what clergy he has at his disposal do not suffice to meet the other very pressing needs of his diocese. He deplores the impossibility of procuring for his diocese so indispensable an institution and I have heard him many times express the desire that the Jesuit Fathers might take the work in hand as soon as possible. I know also that he has pleaded repeatedly with Father Accolti to bring him to favor without delay the fulfillment of this desire.

I know Oregon, I know its resources and conditions and I am convinced that the Jesuit Fathers would need only to put their hands to the work to find in a short time all the material resources required to build and support a college there on a respectable footing provided the necessary personnel is at hand. I can cite in support of my opinion the case of the Sisters of Notre Dame, who in less than 18 months have founded at Oregon City an establishment which fills everyone today with astonishment. But I believe that we must not lose time, for a certain number of Protestants are at work and wish to build a college. If they succeed and if their college can strike root before the Catholic one is ready to open its doors, there will be less encouragement to look for on the part of the Protestants, at least for the present.

For the greater glory of God and the good of souls I ask you then as a favor, Very Reverend Father, to be so good as to come without delay, by the establishment of a college, to the relief of the youth of Oregon, of whom you are at this moment the only hope. By doing so you will meet the ardent wishes of the Most Reverend Archbishop of Oregon, of the greater part of his clergy and above all, of him who has the honor to call himself with profound respect, etc.⁷⁷

Far away in distant St. Louis Father Elet, struggling painfully with the problem of undermanned colleges and under a formal order

⁷⁷ Brouillet à Elet, April 12, 1850. (AA).

from the Father General not even to consider any extension of the educational activities of his men, could not do otherwise than turn a deaf ear to the appeal from Oregon.

Soon, however, the prospects for education, Catholic and otherwise, in Oregon visibly declined. Emigration to California, the subsequent economic depression and other circumstances combined to make schools a less pressing necessity than they were felt to be in the preceding years. Archbishop Blanchet wrote to the Bishop of Quebec in April, 1849: "The Canadians and Americans are leaving the country to go to the Mine (*à la Mine*) [i.e. California]. Our people will be accompanied by a priest [Brouillet]. Farming operations are entirely suspended and it is probable that famine will make itself felt in Oregon. Our beautiful country has been stopped in its progress by the discovery of the Mine. It is going to fall into a decline for several years. There is strong talk of having slaves here. But there is nothing to hope for from slaves."⁷⁸ The Sisters of Notre Dame were forced in 1852 by these changed conditions to give up their school in St. Paul. The following year they withdrew from Oregon City also, going to California, where they laid at San José the foundations of an educational work that continues to this day. In 1849 Dr. John McLoughlin's claim, which included the site of Oregon City, was by the terms of the Oregon Donation Land Act appropriated by the Territory. The result of this measure was that no property could be sold in Oregon City, the growth of which was thereupon abruptly, and, as time proved, permanently stopped.

§ 5. THE FALL OF THE FLATHEAD MISSION

In view of the glowing accounts received from the beginning about the Flathead Indians and the initial successes that marked the mission set up on their behalf, their subsequent alienation from the fathers resulting in the closing of the mission was a matter to cause surprise. To Father Roothaan, who had been led to hope that a brilliant chapter of Jesuit missionary enterprise, similar to the one written by the sons of St. Ignatius in Paraguay, was about to be put on record in the fastnesses of the Rockies, the anti-climax was a keen disappointment as it was also a good deal of an enigma. In later years regret was expressed on occasion, as by Father Congiato in 1858, that the Flathead Mission had ever been abandoned. Yet those on whom the responsibility immediately rested sanctioned the measure and from their correspondence it appears that there were reasons enough to warrant it. Of these reasons the most decisive was the circumstance that the Indians had become so estranged from and even openly hostile to the missionaries that any

⁷⁸ Blanchet à ———, April 9, 1849. Quebec Archd. Arch.

prospect of effective work among them for the moment at least seemed entirely at an end.

Before leaving the mountains in 1846 De Smet solicited and obtained from Father Mengarini a candid statement regarding the dispositions of the Indians at this date:

Having been asked by Father De Smet for my opinion regarding the attitude of our Indians of the Rocky Mountains, I think before God I can say with certainty that to my knowledge most of the Flatheads and Pend' Oreilles preserve their baptismal innocence; that not only do they listen with eagerness to everything that concerns religion, but that they are forward to carry out every counsel given to them; that confession and communion are in general frequented by all in the most satisfactory manner; that among the Indians there are apostles who have drawn numerous families from other infidel nations and influenced them to receive instruction and baptism; that many who happen to live at a distance go as many as fifty and sixty miles several times a year to make their confession and communicate; that heroic acts are very frequent especially among young persons of sex. Solicited to evil by heathen strangers they answer that they renounced sin in receiving baptism. To give a proof of what I assert as regards their sincere attachment to religion, I will add that to have the happiness of participating in the sacraments and to hear the word of God, they often pass several days without anything to eat. I can also give assurance before God that what I have just related is only an abridgment of what one might say in their favor.⁷⁹

The first indications of a change of attitude on the part of the Flatheads appeared in the fall of 1846. On the return at this period of the Indians from their buffalo-hunt east of the Rockies, the missionaries realized with a shock that they had a different class of people to deal with. A letter of Father Ravalli's to the General gave this information:

In my letter before this one I wrote to your Paternity what deep consolation the Indians were giving us by their piety, their attachment to the missionaries and their unselfish labors for the new church and house. Things stood thus and we blessed the Lord for it and as we had let them go off on the hunt we were every day awaiting the moment when we could welcome them anew. But we were not a little astonished when on their approaching this reduction last fall, their camp, which was broken up in various bands, took different courses. Part of the Indians were unwilling or afraid to come up to their village, while the others on entering the village took up again their old-time barbarous yells, which had not been heard since we came among them. They gave a chilly salute to the missionaries and then drew off with their lodges far from the latter nor did they show themselves to see the priest except rarely and then only to smoke in his cabin. They sold

⁷⁹ Quoted in De Smet à Nobili, May 25, 1850. (AA).

us grudgingly a little dry meat and that of the worst quality. We heard a little later that on Father De Smet's departure from their hunting-camp to descend the Missouri they had given themselves up to their old war-dances, to savage obscenity and to shameless excesses of the flesh. In our amazement we did not fail to have recourse to fatherly rebuke, to exhortation, to prayer. We had placed them under the protection of the Blessed Virgin by distributing the scapular, we had held public prayers and established the Congregation of the *Refugium Peccatorum* of Paris. We knew that we were not to blame for such a change and we bewailed it all the more when we saw that they went on constantly getting worse.⁸⁰

Strangely enough, Father Ravalli reported that Father De Smet himself was the cause, however unwittingly, of the sudden change of front on the part of the Flatheads and this by holding out to them prospects and promises which he was unable to redeem. "From his first arrival in the Mountains he had beguiled them with promises and hopes of a village, animals, plows, etc. . . . We are expecting other distressing things to occur very soon by reason of the lavish promises which Father De Smet scattered about him everywhere in his last journey and which neither he nor others will be able to keep." The allusion here is to the Flathead buffalo-hunt of the fall of 1846, on which occasion De Smet and Point accompanied the Indians into the Blackfoot country, where, oddly enough, as is told elsewhere in this history, Flatheads and Blackfeet, mortal enemies before, joined forces in an attack on the Crows. The Flatheads, so Ravalli avers, were looking for presents of tobacco, which De Smet had assured them long before. The tobacco was withheld from them and was bestowed by De Smet on the Blackfeet, who, to make matters worse, now stole one hundred and twenty horses from the Flatheads; but the latter, through respect for Father Point, who was now residing among the Blackfeet, made no effort to recover their stolen property by force. "The savages," Ravalli comments, "do not reason subtly and from the particular go to the universal and say now openly that the blackrobes are like the other whites, that they are liars, and are in league with their enemies."

The charge that De Smet by promising the Indians things which later on could not be supplied had caused disaffection among them and so alienated them from the missionaries made an impression on Father Roothaan. "It seems, my dear Father," he wrote to De Smet, "that you have made gifts and promises to the Indians which it is impossible to continue or realize."⁸¹ Not only Ravalli but at a later date Joset wrote unfavorably of the system of gaining the good will of the Indians by

⁸⁰ Ravalli à Roothaan, June 29, 1847. (AA).

⁸¹ Roothaan à De Smet, April 14, 1851. (AA).

liberal assurances of services to be rendered to them in the future. That De Smet in the exuberance of a generous and large-hearted temper went on occasion beyond the bounds of prudence in the pledges he made to the Indians is likely enough. To the Blackfeet when he met them in the fall of 1846, he promised a resident missionary and all the advantages of a so-called reduction, none of which he was able subsequently to supply. Other instances of similar import might be cited. On the other hand, the fact remains that De Smet always managed to retain the good-will and even affection of the Indian and that in an unusual degree nor is there any instance on record, apart from the alleged one in connection with the Flatheads, where an Indian tribe is said to have been provoked to ill-humor by De Smet's failure to live up to his engagements. As to the particular case of the Flatheads there are reasons for believing that Father Ravalli was misinformed when reporting its circumstances to the Father General. As a matter of fact De Smet's journal records that they withdrew from him in the Blackfeet country in the fall of 1846 with the best of feeling and gave no indication of resentment against the alleged shabby treatment they had received at his hands. "[September] 11 [1846]. Farewell to the Flatheads. All came to shake hands with us, the grief of their hearts was depicted in their countenances; we all perceived how deeply they felt the separation. A great number of their cavaliers accompany us for a considerable distance; six go as far as our encampment, not less than twenty-five miles."⁸² It is further to be noted that, whatever may have been the disaffection among the Flatheads occasioned by Father De Smet, it was apparently not lasting and is not again cited in the correspondence of the period as having had anything to do with the closing of St. Mary's Mission.

Though the Flatheads had returned from the buffalo hunt of the fall of 1846 strangely altered in their attitude towards the missionaries, they again changed for the better. Ravalli records a period of eight months in 1848-1849 during which the Indians were a "true consolation" to the fathers. Then a crisis was again precipitated by dissensions in the tribe. But the crisis passed and Ravalli was able to write to the Father General in the spring of 1849: "At present the Indians are all well-affected towards our holy religion and towards us."⁸³ About the

⁸² CR, *De Smet*, 2: 586.

⁸³ Ravalli à Roothaan, April 5, 1849. (AA). Cf., also, for a favorable account of the Flatheads at this period, Gov. J. Lane's report, October 22, 1849, to the commissioner of Indian affairs: "They [the Salish or Flathead Indians] till the soil in small quantities on Bitter Root River under the direction of Jesuit missionaries, have horses and cattle; are not inclined to rove and are a brave and noble race, friendly to the whites. They are well armed and hunt buffalo annually." (H).

same time Joset, superior of the missions, was informing the General that the Flatheads were "never better," while Nobili, a guest for some months among the latter (1849), was greatly impressed by them. Joset wrote to one of his men: "Father Nobili eulogizes St. Mary's in the highest terms. He puts it above every other mission and in all respects. The Superior, he says, must see it, to believe."⁸⁴

That within a year or so of the time these highly satisfactory reports were penned, the two resident fathers, Mengarini and Ravalli, should have felt themselves obliged to withdraw from the mission in the face of renewed hostility on the part of the Flatheads so acute as to carry with it a menace to their lives, was a startling development. The two missionaries fortunately left on record accounts of the circumstances that immediately preceded the *dénouement*. At an advanced age, he was eighty at the time, Father Mengarini compiled his recollections of the nine years he had spent with the Flatheads.⁸⁵ These memoirs are replete with interest though the fact that they were written forty years after the events dealt with impairs to some extent their value as a dependable source of information. Mengarini's account of the break-up of the mission is a bit vague and confusing and it dates the affair two years before it actually occurred. Ravalli's letter of 1851, presently to be cited, stresses as practically the sole reason for the alienation of the Flatheads from the missionaries the fact that they had been spoiled by intruders and squatters on the Flathead lands. Of these intruders and squatters Mengarini says not a word. According to his version of the episode it was seemingly a Flathead brave, little Faro, who sowed discord among his tribesmen by depreciating the work of the Catholic missionaries and extolling, on the other hand, the activities of the Protestant missionaries in neighboring tribes. This course he pursued in retaliation for Father Mengarini's failure to back him up in his unwarranted pretensions to be accorded the rights of a chief. A remarkable phase of the situation, also adverted to by Ravalli, is recorded by Mengarini, to wit, the premature demise of the flower of the tribe. "From this time the best of the Indians began to be snatched away by death. One by one they disappeared until the Indians themselves began to marvel at the fact and asked me what I thought of it. To them I gave evasive answers but unbosoming myself to Very Rev. Father General, I wrote: 'It is my firm belief that God has established this mission for the salvation of certain chosen souls and that when these are saved the mission will be no more.'" The suspension of the mission, according to Mengarini, was meant to be temporary only and

⁸⁴ (AA). Nobili was a visitor at St. Mary's before going to California.

⁸⁵ WL, 18:148 *et seq.*

was decided upon "in order to punish them [the Indians] and bring them to a sense of duty." ⁸⁶

Unlike Mengarini's narrative, Ravalli's letter of April 5, 1851, to the Father General was written only a few months after the events narrated. "From all the set-backs and losses which, taken together, rendered our efforts of no avail and from the calamities we experienced mainly in the course of the last five years, it became only too evident that Divine Providence was little by little paving the way for the end of this mission and had, so it appeared, called the missionaries thither only for the sake of a few good people who had followed from their tender years the natural light of reason. We have in fine observed that of the numbers who died every year, the Lord called chiefly such as were best in the matter of conduct and conscience. The only Indian (Lolo) who still remained well-disposed and really attached to religion was horribly mangled by a bear a few days before I left." ⁸⁷ Ravalli then goes on to relate how the Indians had been demoralized "by the presents and still more by the wicked suggestions and examples of a few Protestants and [Canadian?] whites and by the annual immigration of people from the United States," so that they were no longer in sympathy with the missionaries. In a preceding letter Ravalli had described the mischief-makers as "divers Canadians, some Iroquois and a few mixed-breeds dismissed from the service of the Hudson Bay Company." All of these, it would appear, were at least nominal Catholics as they had their children baptized and their marriages set straight according to church law and had given as a reason for settling in the vicinity of the mission their desire to have an opportunity to practice their religion. ⁸⁸

Whatever hopes the missionaries may have had of reclaiming the Flatheads seem to have vanished in the spring of 1850. The Indians now pitched their tents at a distance from the church so as to be free to pursue without let or hindrance their passion for gambling and dancing, which latter with all its besetting indecencies was continued far into the night. "The majority gave up 'private prayer' and vented insult and injury every day upon the missionary. Though we were making sacrifices for their sick even so far as to deprive ourselves of a morsel of bread, they refused to sell us necessary provisions while under our very eyes they sold to an agent of the Hudson Bay Company," a declared enemy of the mission. ⁸⁹

Father Joset had been repeatedly warned by letter of the critical

⁸⁶ *Idem*, 18: 149, 152.

⁸⁷ Ravalli à Roothaan, April 5, 1851. (AA).

⁸⁸ Ravalli à Roothaan, June 29, 1847. (AA).

⁸⁹ Ravalli à Roothaan, April 5, 1851. (AA).

situation at St. Mary's, but had taken no action. The two coadjutor-brothers, Savio and Bellomo, had been dispatched with a message for him but their canoe upset in a stream and the message was lost. When news of the accident reached the mission, a special courier was sent off at once with another letter for Joset, who was just then at St. Ignatius Mission. The courier reached his destination but without the letter, which was lost on the way. Both the brothers and the courier, however, could give verbal information about conditions at St. Mary's; and from their reports, so Ravalli avers, Joset concluded that the crisis at the mission was more imaginary than real. In the interim notice had reached St. Mary's that Accolti had succeeded Joset as superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions. As no relief was forthcoming, Mengarini, local superior at St. Mary's, now determined to descend to the Willamette, a distance of nine hundred miles, and there represent to Accolti the true situation at the mission. On his way thither he passed by the Coeur d'Alène Mission and there had the good fortune to meet Father Joset.

During Mengarini's absence Ravalli was in daily dread of an incursion from the Blackfeet. The body of the Flathead tribe were absent on the fall hunt and all that remained of the erstwhile Indian congregation was a group of some fifty old people and children, all of whom Ravalli gathered into the mission-enclosure or "fort" as he describes it. He was also at pains to secure within the enclosure some hundred horses belonging to the Indians. His precautions were taken none too soon. On September 7, 1850, a party of fifty mounted Blackfeet suddenly made their appearance with savage war-whoops before the mission. All the force Ravalli could muster for a defense was three young Indians and an old worn-out brave. Fortunately, the Blackfeet made no attempt to invade the mission enclosure but drew off, not, however, before they had appropriated some horses and murdered an excellent young Flathead in the employ of the fathers. Presently Father Ravalli had to face another perilous situation. His supply of provisions began to run out and he would soon be helpless to relieve the wants of the fifty Flatheads he was sheltering.

Meantime, at the Coeur d'Alène Mission Mengarini was able to impress upon Father Joset that something had to be done quickly to save the little Jesuit group at St. Mary's. Thereupon the latter dispatched two couriers to Ravalli with instructions to pack up the mission effects preparatory to removal and await his arrival. But Joset arrived only at the end of October. In the interval Father Ravalli felt his life was none too secure. Twice already the Jesuits had been threatened with pistols by Indians of neighboring tribes, instigated, so Ravalli says, "by lies of certain Flatheads." Moreover, the fact that the Indians went off

on their buffalo hunt leaving the fathers entirely unprotected seemed to indicate that they would view the massacre of the latter with no great concern. In fact, when they returned from the hunt they expressed themselves astonished to see the missionaries still alive. Of Joset's arrival among them they took no notice and went on in the desperate course they had commenced. The decision to abandon the mission, at least temporarily, was now definitely taken. On November 5, 1850, Father Ravalli, with health badly impaired by his recent experiences, left St. Mary's for the Coeur d'Alènes while on the same day Father Joset and Brother Claessens also made their departure, having with them the live-stock and movable property of the mission. Their immediate destination was Horse Plain, a journey of three or four days to the northwest, where they wintered in a tent, proceeding in the spring to the Pend d'Oreilles.⁹⁰

At the risk of some repetition of the foregoing account a letter written to De Smet by Accolti from his residence in Oregon City is reproduced. Its importance lies in the circumstance that it embodies no doubt Mengarini's version of what had occurred at St. Mary's as the latter had by this time joined Accolti on the Willamette:

You may know perhaps that the Flathead Mission no longer exists. This is how it came about. Some time ago these Indians underwent a change of heart in regard to the Fathers through the machinations of a certain Mr. McDonald, an agent of the Hudson Bay Company, of some Nez-Percés and a few whites who unfortunately had established themselves among the Indians. The Fathers were continually exposed to the insults, the calumnies, and the deceptions of these unfortunate Indians. All the old people and the good folk of the nation have been dead for some time. The nation is now made up entirely of undisciplined and unruly elements. Those who have the name of chief no longer exercise any influence over them, ever since the punishment of the whip was abolished. The life of the Fathers was in danger for the same reasons that caused the murder of Dr. Whitman among the Cayuses. In case of sickness the Indians no longer addressed themselves to the Fathers. They brought to their patients Nez Percé *souffleurs* or jugglers. When the patient was dying, they went to look for the Fathers for medicine. If they gave any (it was always too late) and the patient died, it was the Father who had killed him. If they refused (as prudence very often required) and the patient came to die, it was on account of the Father who had refused his aid on purpose to have him die. One time the Fathers were threatened in their house by an Indian armed with a pistol. The opinion got around among the savages that the Fathers wanted to have them all die so as to get possession of their lands. Another opinion which became almost general among the Indians was to the effect that the Fathers were among them because they had nothing to live on elsewhere and because they had been driven from other

⁹⁰ Ravalli à Roothaan, April 5, 1851. (AA).

countries. I say nothing of the night dances, even on Sundays, men and women pell-mell and all with a view to do what the Fathers forbade them to do. I say nothing of their games of cards, which they get from the Mormons of Salt Lake, where they go to trade their skins and horses for cash, with which some of the Indians are furnished up to some hundreds of dollars in gold and silver pieces. I wish to say only that the ministry of the Fathers was rendered absolutely useless in those remote parts on account of the almost continual absence of the Indians. This absence was due in great measure to the removal of the buffalo which diminish in numbers considerably every year. Last year the Fathers had the Indians with them only for three weeks. Add to this the frequent incursions of the Blackfeet, which have made the place almost uninhabitable. They are forever hanging around the village to seize an opportunity to commit their thefts. It very frequently happened that they got into the Fathers' fields at night with their horses and destroyed a whole year's crop. The Brother-farmer was forced to go to his work every day with his gun beside him. Finally, last summer Father Mengarini left the place to go and lay the state of affairs before Father Joset. The latter had just arrived from here among the Coeur d'Alenes. I had ordered him to send Father Hoecken among the Flatheads and place Father Mengarini with the Kalispels. But after hearing it all, he and the Fathers of the Mountains thought it better to proceed to the suppression of this unfortunate mission. But there was no time to lose. There was danger in delay. It was necessary to run and save Father Ravalli, Brother Claessens and everything one possibly could. So Father Mengarini came down here to inform me about the state of affairs, while Father Joset with a dozen Indians went on towards St. Mary's. On arriving there he found everything going to pieces. Forty Blackfeet on horseback had just left the village carrying off with them almost 60 horses after having pillaged the few lodges which had remained there and killed a brave young man in the employ of the Fathers. After getting everything together, effects and live-stock, Father Joset sent Father Ravalli to the Coeur d'Alenes while he with Brother Claessens went to camp on Horse Plain, three days journey before you get to St. Ignatius, so as to transport everything to the missions as soon as the season allowed. I think he is now on his way back to the Coeur d'Alenes. There he will find my instructions. Father Mengarini is with me. The state of his health and especially his morale is badly affected. This makes him quite unfit just now (and I believe even forever) for the missions. They write me the same with regard to Father Ravalli.⁹¹

⁹¹ Accolti à De Smet, May 5, 1851. (A). The deed conveying the mission improvements to Owen reads: "[November 5, 1850] sold church improvements to John Owen for \$250 receding back to church that portion of the improvements known as the fields or mill property if church establish another Mission here on or before January 1, 1852. Signed P. J. Joset, Jno. Owen. Witness, F. B. Owen, St. Mary's Mission, Flathead Country." "The text of that instrument is the earliest known record of such a transaction in all that region." Dunbar and Phillips (eds.), *Journals and Letters of Major John Owen, Province of the Northwest, 1850-1870*, 2 v. (New York, 1927), 1: 7, 22. In view of the abundant contemporary evidence produced above as to the changed attitude of the Flatheads to the

Such, then, was the unlooked-for issue of the great Flathead Mission, the praises of which had been sung by zealous missionary propagandists for the edification of the pious faithful in Europe and America. Though the explanations of the catastrophe put on record at the time by the missionaries seem intelligible enough, a certain air of mystery continued to hang over the whole affair. As Accolti wrote to the General, "what is certain is that the fall of the Flathead Mission was accompanied by a thousand highly distressing and mysterious circumstances." Father Roothaan himself commented on the affair: "Mysterious indeed is the fall of the Flathead Mission." "The reverses of these last years are still a mystery to me. A mystery above all is the change on the part of the Flatheads."⁹² From Ravalli's version of the affair already summarized it may be gathered that the collapse of the mission was in some manner charged to Father Joset on the alleged ground that he failed to realize the critical situation at St. Mary's and arrived there too late to lend effective aid. On the other hand Father Vercruysse of St. Ignatius, taking it upon himself to send off to the General his own interpretation of what had occurred at St. Mary's, exonerated Joset from all blame in connection with the affair.⁹³ "Father Mengarini," wrote Vercruysse, "seems to attribute the fall of St. Mary's partly at least to Rev. Father Joset. The latter, says he [Mengarini], seemed to be little disturbed over its abandonment. This is wrong. Journeys that could not be dispensed with in the general interest of all the missions made it physically impossible for him to satisfy the wishes not only of the Fathers of St. Mary's, but of all the others as far as paying them a visit was concerned. So it was that last year in spite of appeals from all the Fathers, in spite, too, I dare say of the pressing

missionaries and their teaching, the editors of the Owen journals are in error when they write (1:7): "The statement that the indifference and hostility of the Flatheads to religion was a cause of the abandonment [of the Mission] has no corroborating evidence." It is significant that the Owen brothers met with the same experience as the Jesuits in being attacked by Blackfoot raiders. "In 1853 John and Francis, who bought the building of St. Mary's Mission and established themselves, as they believed, securely in the Bitter Root Valley, were unable to maintain themselves longer against the warlike and predatory nation from the east side of the Rocky Mountains and set out with their herds to go to Oregon, leaving their other property at the mercy of the savages. They had not proceeded far when they were met by a detachment of soldiers under Lieutenant Arnold of the Pacific division of the government exploring expedition in charge of I. I. Stevens coming to establish a depot of supplies in the Bitter Root Valley for the use of the exploring parties which were to winter in the mountains. The fortunate circumstance enabled them to return and resume their settlement and occupation." Bancroft, *Hist. of Washington, Idaho and Montana*, p. 605.

⁹² Roothaan à De Smet, April 15, 1852. (AA).

⁹³ Vercruysse à De Smet, April 28, 1851. (A).

need they were under of meeting him personally, Reverend Father Accolti was unable to get away from the Willamette. If he had done so the suppression of St. Mary's, so it is believed, would not have taken place."⁹⁴

That after all the closing of the mission was not warranted by the circumstances was the view taken by Father Vercruysse. This Kalispel missionary was qualified by a superior as "brusque, irritable, impatient and highly imaginative," but withal "a good religious."⁹⁵ Further, he was often abrupt in judgment and speech and one cannot be too secure about the value of the criticism to which he gave expression, especially as he was not himself an eye-witness of the incidents in question. "I have heard from whites and Indians that Father Mengarini did not handle the Flatheads properly, that he spoke to them too imperiously. I witnessed it here (at St. Ignatius) myself in a talk he gave the Kalispels and I spoke of it to Father Hoecken. The Kalispels also do not like him. I think that if he replaces Father Hoecken and his companion warns him about this defect he will do good there. On account of their haughty character the Flatheads and Kalispels wanted to be treated with gentleness so that one gains nothing by being brusque. The Skoelpi of Colville and the Coeur d'Alènes take offense at nothing. I have had experience of it." As to the great personal risks to which the missionaries were said to be exposed from Blackfeet raids, Father Vercruysse asked what harm ever befell them during the ten years the mission ran or whether a single piece of live stock belonging to the mission was ever appropriated by the Blackfeet. Apparently he had not heard of the horses stolen by the Blackfeet shortly before the closing of the mission. "Our Fathers in China have more to fear from the sword of the Mandarin. Still they stand firm and after all I think we came here with God's grace on this understanding, namely, to count life as nothing in order to save the Indian." Again, the Flatheads were away from their village three-fourths of the year on their buffalo hunts. But why did not the missionaries follow them as Father Point had done three or four times and even in the depth of winter and at the risk of his life?⁹⁶ That the Indians had become demoralized by half-breeds and whites, Father Vercruysse did not deny. "But were all the Indians culpable? Certainly not, and for ten Sodom would have been saved.

⁹⁴ Father Roothaan was inclined to blame Joset for not relieving the critical situation at St. Mary's in due time by sending aid to Mengarini. Roothaan à De Smet, April 14, 1851. (AA).

⁹⁵ Congiato à Beckx, December 10, 1858. (AA).

⁹⁶ Palladino (*op. cit.*, p. 40) points out that the practice of following the Indians on their hunts, though at first adopted by the missionaries, was subsequently abandoned by them as inadvisable on various grounds.

Further, shouldn't one do everything possible to save the wicked? One finds wicked people everywhere standing up against the good. They write me that just now the Wallamette is the *faubourg* of Hell. Are the priests leaving it?"⁹⁷

The strictures passed by Father Vercruysse on the withdrawal of the missionaries from the Flatheads were conceived no doubt in a spirit of sincerity; but it will hardly be concluded therefrom that the step was as unnecessary and ill-advised as he believed. Possibly it may have been shortcomings on the part of the missionaries that had caused the unpleasant situation to develop, an opinion expressed by a superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions in later years.⁹⁸ Possibly, when the situation had developed, the missionaries might have taken a more heroic stand and attempted to weather the storm as Vercruysse would have had them do. Yet failure to follow the more heroic course is not necessarily to be made a matter of reproach. What clearly emerges in any case from contemporary evidence is the fact that in the end Indians and missionaries had become so estranged as to justify in the eyes of the latter the temporary abandonment of the mission.

In 1852 word, apparently from a reliable source, had reached St. Louis that the Flatheads were eager to have the missionaries return. Father Accolti, superior of the missions, did not credit the report, as he wrote to De Smet from Oregon City:

With regard to the Flathead Indians there is no hope of resuming amongst them our missionary operations. There is no hope on our part, not having sufficient individuals to employ on it, there is none on the part of the Indians, being all abandoned in spite of their pastors, even when present, to every kind of mischievousness and corruption, besides their stubborn reluctance to hear the advice of their Fathers. The old generation of that once brave nation has passed away, even the good half-breed Lolo, who two years ago was attacked and devoured by some grizzly bears while hunting. What now remains is nothing but a handful of indisciplinate and corrupted youth which cares nothing about priests and religion and have no respect at all even for their chieftains. The only man who now remains of the predestinated number is Victor, who is chief because so [he] has been called and considered by our Fathers, but now he is a mere nominal Chief. He has no control at all over his people especially since he received with a Christian forbearance a hard blow on the face from his bold and arrogant rival in the chieftainship. Their continual absence from the mission had made the presence of the missionaries quite useless and burthensome in that place. The young man, who, you say, has exposed to you the desire of the nation to have the missionaries

⁹⁷ Vercruysse à De Smet, April 28, 1851. (A).

⁹⁸ "From the lack of zeal and love of the Indians and of tact on the part of Ours resulted the fall of the famous mission of the Flatheads." Congiato à Beckx, December 10, 1858. (AA).

again among them is quite mistaken. Had they such a wish, they should have sent a formal delegation to Father Joset, who is not far from their country in order to obtain missionaries and confess their wrongs and make reparation for the insults inflicted on their Fathers and Pastors, but they have done nothing of the kind. Then that young man, who, I suppose is Mr. Owens, either is deceived or rather wishes to deceive us in order to enhance his trade which he has regularly established among the Flathead Indians on the ruins of our Mission. Still I do not intend to deprive them of our spiritual assistance if they want to derive profit from it. Last year I sent Father Hoecken on a missionary expedition to the Upper Kalispelems of the Lake. Notice had been given previously and timely to the Flathead Indians that they might convene at that place. There appeared none.⁹⁹

Three years following the departure of the Jesuits from the Bitter Root, Lieutenant John Mullan and Dr. Suckley, both of them associated with Governor Stevens in his explorations for a railroad route to the Pacific, were visitors among the Flatheads. Both of them recorded the impression made upon them by the Indians. Dr. Suckley wrote:

The men are rather below the average size, but they are well-knit, muscular and good-looking. Although professedly Roman Catholics, they still keep up their aboriginal mode of dress, and many of their old customs. They are remarkably honest, good natured and amiable. On account of the depredations and constant aggressions made upon them by the Blackfeet and their own migratory habits, it was found inadvisable to keep up the mission among them. It was accordingly abandoned three years ago; they still remember the good teachings of the missionaries, as evinced by their honesty and chastity. Although few in numbers, they are very brave and invariably attack the Blackfeet when they meet. The custom of scalping dead enemies is abandoned by them.¹⁰⁰

Lieutenant Mullan's report, dated from Camp Stevens, Bitter Root Valley, November, 1853, said in part:

The Flatheads as a nation have more reason to complain of a want of attention and care on the part of the government than any other tribe of Indians probably in North America. Their numbers have been so greatly diminished during the last few years by being murdered by the Blackfeet that at present there remains but a handful of the noblest of the Indian tribes of North America to tell the tale of woe, misery and misfortune they have suffered at the hands of the Blackfeet, those hell-hounds of the Mountains. This last [appointment of a Catholic agent] I mention and recommend from the fact that the Jesuit priests have been among the Flatheads for ten or twelve years and have lain among them a foundation upon a better and firmer basis than has been lain among any Indian tribe either east or west of the

⁹⁹ Accolti to De Smet, November 20, 1852. (AA).

¹⁰⁰ U. S. 33d Cong., 1st Sess., ex. doc. 129, p. 116.

mountains, upon which a superstructure can now be built which will be an ornament not only to the district where it will be erected but to our whole nation.¹⁰¹

Mullan was petitioned by the Flatheads to secure for them the services of a Catholic priest. He was sympathetic to their wishes, assuring them, though on what grounds one cannot say, that a priest would be with them within four years. As it turned out, just four years later Father Menetrey of St. Ignatius Mission appeared among the Flatheads though not through any intervention on the part of Mullan. Writing to De Smet, Menetrey gives a graphic account of the condition in which he found the tribe. He spent twelve days with them in the latter part of July, 1857, returning after the feast of St. Ignatius (July 31) for another visit of eight days. He found Father Mengarini's work on behalf of the tribe to all appearances undone. With a few exceptions the Indians appear to have given themselves up after the latter's departure to gambling and libertinism:

As regards morality I can say that the Flatheads have gone to worse extremes than the wild nations who know nothing of the Great Master who makes matrimony a holy and indissoluble partnership. But we must say to the praise of the Flathead chiefs, Victor, Ambrose, Moses and Adolph, that these four men have never deviated from the path of honor and virtue traced out for them by the missionaries; they have never ceased, Victor especially, to deplore the blindness of their nation and to use all their influence to bring it back to the path of duty. Victor lately unfolded to me the anguish of his heart. "When I went out of my lodge," he said, "and saw all my people given over to gambling and libertinism and closing their ears to my words, my heart was rent with grief. I threw myself on the ground to moan over the miseries of my people and deplore the loss of the Fathers. I had seen them so happy and so good under their direction. After their departure I saw them delivered over to every kind of disorder." And yet this we must say to the praise of the Flatheads and their virtuous missionaries, never, even in their worst excesses have the Flatheads ceased to regret the departure of their missionaries and to sigh for their return. The Flatheads were in the deplorable condition I have just told of when at the desire of Reverend Father Congiato I went to see them on July 15 last. Victor had been notified of my visit and had a lodge prepared to receive me. The evening of my arrival I sent an invitation to all the gamblers to come to prayer as soon as they heard the sound of the bell. My invitation was very well received. At the ringing of my little bell all the gamblers left off playing and came to kneel down with the rest of the nation before my lodge (A).

Father Menetrey's sermons bore instant fruit. Gambling was forsworn and the Indians came regularly to the services and made their

¹⁰¹ *Idem*, p. 467.

confessions "with a piety and a sorrow of which I should not have believed Indians capable." Mutual cancellation of debts incurred in gaming was agreed upon, and the entire tribe recalled for the moment at least to the ordered ways of Christian life. Altogether in two visits three hundred confessions were heard and twenty marriages set right. When Father Menetrey returned for the second visit he found that the erstwhile gamblers were still faithful to their pledges. "I left the camp in the best of dispositions just as it was about to break up for the buffalo hunt. It had quite another aspect now. It was not less edifying than the camp at the mission [of St. Ignatius]. No longer did one hear there the noise of the gaming-table (*roulette*) or the drum. At evening every one withdrew to his lodge. Morning and evening, when the little bell was rung, one could hear the angelus recited in all the lodges. At night before going to bed they recited acts of faith, hope and contrition." But Father Menetrey felt that this reconversion of the Flatheads would be short-lived. The only thing that would hold them firm would be the continued presence of a missionary in their midst and so he appealed to Father De Smet to send him the material means for restoring the Flathead Mission. A postscript to his letter to De Smet reads: "I think Father Mengarini will be pleased to learn that his Flatheads have been converted anew. If this good Father should care to return he would be welcome and would do much good. Reverend Father Joset said the Blessed Virgin was at his heels [?] when he suppressed St. Mary's Mission. One misfortune after another befell him; everything went against his plans. Father Mengarini can tell you. Now I can say the contrary; the Blessed Virgin was at my side to help me reestablish the Mission. I felt it every instant. The coming-back of these Indians converted to Mary has been miraculous. I am persuaded that this good Mother wants to reestablish her Mission. Your Reverence will not wish to afflict her." ¹⁰²

Nine years more were to elapse before the restoration of the Flathead Mission became a reality. "The Jesuit Fathers," Major John Owen, who had taken over the mission-improvements in 1850, wrote in his journal, October 15, 1868, "are putting up a chapel near here for the use of the Indians and others who desire to hear divine service." ¹⁰³

¹⁰² Menetrey à De Smet, August 15, 1857. (A). Father Adrian Hoecken met the Flatheads at the Hell-Gate Treaty of July 16, 1855, between Gov. Isaac Stevens and the Flathead, Kootenay and Pend d'Oreille Indians. His name was signed to the treaty.

¹⁰³ Dunbar and Philipps (eds.), *Journals and Letters of Major Owen*, 2:31. Owen's acquisition of the Jesuit mission-buildings at St. Mary's, which he changed into a trading-post, dignifying it with the name of Fort Owen, was the starting point of a long career of business and other relations with Indians and whites in the Pacific Northwest. He was for years Flathead Indian agent; hence

The Jesuit fathers were Ravalli and Giorda. Their mission lasted until 1895 when the last of the Flatheads vacated their ancestral home in

his title of major. Owen showed himself at first distinctly unfriendly to the Jesuit missionaries and their work. Father Vercruyse gives this account of the circumstances under which he acquired the mission-buildings:

"The two fathers of St. Marys allowed themselves, I think, to be imposed upon by a few individuals . . . who exaggerated things so as to inspire them with fear and make them move away and thus render themselves masters of the locality. A melancholy fact. An American under pretext of trading horses (perhaps he spoke the truth, it doesn't matter) insinuated himself [into the favor of the fathers] and gained confidence by his adroitness. The Fathers represented this individual to Father Joset as trustworthy. Father Joset at his departure leased to him for a year under certain conditions the house and mill with an order to burn them as soon as he should be given the word [?]. The good Fathers having departed, this individual induced the Flatheads to gamble more than ever; the chiefs, Victor among the rest, forbid him to settle there and cultivate land. Seeing himself master of the post by the flight of our people, he then betakes himself to Salt Lake (10 to 12 days from St. Marys where one finds the populous town of the Mormons, an abominable sect, they say, driven even by the protestants out of the United States), in order to bring back with him to the flathead lands his corrupting and wicked companions." Vercruyse à ———, April 25, 1851. (A). Whether Vercruyse was correctly informed or not as to Owen's activities at this time among the Flatheads, at any rate the major subsequently worked on occasion against the missionaries. He laid on them the blame for the Coeur d'Alène attack of May 17, 1858, on Col. Steptoe's command, alleging even that Father Joset had egged on the Indians against the government troops. Of the missionaries' work in general he expressed the opinion: "I see no good resulting from their labors or the present state of things would not exist." Letter of July 12, 1858, in *Journals and Letters, etc.*, 2: 179. A reading of Owen's correspondence on the subject of the Coeur d'Alène outbreak reveals how flimsy was the evidence alleged for the charges against Joset, who, as a matter of fact, did everything in his power to calm the Indians and prevent an uprising. What actually did happen is told by Father Congiato with convincing detail in letters published in the *San Francisco Monitor*, March, April, 1860. The conduct of the missionaries on the occasion of the Coeur d'Alène outbreak was, so Congiato writes, "subsequently vindicated and highly praised by the officers and men of the expedition sent against the Spokanes, Palouses and Coeur d'Alènes." In connection with the escape of Kamayaken, the Palouse chief, from Fort Walla Walla prison, Congiato wrote to De Smet, chaplain at the time to General Harney's command in Washington Territory: "The people speak here against the interference of Major Owen in that affair and say that had the thing been left in your hands, there would have been no difficulty in bringing Kamayaken down." Congiato to De Smet, The Dalles, May 24 (?), 1859. (A). "The last piece of news from the Rocky Mountains is that Alexander, the Pend d'Oreilles chief, set fire to Louis Brown's house in the *Prairie la course aux femmes*. The notorious Major Owen of course accuses F. Menetrey [Superior of St. Ignatius Mission] as having been the instigator of it. The Major is becoming very troublesome to the Fathers and has taken to write letters full of vague imputations against the fathers. By the last steamer I will mail you the *San Francisco Monitor* of the 24th ult. and the next of the 31st. Both numbers will contain something on the matter. The leading democratic paper in the State has copied and published both

the valley of the Bitter Root and began to reside with the rest of the tribe on the Jocko Reservation in western Montana. Here to this day they continue with the Kalispel to enjoy the pastoral care of the same Society of Jesus which had brought them tidings of the Gospel story at the dawn of the forties. Light and shadow, romance and tragedy, gather thick in the recorded story of this remarkable tribe. For gripping interest and pathos probably no chapter in the story of the conflict between Indians and whites in the United States rivals the one which tells of the heroic if futile efforts of the Flathead chief Charlot to save for his people their lawful possessions in the Bitter Root.¹⁰⁴ Today the still standing pioneer structures of Giorda and Ravalli and the remains of Major Owen's trading-post make of the one-time village of the Flatheads an alluring centre of historical interest in the Pacific Northwest. "The place," writes a modern author, "is hallowed by wonderful memories. The simple mission has become hemmed in now by the busy workaday world, but it is yet there with its message of peace and righteousness and the blue sky arches as gloriously above as it did upon that fair October day [1841]; the fields stretch away as beautiful as they were then; the wonderful river flows as blue and clear as then; the peak of St. Mary's points ever heavenward as faithful as it did of yore, and hallowing and sanctifying all is the memory

articles. It would be a great benefit to the poor Flatheads if this miserable agent was removed at once. He is unfit altogether for his post. The poor man besides being constantly *afflatus Baccho* has another great defect, viz., *cerebrum non habet*." Congiato to De Smet, April 30, 1860. (A).

Charges of obstructing the government in its dealings with Indians were also made by the major against Father Menetrey though he seemed to intimate that this occurred not through malice but through the father's imperfect knowledge of English and unacquaintance with the ways of the country. According to Father Vercruysse the reckless charges made against the missionaries by the major could be explained on no other ground than that his mind was unhinged as a result of a blow which he appears to have received on the head from the revolving wing of a wind-mill. The father added sympathetically: "he has a good heart." Vercruysse à De Smet, September 1, 1860. (A). As a matter of fact later relations between Owen and his Jesuit neighbors of St. Ignatius Mission were distinctly friendly as is witnessed by entries in his journals, as also by the account of him furnished to the editors of the same by Father Palladino. "I visited St. Ignatius Mission," Owen writes. . . . "They [the missionaries] certainly deserve great Cr[edit] for what they are doing." *Journals and Letters*, 2: 43. Owen, who had been a freemason, often expressed a desire to become a Catholic and was accordingly received into the Church by Father Palladino shortly before his death. Certainly nothing occurring in the published writings of this interesting frontier figure militates against the generally received opinion of the disinterested and effective work of the Society of Jesus among the Indians of the Northwest.

¹⁰⁴ Humphrey, *The Indian Dispossessed* (Boston, 1905), pp. 44-72; Palladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest*, p. 66.

of the good men who established the mission, who first blazed the trail to Montana."¹⁰⁵

§ 6. CALIFORNIA

Before the Oregon Missions were detached from the parent-stem of Missouri they had given birth to the Jesuit Mission of California. To that land of sunshine and mellow climate the Society of Jesus had hitherto been a stranger. Lower California had indeed its system of flourishing Indian missions before the great debacle of the Suppression; but with this event or somewhat earlier the missionaries of the Society were driven by the Spanish authorities from that promising field. As to upper California, now the state of California, the only Jesuit known to have set foot upon its soil before Accolti and Nobili came down from Oregon in 1849 was the missionary-explorer Eusebio Kino, who crossed the Colorado on a raft in the first year of the eighteenth century. His stay was of the briefest, but with his confrères he dreamed of one day evangelizing and civilizing the alluring country that lay on the far side of the historic stream.¹⁰⁶

At Coloma on the American River in upper California gold was discovered by James W. Marshall in the January of 1848. The news spread like wild-fire and soon a steady stream of prospectors, adventurers and immigrants of every type began to pour into this new El Dorado from the four quarters of the globe. So many Oregonians turned gold-seekers that the forward-looking valley of the Columbia, then on a rising tide of prosperity, received a violent economic set-back from which it was to be long in recovering. When Father Michael Accolti returned from the mountains to the Willamette in the March of 1849 he found the country beside itself with excitement over the sensational finds in California. He was moved by the situation to express himself thus to Father De Vos:

On my return I found everybody attacked amazingly by the gold-fever. A few days after my arrival here a big crowd of people who left for California when I left for the Mountains returned by sea and land. Thing unheard of! Some with two thousand, others with three thousand, still others with as much as seven thousand dollars in their pockets in gold ore, bullion, silver money and gold-dust procured in two or three weeks of light

¹⁰⁵ Arthur L. Stone, *Following Old Trails* (Missoula, Montana, 1913), p. 284.

¹⁰⁶ H. E. Bolton (ed.), *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta* (Cleveland, 1919), 1:316. For the Jesuit missions of lower California cf. Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (tr.) *Juan Maria de Salvatierra by Miguel Venegas* (Cleveland, 1929); Z. Englehardt, O.F.M., *The Missions of California*, Vol. 1; H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America*; H. E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: a Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York, 1936).

and convenient toil. This has caused terrible excitement among all classes of persons. Gold, gold, gold, it's the watchword of the day. Go where you will, people speak of nothing but gold. Old and young, women and children, lay-folk and ecclesiastics, all have on their lips only the word *gold*. It's amusing to listen to everybody's plans and calculations, dreams and reveries. Things are topsy-turvy all around. No one can hold the people back. Everybody is leaving and the country remains a desert.¹⁰⁷

At the time Father Accolti penned these lines he was in the prime of his physical and mental vigor, having just rounded out his forty-second year. He came of an aristocratic family of Bari in the Italian province of Naples and showed all the vivacity of manner, lively fancy and exuberant emotional life which one is accustomed to associate with people of southern Italian stock. Father Joset wrote that "he seemed always to have big things before his mind," and a lay friend of his described him as uniting "a powerful bodily frame to remarkable intellectual powers. His composure was beyond ruffling by any incident and his cheerful bonhomie won friends in every class with which he was brought into contact. His magnificent voice was a special gift and drew admiration whenever raised in singing Mass or Vespers."¹⁰⁸ He was already a priest and even a domestic prelate of Gregory XVI before he became a Jesuit at the age of twenty-five. His correspondence whether in Italian, French or English is marked by recurring narrative and descriptive touches of graphic power as also by a fluency and exuberance of expression that often run into the diffuse. Back in St. Louis Father Elet, not finding leisure to read through Accolti's "big, thick letters," as he described them, urged upon him the wisdom of expressing himself in more restricted compass. "I am sorry I have caused you to lose time by my long tirades," he apologized to Elet. "Ever since I gave up the study of my dear Tacitus, I have got to be more and more prolix and diluted. I begin to grow old and that also is a reason for my being a little boresome. Thanks to the advice your Reverence gives me, I will try to condense my style and make it as laconic as possible, provided I cannot say of myself afterwards, '*brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio*,' or that your Reverence does not address to me the reproach of Horace, '*Dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt*.' But enough of this lest I lapse if I have not already lapsed into the very fault which I have just now promised you to amend."¹⁰⁹ Nor was the art of restrained and tempered statement at all times practiced by this son of southern Italy, an idiosyncrasy to which he apparently recog-

¹⁰⁷ Accolti à De Vos, ———, 1849. (AA).

¹⁰⁸ Bryan J. Clinch in *RACHS*, 17:125.

¹⁰⁹ Accolti à Elet, May 15, 1851. (A).

nized men of his stock were liable. In a letter of his to Father Roothaan presently to be cited he prayed the General to accept his words as the literal truth and not as mere "Neapolitan fanfaronade." But, idiosyncrasies aside, he was, if one may use a somewhat threadbare tag of speech, a "man of vision," a large man intellectually as well as physically as one seems to read clearly enough in the manly sweep of his curiously American-like handwriting.

It was, then, the vigorous and expansive personality of Michael Accolti that was to play the foremost part in the introduction of the Society of Jesus into American California. But his first plans for venturing into that inviting land had something about them which, from a Jesuit point of view, one may only qualify as bizarre. In the letter to De Vos from which an extract was made above he pointed out to his correspondent that the gold-fields of California besides enriching a horde of fortune-seekers might offer a remedy for the disconcerting financial status of the Oregon Missions. Prices in Oregon were enormously high and were still on the rise. The subsidies from Europe amounted in 1849 to only fifteen hundred dollars. "Shall we be able to get ourselves even a good cup of coffee?" The Picpus fathers of the Sandwich Islands being in the same quandary as the Jesuits had sent two of their lay brothers to work incognito in the California mines under the protection of the French consul. The idea appealed strongly to Accolti, who now proposed to go himself to California with two lay brothers, preferably Magri and McGean. The brothers would take up a mining claim somewhere and work it, while the father would engage in the sacred ministry and solicit alms. To Accolti the program assigned to the brothers seemed to be no more objectionable than it would be for them to enter a claim to government-land. Finally, he pleaded with Father De Vos, who was then stationed with Father Joset among the Coeur d'Alènes, to urge the latter to grant the necessary permission for embarking upon this singular adventure.¹¹⁰ In the event, Joset

¹¹⁰ Accolti à De Vos, March 15, 1849. (A). Bishop Maigret of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (Picpus fathers) and superior of their mission in the Sandwich Islands, wrote November 20, 1848, to the Archbishop of Calcedonia, superior general of his congregation, his letter being curiously alike the one addressed by Father Accolti to Father De Vos, *supra*, § 6: "California is going to be an important country. Everybody is going thither. Soon there will be over a million of inhabitants. Gold mines have been discovered there, out of which they draw gold with full hands. They are making up to 100, 200 and even 300 dollars a day. There is gold everywhere; in the rivers, in the plains and in the mountains. The clergy of California have written to me that I should come to their rescue. The faithful have expressed the same wish. We have a great many Hawaiians over there. All these considerations, together with the prospect of finding some resources for our Sandwich Mission have engaged us to send thither Fathers Lebret and Chrysostome accompanied by Brothers Eliseus and Ladislas. We could

granted Accolti permission to go to California though he did so, as Accolti later declared, "very reluctantly." Three years before, when he first entered on the duties of superior of the mission, Joset had been cautioned by Father Roothaan that no one was to be sent on far-away excursions, California being expressly debarred.¹¹¹ In February, 1849, Elet had likewise been advised by the General that no one was to be sent to that particular quarter.¹¹² As a matter of fact Joset was later called upon by the General to explain his action in permitting men of his jurisdiction to venture into California when instructions had been issued from headquarters against excursions of any kind to such remote parts. Probably the instructions, though issued from Rome, had never actually reached the Oregon superior; more probably still the acute economic embarrassment of the mission constituted in Father Joset's eyes sufficient ground for going against the letter of Father Roothaan's orders, which did not presumably contemplate such an extraordinary set of circumstances as had arisen now.

The project of an extension of Jesuit activities into California as it first shaped itself in Accolti's mind was communicated by him to the General in a letter from Oregon City, the original of which is in French:

Scarcely did the news arrive last year of the discovery of the prodigiously rich gold-mines of California than the Archbishop of Oregon City tried to send thither as soon as possible the Vicar-General of the Bishop of Walla Walla, [Rev.] Mr. Brouillet, to see whether it would be possible to find some person willing to lend forty or fifty thousand dollars with which to pay his (the Archbishop's) debts to the Hudson's Bay Company. How this gentleman succeeded in his undertaking I do not know. I only know that a great number of Americans made up in a few weeks a subscription of almost 25,000 dollars to enable him to take in hand the building of a Catholic church among them at a distance of 25 to 30 miles from San Francisco, the capital of New or Upper California.¹¹³ Attached as he is to our Society through the esteem he has for it, especially after the retreat which he made last year under my direction, he did not fail to keep the Society in mind, while at the same time he acquitted himself in thoroughgoing fashion of the business committed to him. Here is what he wrote to me from Santa Clara under date of March 28 past:

not have done it if we had to pay the passage, but a benevolent society has taken upon itself to defray the expense. Father Lebreton has been appointed Superior." Reginald Yzendoorn, S.S.C.C., *History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu, 1927), p. 187.

¹¹¹ Roothaan ad Joset, February 18, 1846. (AA).

¹¹² Roothaan ad Elet, February 17, 1849. (AA). "*Nemo in Californiam mittendus*" ("No one should be sent to California").

¹¹³ The place referred to has not been identified.

"Reverend dear Father: Once more the door to California lies open before you. The people desire you warmly and are urging you to come. Everybody is asking for a Jesuit college and here is what they put at the joint disposition of yourselves and the Sisters of Notre Dame: an entire mission, one of the finest and best equipped in the whole of California with a magnificent church. The Father [Franciscan] who has charge of it offers to give it over with all his rights, together with the rights of his Order, to the Jesuit Fathers and the Sisters of Notre Dame on condition that a college and convent be set up there with the least possible delay. With a little trouble means will be found for putting up the buildings necessary for these two institutions. You will find there all possible encouragement on the part of everybody. Living expenses will not be higher than in Oregon and you will be able to charge stiff boarding-rates with no fear of frightening anybody; and so you are assured a gross revenue which will be of aid to you in supporting your missions in the Mountains. But above all other considerations the spiritual needs of California, the immense good to be done there, and the opportunity created by circumstances ought to make you decide. If you think you can accept this offer, I advise you to come without delay and get acquainted on the ground with things and take every measure you think timely as well for your Order as for the Sisters of Notre Dame. If you think you cannot accept, have the kindness to inform the Most Reverend Archbishop [Blanchet] to this effect for in this case I beg his Grace to send some one of his priests to take over and retain possession of this property until it be possible to find a religious order willing to accept it. But pray you, overcome whatever difficulties may present themselves and set up an establishment in California. I am going to write at once to Father Gonzalez (Prefect Apostolic) to obtain his formal authorization for the introduction of new religious orders into California. The answer is well known in advance and is bound to be here when you come.

"P.S. I must have you take notice that it is possible without my thinking it to be probable, that the American Government may claim the property of the mission offered you along with that of all the missions in California. But even supposing such to be the case, you will have the enjoyment of it for 2 or 3 years and this is enough, for independently of the mission, an individual of the town of Pueblo San Jose, which is probably going to become the capital of California, has in reserve for you a magnificent piece of property, and another individual said lately that he would give 15,000 dollars (Roman scudi) for the building of a college. True, it is easier to say than to give, but at least I regard the land as assured and I am convinced that everyone would subscribe generously for the building of a college. When I say everybody I mean people from outside for from the natives of the country there is nothing to obtain for these purposes, at least one cannot in any way count upon them."

Your Paternity sees then what the matter is in hand. It is a matter of grave importance; it is a question of opening up again to the Society the door to California after an exile of almost a hundred years from that land bedewed with the sweat of her erstwhile children. Yet I see clearly enough

that we must not run as fast as Mr. Brouillet should like, for all that glitters is not gold and certain pictures which present a fine appearance from afar show only striking irregularities and disfigurements as you draw close to them. Mr. Brouillet in his letter shows himself more zealous than well-informed about our Society. On the other hand, I think we ought not to show ourselves indifferent to the suggestion of a project which, when everything will be in order, will not fail to offer considerable advantages. Now a matter of this kind cannot be treated by exchange of letters; it is necessary to go and investigate the matter on the spot. Fortunately some days before receiving this letter of Mr. Brouillet I received another from Father Joset authorizing me to leave for California with two brothers and some Indians, who had come down from the Mountain, expressly to go and seek in this land of inexhaustible riches not wherewithal to enrich ourselves but wherewithal to keep alive and support our missions. A very necessary step certainly in view of the unfortunate circumstances of Europe and the lack of aid ordinarily supplied by the work of the Propagation of the Faith. The Jesuits would not be the first to set this example. The Reverend Picpus Fathers, who reside in the Sandwich Islands, preceded us to California last December with the same object in view, the same motives.¹¹⁴ Monseigneur Magret, Bishop of the Islands, and several members of the same congregation thought such a step indispensable. The California mines, they said in consultation, are a benefit held out by Providence to everybody without distinction. Everybody is profiting by them, even the wicked, and why should not the servants of God profit by them, especially when circumstances make it a necessity to do so? And to some few who said, "but what will the world say?" they answered, "but will those who blame us come and extricate us from our miseries?" The Reverend Oblate Fathers of Mary residing in Oregon are getting ready to go there.¹¹⁵ The Bishop of Walla Walla [Blanchet] is sending some of his people. The Archbishop would like very much to do so, but has no means to get up such an expedition; of his priests, he has been able to send only one along with the Canadians who are going there on their own account and this priest goes in the hope of being able to collect something among his parishioners. And the bishops, very far from blaming us, are even encouraging us to do this. The most respectable people in the country are all either already on the way or are getting ready to start. To all the reasons pointed out above it must be added that without this plan it is impossible for the missions to subsist in view of the enormous and frightful increase in the prices of commodities, the discovery of the mines, and the duty lately placed by the Government on foreign merchandise entering by the Columbia. The result is that what cost one dollar last year costs at present three or four dollars more. This is the benefit which the gold mines of California have procured us. The quantity of money which circulates now in the country is incalculable. And the poor missionary, who has no resources

¹¹⁴ *Supra*, n. 110.

¹¹⁵ The Oblates of Mary Immaculate were established in Oregon as early as 1846.

or funds except from the charity of the faithful, already nearly dried up owing to circumstances in Europe, must in the midst of so much wealth suffer all the more the effects of poverty and misery. But let us leave aside digressions and come to business. I am then on the point of going to verify for myself how things stand. What course, then, am I to take? I consider the contents of Mr. Brouillet's letter. They petition for 1. a Jesuit college. 2. They offer big advantages, they offer to cede an entire mission, one of the finest certainly in all California, according to information received by me from every quarter. 3. They ask for an answer with as little delay as possible as to the acceptance or non-acceptance of the offer, the understanding being that if we refuse, they would address themselves to another religious order and in the interim ask the Archbishop of Oregon City to send one of his priests to take possession of the establishment for fear the government might confiscate it. 4. All this would be done during the vacancy of the see [Monterey] and before the coming of a new bishop, whose views and attitude would not be known. Here then are all the circumstances of this affair. Far from your Paternity [ms.?] . . . Far from the mountains, I cannot have an answer from Father Joset, to whom I have already written. Far from the United States, I cannot expect an answer from Father Provincial [Elet], whom I have just informed about everything, except in California, by steamship. Isolated as I am, it seems to me that I can authorize myself to take the initiative in this affair. I have tried to consider the matter before God. What I must, then, look into on the ground is to see whether there is anything solid in what they propose to me; whether the Administrator has the power to cede the rights to this mission, which he calls his own, and the rights of his order; whether Father Gonzalez, the Prefect Apostolic and Administrator of the Diocese, has powers so extensive that he can dispose at will of the missions in California; whether, in the sequel, there would be difficulties to fear on the part of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, which might later on inject itself into the affair; ¹¹⁶ whether the Society by accepting the offer would involve itself in difficulty with the Bishop who perhaps will come shortly to succeed the one deceased; whether in the National Council lately held in the United States any deliberation took place in regard to the ecclesiastical affairs and reorganization of the missions of California, which now forms part of the Union; ¹¹⁷ whether it would not be better, seeing that the Government asserts its rights over the missions, to receive this grant from the hands of the Government rather than from the hands of the ecclesiastical authority. If everything is in due order and I see that the Society will be subsequently immune from all embarrassment in the affair, what should I do? To accept formally or in any manner at all is forbidden to me by the Institute, which reserves such matters solely to the hands of your Paternity. On the other hand, to refuse in case they press me, would perhaps be to close forever the door to California. I could do nothing else except temporize and

¹¹⁶ The United States as a missionary country was under the jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide until 1908.

¹¹⁷ The Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore took place in 1849.

speaking fair words until an answer from your Paternity or from Father Provincial [Elet] should arrive and so afford me a line of conduct. In case I see anything irregular in the cession of the mission they offer us, I think I might be able to take preliminary steps for a foundation other than the above in profiting by the good dispositions of the individuals announced to us in Mr. Brouillet's letter. It is evident that in an affair of this kind the presence of one of ours is absolutely needed. In his letter Father Joset does not fix any time for me to return. If he does not write about the matter before my departure from here, it will be all right both as regards the primary purpose of my expedition and the other incidental purpose. If he fixes a time for me, it will be necessary for me at all costs to drop everything so as to obey instructions unless Father Provincial should order me to remain, taking it upon himself to come to an understanding with Father Joset by letter. Still, I have written to Father Provincial that I should scarcely be in California before I would collect the necessary money for the passage by steamship of two of Ours from the United States and forward the money to him by letter of exchange, so that he himself in person or someone else might come to California and learn the real state of affairs. For the love of God, Very Reverend Father, I beg Your Paternity to be so good as to write on the subject as soon as possible to Reverend Father Provincial and also to communicate to me some line of conduct in this affair so that I may proceed with safety in so delicate a matter, in which I might perhaps compromise the Society whereas all my desire is to promote its interests and the greater glory of God.¹¹⁸

Father John B. Brouillet, the zealous priest who took it upon himself to act as intermediary in the negotiations here being detailed, was a notable figure in Catholic beginnings in San Francisco. He was vicar-general of Bishop Magloire Blanchet of Walla Walla and had come down from Oregon to California in the autumn of 1848 to collect money to relieve the financial needs of the Archbishop of Oregon City and the latter's brother, the Bishop of Walla Walla. He appears to have visited the gold-fields where the Catholic miners were generous with their alms; but passing on his way thither through San Francisco, he was so impressed by the spiritual distress which prevailed in the new-born city, then without a single resident priest, that he decided to settle therein on his return. He was joined in a few months by Father Antoine Langlois, a Canadian, who had been attached for some few years to the archdiocese of Oregon City and was now assigned by Archbishop Blanchet as chaplain to accompany a group of French-Canadians who went down to California to try their fortune in the mines. Langlois, "always exemplary," as Archbishop Blanchet wrote of him in 1846, was desirous of becoming a Jesuit, but on Accolti's advice re-

¹¹⁸ Accolti à Roothaan, May 24, 1849. (AA).

mained as a secular priest in San Francisco, the religious destitution of the place being extreme.¹¹⁹

The Jesuits Kino and Salvatierra had dreamed of carrying the Faith to upper California. It was left to the Spanish Franciscans to realize the dream in the immortal chain of Indian missions which they wove along the windings of the Camino Real from San Diego to San Francisco and beyond. Then came civil revolution, the overthrow of Spanish rule, the attempted substitution by the Mexican authorities of Mexican for Spanish friars and in the end the complete destruction of the missions. A tradition in California has it that the Franciscan Fray Magin Catala, the "Holy Man of Santa Clara," predicted the catastrophe with the loss to its perpetrators not only of their ill-gotten gains but of the glorious country itself, which was to pass into foreign hands. The turn of the tables came with the war between Mexico and its northern neighbor and the subsequent treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, May 30, 1848, which gave upper California to the United States. The ecclesiastical organization of the territory had begun with the erection of the diocese of Monterey and the Two Californias and the consecration of its first incumbent, the Franciscan Fray Garcia Diego y Moreno in 1840. When he came to die in 1846, he named the superior of the Mexican Franciscans, Fray Gonzalez Rubio, and the superior of the Spanish Franciscans, Fray Duran, joint administrators of the diocese until the Holy See should be in a position to name his successor. The Spanish friar died shortly after his appointment and Fray Gonzalez was left to shoulder alone the difficult administration of the forlorn diocese. Its condition from a religious point of view was deplorable as Gonzalez frankly avowed in a pastoral which he addressed to his diocesans the very day that upper California passed under the American flag.¹²⁰

On September 17, 1776, the Franciscans Palou and Cambon entered into possession of a tract of land on San Francisco Bay and proceeded to lay it out as a missionary center, which subsequently took the name of Mission Dolores. Sixty years later, in 1836, was built the first house of a pueblo or civil settlement known as Yerba Buena and situated only two miles by the shore from Mission Dolores. In January, 1847, Alcalde Bartlett issued an ordinance changing the name of the pueblo from Yerba Buena to San Francisco, both bay and pueblo perpetuating

¹¹⁹ "Mr. Langlois, a worthy Canadian priest, came here [San Francisco] from Oregon to remain until other priests arrive to replace him when he will remove to Canada, his native land, to enter our Society." Accolti à Roothaan, February 29, 1850. (AA). "Mr. Langlois decides to return to Canada. I think he wishes to enter among the Jesuits." Blanchet à l'Eveque de Quebec, April 9, 1849. Quebec Archd. Arch. In the event Father Langlois became a Dominican.

¹²⁰ *RACHS*, 17: 50.

the memory of the gentle saint of Assisi. When Father Brouillet arrived in San Francisco in 1848, the place was without a Catholic church. This need the energetic clergyman promptly proceeded to meet, starting a subscription for five thousand dollars, which sum enabled him to buy property and erect a modest little house of worship. It stood on Vallejo Street, on the same site on which St. Francis of Assisi Church stands today, and the first mass was said in it on June 17, 1849. Here Father Langlois, as he records in a memoir, addressed the motley congregation successively in English, Spanish and French, so that all might understand, being at pains to bring home to his hearers the consoling truth that "it was possible for a person to save his soul in San Francisco."¹²¹ Apparently one needed to be assured on this score, for, wrote Accolti in later years, "whether it [San Francisco] ought to be called Madhouse or Babylon I am at a loss to determine, so great in those days was the disorder, the brawling, the open immorality and the reign of brazen-faced crime on a soil not yet under the sway of human laws."

Accolti's lurid picture of San Francisco is paralleled by another even more lurid which is found in a letter written from that city by the Picpus father, Joseph Venissi, September 18, 1851. "What a port! What a town! What a population! French, English, German, Italians, Mexicans, Americans, Indians, Canacs, and even Chinese; white, black, yellow, brown, Christian, pagans, protestants, atheists, brigands, thieves, convicts, fire-brands, assassins; little good, much bad; behold the population of San Francisco, the new Babylon teeming with crime, confusion and frightful vice."¹²²

To Brouillet and Langlois it soon became evident that Catholic life in San Francisco would continue to run at a low ebb unless additional workers in the ministry were supplied. To help relieve the situation they resolved to call the Society of Jesus to their aid. Father Brouillet's appeal to Accolti has already been set before the reader. From Santa Barbara he sent through Elet under date of July 25, 1849, a direct message to Father Roothaan himself:

Since my arrival in this land about seven months ago I have conceived the desire of seeing the Rev. Jesuit Fathers come and begin here as soon as possible an educational establishment, entertaining no doubt that they will meet with all desirable encouragement. I opened myself on the subject to some lay persons and some religious, who all manifested the best will and promised assistance. Knowing the zeal of the Rev. Jesuit Fathers of Oregon and the desire of some of them to pass into California, I wrote to them urging them strongly to come and I wrote at the same time to Rev. Father Gonzales

¹²¹ Riordan, *Half Century*, p. 20.

¹²² RACHS, 17:58. *Ann. Prop.*, 24:412.

(Governor of the Mitre of the Californias) [Administrator of the diocese] to communicate my hopes to him and beg him to approve of the coming of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers into his diocese in case it were possible for them to come. I spoke to him at the same time of an establishment of Sisters of Notre Dame for the education of girls. Here is the answer of Reverend Father Gonzales dated from Santa Barbara, May 29, 1849:

"I give God infinite thanks for having put into the hearts of the Jesuit Fathers of Oregon and the Sisters of Notre Dame the thought of coming to California. To you also I render due gratitude for the pains you have been at to procure educational institutions for this country. Would that I had at my disposition the necessary means for founding houses and colleges and assuring them subsistence; but I have nothing at my disposal. This entire enterprise must be financed by the same faithful for whose benefit the institutions are to be set up. Write accordingly in my name to the Superiors of the Jesuit Fathers and of the Sisters that I not only give my consent to their establishing themselves here in this diocese, but will help them as far as I can in this design; insist with them that one or two [of the Fathers] come as promptly as possible to collect alms from the inhabitants of the land so that they may settle here on a basis of the utmost solidity and splendor, with the result, so I am persuaded, of great honor to God, great prestige to their Order, and great profit to the people of this pueblo. In this city of Los Angeles I shall see to it that means are obtained for a college of boys and another of girls as soon as you assure me of the coming of the Fathers and the Sisters. Perhaps also in the community of Santa Barbara, very poor though it may be, it will be possible in time to erect similar colleges for boys and girls. Employ, then, all your attentions and influence, all your cleverness and pains in setting up these colleges at once and on a solid basis. It is a great work leading to far-reaching and beneficent results and heaven and this grateful pueblo will bless you for having procured for it so great a favor."

One of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers of Oregon writes to me under date of April 14, 1849, calling my attention to the fact that there are a number of exiled Jesuits from Italy and Switzerland whom it might be easy to obtain for California where he knows the need of evangelical workers is making itself keenly felt; and he urges me to write to this effect to Reverend Father Elet, Provincial of St. Louis, Missouri.

I address myself, then, to you, my very Reverend Father in the name of the Governor of the Mitre [Administrator] and of the entire church of California to beg you earnestly to procure for this country with the least possible delay an educational institution of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers on the same footing as those which you have in the United States. I have already set before the Right Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore the urgent necessity of such an institution and I know a gentleman of San Francisco of great merit who is to write by the same mail to the Reverend Jesuit Fathers of New York on this identical business. I hope then to see my desire shortly realized. I am confident that means for organizing and maintaining the institution will not be lacking. Only it is necessary that one or two Fathers come on ahead to determine its location and supervise its erection.

If you deign to do me the favor of sending an answer, kindly address it to San Francisco, my ordinary place of residence, or, in my absence, to Very Reverend Father Gonzales, Governor of the Mitre of the Californias, at Santa Barbara.¹²³

Somewhere about 1865 Father Accolti drew up a memorial setting forth the circumstances of his first visit to California. Written approximately fifteen years after the incidents recorded, the document is not free from inaccuracies; but it gives the various stages in the development of the story as they actually occurred. The invitations extended by Fathers Brouillet and Gonzalez are mentioned; also Accolti's own appeals to Fathers Roothaan and Elet and even to the Jesuit superior in Chile, Father de la Pena; also his anxiety to secure the sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities in California, "for I did not wish that myself or others of Our people should enter as intruders or adventurers a country, into which, from the time of its suppression, our Order had not been readmitted."¹²⁴ Meantime, Father Nobili, recalled from New Caledonia, was admitted to his solemn vows as a Jesuit at St. Ignatius Mission, May 13, 1849, Father Joset presiding at the ceremony. Later, September 29 of the same year, Nobili himself was the officiating priest in the cathedral at St. Paul on the Willamette at the final vows of Father Accolti, who also became a solemnly professed member of the Society of Jesus. The two Italian fathers were now designated for the California venture, Joset immediately sending notice of his action to the Father General, who was able to answer back from Rome as early as March 17, 1850, "Now that you have sent Father Accolti with Father Nobili to California, you must perforce continue to await the outcome of this affair."¹²⁵ Father Accolti's memorial states that he and his companion took ship "on the day sacred to the memory of Blessed Alphonsus Rodriguez," which is October 30, but were prevented by contrary winds from sailing before December 3, 1849. Having on the 8th of the same month put into San Francisco Bay, they disembarked the following day. They found Father Langlois, now vicar-general for the northern part of upper California, the only priest in San Francisco, Father Brouillet, who had been anxiously awaiting their coming, having left to return to Oregon the very night before their arrival. "We passed each other at sea," says Accolti, "having scarcely time to salute each other from the quarter deck."¹²⁶

¹²³ Brouillet à Roothaan, July 25, 1849. (AA).

¹²⁴ Accolti, Memorial, in Riordan, *op. cit.*, p. 22. The order had never been established in upper California.

¹²⁵ Riordan, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹²⁶ Accolti, Memorial, in Riordan, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

Accolti's first letter to Father Roothaan from San Francisco, the original being in Italian, is dated the February following his arrival:

Here we are in California, as I wrote to you under date of May, 1849, come, not to seek for gold in this country of wealth and treasure but come to do a little good. Though at first there was thought of sending me with two Brothers to the mines to seek means for the support of our missions, on further consideration it was thought best to abandon such project, which has its dangers, however you look at it. The object of our expedition to this country according to Father Joset's instructions, is three-fold. 1. To exercise the ministry, especially in assisting the sick, who are always very numerous in this city. 2. To see if things are as favorable for the establishment of the Society as the Rev. Mr. Brouillet wrote to us. 3. To make a collection in favor of our Missions. As to the first, we are still in suspense, expecting day by day the necessary faculties from the Vicar-general, Father Gonzalez, a Franciscan religious, who lives at Santa Barbara almost 200 leagues from this post, and communications are neither frequent nor easy. As regards the second [third] point I do not think it prudent to attempt anything since Mr. Brouillet busied himself last year begging for the Archbishop of Oregon City under the name of the "Missions of Oregon." It remains then for me to occupy myself only with the second point, and of this I come to give you an account in the present letter. As this is an affair which your Paternity will have to treat directly with Rev. Father Provincial and as I have given him an exact account of everything and am certain that he will inform your Paternity thereon, I have no idea of entering into details but will confine myself to the essentials. Upper California is a country which began to shape itself with the discovery of the mines. Here everything is in the way of being made. Progress is rapid and great; new and magnificent cities are rising everywhere and a new population is being formed out of a concourse of all the nations of the world. Hence proceeds an ebb and flow of circumstances so many and so varied as to make the aspect of things change at every moment. This premised, it is not to be wondered at if on my arrival here I found the state of things a little changed from what it was as described for me by Mr. Brouillet last year in his glowing and very pressing letters. What embarrassed me greatly on first reaching here was not to find Mr. Brouillet, who not seeing us arrive had left for Oregon in order to [ms.?] . . . see and decide on what was to be done. I had to open a way for myself practically alone. I have scrutinized closely the state of things, the conditions of the country, its needs. I have gathered the most accurate information about places and persons. They directed me to the Pueblo S. José. There I found a friendly attitude on the part of several Irish Catholics pretty well-off and well-disposed. But in America and especially here it is very difficult to find persons as in Europe who are willing to despoil themselves entirely or in part to make religious foundations. Here you have to get together many little bits to make a total of any size. That is the American style. This granted, not to lose time and prolong the affair endlessly and at the same time let opportunities slip by, I thought it opportune to open a subscription to see on

what funds I could rely as capital for the foundation of a college. At the first opening of the subscription I received pledges for 8,000 dollars and 200 acres (*arpenti*) of good land in the vicinity of the Pueblo S. José. The site is the best you could imagine for an establishment of the Society. The inclemency of the season prevented me from continuing my rounds. As soon as the weather moderates, I will take the matter up again. Everybody assures me that I shall easily get together 20,000 dollars. I hope so. If things turn out this way, we shall have enough to begin with. In a month or two I shall be able to put up a college large enough to accommodate 12 of Ours and 50 boarders (*collegiali*) with good class-rooms for the day-scholars. The houses sold here are all made of wood. There is no other kind of building. Structures [ms.?] and cost much. Everything will come with time. To inject into the affair all necessary movement and energy, nothing remains for me except to be authorized by your Paternity and by Father Provincial [Elet] to proceed with the execution [of the plan]. In giving your Paternity these assurances all I can say is that California is in great need, that there is an immense amount of good to be done there and that once established the Society will have every necessary advantage in its favor. If we do not move in the matter, the Protestant ministers are there to appropriate all the Catholic youth. The consequences are easy to see. There is no reason to fear any lack of means of support; I should dare [ms.? to rely only on?] the charity and liberality of the Catholics, especially the Irish.¹²⁷

Though there could be no doubt of the earnest desire of the Franciscan administrator of the diocese, Father Gonzalez, to see the Society of Jesus enter the California field, Father Accolti was eager to secure from him an explicit authorization of the step. On February 1, 1850, Gonzalez communicated to the two Jesuits the necessary faculties or license for the exercise of the sacred ministry in the diocese of which he was administrator. Moreover, to Accolti's first letter to him, dated January 15, 1850, he answered with great cordiality from his residence at Santa Barbara, March 5, 1850:

With unspeakable satisfaction have I received your most welcome letter dated January 15 and written in San Jose. I answer it by saying that I give infinite thanks to God, our Lord, for the singular favor that he has deigned to confer upon this people in the arrival, so opportune, of your Reverence and a worthy associate to help me by the exercise of your holy ministrations in correcting the morals of my flock, in the education of youth and the preservation of Catholic worship throughout this vast diocese committed to my care. I give thanks, under God, to your Reverence for the will, no less ready than good, which you show by employing your talents, zeal, and worthy service in this diocese, which is as destitute of every help as it is weakened in morals and beset with dangers.

Already through Father Brouillet have I expressed my desire that two

¹²⁷ Accolti a Roothaan, February 29, 1850. (AA).

colleges of the Society of Jesus be established here; one in the north where you are and another in the south. With this object in view your Reverence was invited to come; some donations were solicited for the founding of such colleges; but, as the offerings contributed up to the present are small for so great an enterprise, I insisted with Father Brouillet that he should urge you to come, since your presence and the influence that you would acquire by the exercise of your ministry would be the most efficacious means for bringing about the foundation of the two colleges desired; for, I repeat, the presence of your Reverences will dissipate many prejudices and warm the hearts of those who are able to aid with their donations so holy a work.

The administrator then proceeded to say that he approved in explicit terms the establishment of the Society of Jesus in his jurisdiction. "I desire it and have eagerly desired it; I have begged it of God with earnest pleadings."¹²⁸

In acknowledgment of the welcome which the highest ecclesiastical authority of the diocese had thus extended to them, Accolti and Nobili sent from San Francisco April 7, 1850, a joint letter of thanks. They were grateful for the permission accorded them to start a college at San José. "By this, however, it is not intended that they are to exclude or neglect the other forms of ministry proper to the Society, namely preaching the word of God, hearing confessions, conducting missions etc., and especially giving retreats, by means of which, through God's grace, the Society has ever reaped a rich harvest of souls, just as by the same grace the venerable Order of St. Francis by means of the Way of the Cross, has at all times and all over the world worked, as it works today, the wonderful conversion of so many sinners." Fathers Accolti and Nobili then speak of the opportunity offered them to begin a college at San José. Property and a modest sum of money had been offered for the purpose and there was every prospect that the project could be seen through to a successful end. Nothing remained but the Father General's permission, that of their Superior in St. Louis having already been obtained.

Our Provincial at St. Louis University has told us in letters which we received last month, March, 1850, that so far as he is concerned, he approves this work which is for the greater glory of God; that he has, moreover, chosen suitable priests and offered them to Very Rev. Father General; and lastly, that he only waits for the answer of the General, to whom he has not ceased to recommend the matter, to send them hither. Your Reverence urges also that we found another college in some southern city, e.g. Los Angeles, since, if this were done, provision would be made for the southern part of the diocese, as by the college in San José provision is made for the

¹²⁸ Riordan, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

northern. Undoubtedly Your Reverence's interest merits high approval and the work itself, already begun in some measure by Father Brouillet and so much recommended by Your Reverence, ought not, so it seems to us, in any manner be refused. We would, however, make an observation; namely, that once our Society shall, like a vine, have been lawfully planted in California and shall have taken root, it will be easy for it afterwards to spread its branches; hence, when we shall have established one college, it will be an easy matter to put our minds and our hands to the starting of another. Thus shall everything be rendered more solid than if we were to keep many things at the same time before our eyes.¹²⁹

On March 28 Father Accolti penned a third letter to the General on the California affair, this time in French. It is too long for reproduction here, but an extract follows:

No schools except those of the Protestants, who make every effort to show the inadequacy and sterility of Catholicism. Churches are lacking everywhere and yet everybody wants them, everybody offers to put them up provided only there are priests. The people are preponderantly Catholic. They cry aloud for priests but the only response one can give them is a sigh from the heart. The French number at least 12,000 (the bulk of them, it is true, *gens de barricades*); but they change their communist ideas on arriving here. Almost 8 or 10,000 Germans, 3 or 4,000 Italians, an uncounted number of Spaniards coming from the various Republics of South America. With this concourse of people from all the nations, the number of families goes on increasing and so there is a great host of children needing the benefits of an education without anybody being in a position to satisfy this need. In three or four years we could have three or four colleges in this country, all of them well provided for. Means here are ample and abundant provided one shows good will and determination to do something for the good of the public, for the advancement of our holy Religion. If there were the Irish alone in the country, one need never fear failure. It must be admitted that the Catholic body is well disposed. It realizes the void around it and would like to fill it in some or other way.

The town of San Francisco is the leading commercial place of California and will soon be such of the entire world. For the present I do not think it well enough suited for a college in view of the continual ebb and flow [of conditions] which prevails there. But beyond all doubt it would be a place for a Residence with plenty to do for four or five good workers speaking the predominant languages of the country, namely, English, French, German, Spanish. One would do an immense amount of good in the town and environs. Father Santillano, missionary curé of [Mission] Dolores, has just offered me a property of 400 square rods (*verges*) for an establishment of that sort near this city, the limits of which are daily extending. The sale of a few lots

¹²⁹ *Idem*, p. 30.

from this property would bring enough to build with in case other resources should fail in the beginning, a thing I do not fear. If one only knew how to take things in hand here at the outset, the Society would be able some day to play a magnificent role; all chances to be taken are in our favor. The outcome would be that California and Oregon together might give another Vice-Province to the Society. And as the sea in receding from the shores of one country proceeds to enrich with its waters the littoral of another, so in like manner the Society, in losing its Provinces in Europe through the adversities of the times, will come to pour out its blessings on American soil.¹³⁰

In the meantime Accolti had received news which placed him in a new relation to the task he was now engaging in of securing for his Society a foothold in California. He had taken the task in hand with dependence on Father Joset, superior of the Oregon Missions, who had given it approval, however qualified, only in deference to Accolti, the originator of the idea and its tireless promoter. But now Accolti had himself been appointed superior of the Oregon Missions in succession to Joset. "We were uncertain," he wrote to De Smet, "of the approbation of our superior, Father Joset, who very reluctantly had sent us thither to comply with my very warm and earnest solicitations. My nomination to the superiorship of these missions arrived timely indeed for our circumstances, but one year after its date."¹³¹ Even before the General's letter of appointment came into his hands, Accolti had learned from Father Elet that it was already on the way. Elet's own letter was received by Accolti in March, 1850, and under peculiar circumstances. Judge Pratt of Oregon had obtained permission from the postal authorities in San Francisco to open the Oregon mail-bag and take from it some dispatches which he was expecting from Washington.¹³² As he was going through the mail he came across a letter addressed to Father Accolti, which he made bold to appropriate and carry directly to his friend. "He could not," said Accolti, "have rendered me a greater service;" the letter was Elet's long delayed response to Accolti's petition to him for approval of his California plans. In July, 1850, he returned to Oregon to discharge the new duties laid upon him, leaving Nobili alone in California. Shortly before his departure from San Francisco he sent off to the Father General, June, 1850, an Italian letter, his fourth on the California question, all these communications

¹³⁰ Accolti à Roothaan, March 28, 1850. (AA). The Picpus fathers had been invited by Padre Gonzalez to open a college in San Francisco. See an account of their experiences in this connection in Yzendoorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-191.

¹³¹ Accolti to De Smet, November 8, 1852. (A).

¹³² Orville C. Pratt, associate judge in Oregon, who figured in the Whitman massacre cases and the land controversy of 1851-1852. Bancroft, *California*, 7: 223.

having been sent through the medium of Father Elet in St. Louis, and all of them still awaiting answer.

Having received no answer (either from your Paternity or from Father Elet) in regard to our accepting this new enterprise, I stopped going ahead with the subscriptions, which would without fail have amounted to a very considerable sum. Not to expose myself to ridicule in case of a negative answer from your Paternity, I have been unable to give the affair any great air of publicity. For the rest, things are in such state that no sooner would your Paternity give his consent than a boarding-college would rise at once. I should not wish your Paternity to take these expressions of mine as Neapolitan fanfaronade. In a country like this where cities of 40, 20, 15 thousand souls are made to spring up in the space of 18 months, and cities, too, that lack none of the luxuries of the leading cities of the United States, it is no wonder if in a short time a house can be put up of capacity enough to lodge a small-sized [religious] community and some hundred boarders. What is being done in California is in the nature of a creation. Since I have been here this town has grown one-third in the number of houses. I have been witness of two great conflagrations, which have destroyed at two different times the largest and most central quarter of the city. The loss from the two fires has been estimated at 10 million dollars. My God! [ms.?] it was nothing at all. The fire was scarcely out, the smoke was still annoying passers-by, to be short, 24 hours after, thousands of workmen were on the ground to restore the area destroyed by the flames and they worked with such rapidity that in less than a month business was as active and flourishing in that quarter as before. Should I wish to give an exact account of California and of what is being done there I am sure Your Paternity and everybody else would consign my letter to the ancient tales of the Arabian novels. Besides the Pueblo San José we have a donation of three thousand squares [acres?] of land at Sonora, a new city in course of construction, with a view to opening a college there. To possess land in this country and land such as this, is to possess a priceless treasure. At Pueblo Los Angeles in the southern part of Upper California the people offer us land and means enough for the establishment of schools and missions. The people are almost entirely Catholic. Many American and German families are settling in that place. Rev. Father Gonzalez has already written me several letters recommending this establishment. However, I don't think it well to take everything in hand at once. If for the present a boarding college be opened at Pueblo San José, we shall be doing not a little. But this much is altogether necessary so as not to lose time. If your Paternity delays to answer, we shall without fail lose this very important point of the country, a point so coveted by the Picpus Fathers, who have arrived here from Valparaiso with ample faculties from their Superior General to open an establishment wherever opportunity offers. Already I know that several of our supporters seeing themselves trifled with, as it were, by us, are inclined to turn to these Fathers. At the moment I write this letter, your Paternity, I believe, must have already made his decision and communicated it to Rev. Father Provincial. However this may be, I don't

think it useless to bring again to your attention the importance of this country for the Society. One must consider California not by itself alone but in connection with all the favorable circumstances bestowed upon it by its geographical position. California just now commands the whole Pacific, being as it is chief commercial center, and it offers a naturally made port which, so all the seamen declare, has no equal not merely in all the extent of the Pacific but in all the rest of the world. Brought as it is into communication with the United States at present by steamships, and to be brought into communication more effectually on the completion of the railroads already begun and of the canals at the Isthmus of Panama, all the [products?] of that country are being transported to this one, which, youthful and in its very infancy, will soon be grown-up and, I should say, even mature, when other countries old in years will not yet have emerged from childhood. But leaving aside all other considerations, I wish to set before you but a single one, which perhaps your Paternity has not up to this time paused to dwell upon. A steamship line is shortly to be established between San Francisco and Canton in China. The result will be to reduce the travelling distance from here to Europe by one-half. I am assured that one will need only three weeks to go from here to Canton. This country is therefore going to become the world's emporium, it being a country which offers of itself so much treasure in gold, silver, mercury, platinum, zinc, coal and I know not what else. I don't mean to say by all this that the Society ought to run after all this temporal prosperity; but I do wish to say that it would be well to run after so many thousands of men who come here in search of this prosperity; I wish to say that this prosperity offers great [ms.] and occasions for doing good and good that has to be done on an immense scale. Poor California! No one can form an idea of the miserable condition of the people. I do not speak of the Indians, of whom there is an immense number in the interior, with no one to bring them the succours of religion, the beneficent influence of which they experienced in other days, while there is a considerable number of tribes who before the discovery of gold never saw the face of a white man. I speak here especially of all those thousands of Spanish or mixed stock living in a state of great and gross demoralization. The population is composed of all the peoples of the world. The prevailing languages are English, French, Spanish and German. The number of Catholics exceeds that of all other denominations taken together, if indeed the 15 or 20 thousand French who live in this country must be counted among the Catholics and not rather among the unbelievers. In spite of this preponderance in numbers the Catholics are in comparison the least provided for.¹⁸⁸

Meantime, Father Nobili after the departure of Father Accolti for Oregon was making himself as useful in a priestly way to the neglected Catholics about him as he possibly could. On May 13, 1850, he had received from the administrator, Gonzalez, an appointment as assistant, "especially for those who speak English," to the parish-priest of San

¹⁸⁸ Accolti à Roothaan, June 12, 1850. (AA).

José, a Spaniard, Father Piñeiro,¹³⁴ who is described by Accolti as an Andalusian, who knew "nothing about Jesuits except what he had been taught by Eugene Sue in his *Juif Errant*." ¹³⁵ "Father Nobili remains in California," Accolti wrote just before he left for Oregon, "until your Paternity's decision regarding this establishment becomes known. If the answer be favorable, it is necessary that one of Ours be on the ground to make the first move. It is true that this Father is not over-much of an expert in these matters and when it comes to building I shall be at pains to leave him all necessary instructions. He is now residing at Pueblo San José in order to assist the pastor there, a Spaniard, who is unable to lend spiritual aid to the English-speaking people and they are not a few. He [Nobili] can preach and does preach in English and in Spanish to the great edification of his hearers though his pronunciation especially in English is not all that might be desired. Should a college be opened here he will be able to render great service in the exercise of the sacred ministry." ¹³⁶

In his first communication to Father Gonzalez Accolti had petitioned for leave to erect a Jesuit oratory or succursal church in San José. This had been refused by the administrator on the ground that the time was not yet ripe for the erection of separate churches for the nationalities other than Mexican or Spanish now represented in the Catholic body in California. His instructions were that the Jesuits should not preach, hear confessions or otherwise exercise the ministry except in the existing parish churches. With these instructions they promptly complied. "As to the Oratory that we wished to build in San José we most readily acquiesce in the reason given by your Reverence, for it has ever been the practice of our Society, whenever possible without prejudice to the substance of our Institute, to depend not only on the commands of the Church's princes, but even on the least indications of their will; to no parish-priest would it willingly give just cause of offense, no right would it knowingly invade, nor would it even make use of its privileges unless they contribute to the greater glory of God and the good of souls." ¹³⁷ All this time Nobili, for all his tireless zeal in the ministry, was in wretched health, afflicted as he was with pericarditis and other chronic maladies.

Father Langlois, the devoted Canadian priest who was left alone in San Francisco after Accolti's departure for Oregon, kept a journal which closes with this entry: "December 6, 1850 at 11 o'clock at night,

¹³⁴ Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1915), 4:681.

¹³⁵ Accolti to De Smet, November 8, 1852. (A).

¹³⁶ Accolti à Roothaan, June, 1850. (AA).

¹³⁷ Riordan, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

the steamship *Columbus* brought us the Rev. Joseph Alemany, Bishop of Monterey and California, with the Rev. Sadoc Villarasa, O.P.”¹⁸⁸ The prelate’s coming had not been announced and with it San Francisco learned for the first time that the vacancy in the see of Upper California had been filled. The appointment had first gone to an American Dominican, Father Montgomery, who pleaded successfully to be spared the burden. “Things have turned out so,” Bishop Alemany wrote at the time, “that I have been obliged to wear the heavy mitre put off by Father Montgomery.”¹⁸⁹ Alemany, himself a Dominican, was a native son of Catalonia in Spain and had seen some years of service on the American missions. His consecration took place in Rome, June, 30, 1850. No one could have befriended the Jesuits in their first struggling days in California with greater cordiality than this prelate of the great order of St. Dominic. A little more than two months had passed since his arrival in San Francisco when he penned this letter to Father Accolti:

The honor of God requires, I feel, that establishments be made in the Diocese for the *good* education of youth. I believe we should have at least two colleges in this state. The lower part of the state has no facility to communicate with this upper one. Hence the Fathers of Picpus will have a College in the Southern part of the State, another college should be established in, or near Sta Clara. For this, it would not be necessary to have many Fathers to commence; yet Father Nobili alone could not probably undertake to commence it. Will you not, then, be so good as to send him one or two Fathers more? The Mission of Sta Clara will soon be vacant, and might be transferred to your Society for that purpose. It is true that Mission has been squandered, but from all my researches upon the subject of Missions, I entertain the hope that the American Government will feel disposed to give us considerable. At any rate the people of California commence to feel the necessity of education, and could no doubt, aid greatly the enterprise.^{189a}

Shortly after his return to Oregon Father Accolti wrote, under date of August 18, 1850, still another letter to the Father General on the California question. Of this letter as also of his previous one of June 12 sent from San Francisco he received acknowledgment from the General, whose communication was dated January 14, 1851. “However great be the hope of doing good and very much good in that country, I cannot agree to houses or colleges of the Society being established there unless the Province of Spain take upon itself the charge of furnishing subjects. Father Nobili, who is better, can work there—and

¹⁸⁸ *Idem*, p. 35.

¹⁸⁹ *Idem*, p. 34.

^{189a} Alemany to Accolti, February 11, 1851. (AA).

look about for teachers of elementary schools. Then, if possible, let him be given a father for companion."

As to Father Nobili, he had by an unlooked-for issue of events remained in California when he had long been expecting to leave it. He had come with Accolti from Oregon in 1849 in shattered health and the only hope of recovery held out to him by the doctors was a return to his native Italy. Twice, January 24 and February 28, 1850, he had written the General for leave to take the step. In a letter of July 12 of the same year Father Roothaan not only permitted him to return to Europe but gave him positive instructions to do so. "As regards California," said the letter, "we can undertake nothing for the moment." Men, travelling-money, everything was lacking. If a beginning of Jesuit work was to be made in California, it should be with the sacred ministry, a more imperative need for the country at the moment than education, and not with a college. But, added the General, let primary schools be opened and these taught by laymen under the direction of the missionary. At the time this letter of the General's came into his hands, Nobili's health had so far improved that he had decided to remain in California, where his services in the ministry were in constant requisition, the more so as Father Accolti, his superior, had instructed him to do so. The General later expressed his satisfaction at the step taken as it anticipated his own wishes in the matter, his previous instructions to Nobili to return to Europe being predicated merely on the circumstance of bad health. But not only was Father Nobili committed at this time to continued residence in California; he was actually at the head of a school, which he had set up with an optimism that one can only qualify as audacious. On March 21, 1851, he had taken over from its Franciscan incumbent the old Mission of Santa Clara on an understanding with Bishop Alemany that it was to serve the purpose of a college. The letter in which the prelate broached the subject of a college at Santa Clara has already been cited. A communication of Nobili's, July 20, 1851, acknowledging one of January 14 of the same year received from Father Roothaan, begins with expressing the relief it brought him, by removing misgivings that he had not correctly divined the General's intentions in the important transaction to which he had been a party.

Your Paternity tells me in his last letter that, seeing I am in better health, *he hopes I shall therefore remain here to do good.* Now, in view of my health, which is already improving, and much more of the good which can be done, I had made up my mind many months ago to remain here. Your Paternity wishes a companion to be given me as a help and consolation; Father Goetz has been here since the 17th of April past and Father De Vos will be here in a few days. He must already have left Oregon for San Francisco.

Your Reverence tells me that the only thing to do just now is to organize elementary schools conducted by good teachers under the direction of the missionary; it is now three months since I organized one under my direction, which by the grace of God goes on very well and is now, I flatter myself, the best to be found in California. Your Paternity suggests to me the thought: *with time little things grow. Man's works, in order to prosper, ought to imitate God, who operates slowly—a minoribus ad majora—from the seed, the tree.* These words, it seems to me, can be taken as sanctioning what I have already done here. . . . Your Paternity, *motu proprio*, not only permits the province of Spain to take in hand the spiritual cultivation of California but gives assurance of having already appealed by letter to the fathers expelled from New Granada and now in Jamaica. It is true that Your Paternity seems to foresee the difficulty, perhaps even the impossibility of carrying the business through, as he intimates to me in his last letter of January 14, 1851, as also in his preceding one of July 12, 1850. But God has deigned so to bring things along that, I make bold to say, all the difficulties pointed out by his Paternity were smoothed away before his last letter came into my hands. One difficulty was, "money is lacking to meet travelling expenses." Now money is here at hand for the journey of three or four fathers and two coadjutor-brothers from Jamaica to the port of San Francisco. . . . The other difficulty was "money is lacking to provide the necessary living-quarters." But what if a house large enough even for a future college—a church—and an annual income be already available? This, Your Paternity, is the case. Bishop Alemany has already ceded to our Society, and I have been in possession of it for now five months, a spacious, substantial house with five large halls and seventeen living rooms, together with a little garden and court and a large tract of adjoining land, to say nothing of the other houses close by and a vineyard and a big garden, things which undoubtedly will be restored to the Bishop by the government of the United States and which the Bishop has promised, even in writing, to leave to our Society. The church is one of the largest and richest in gold and silver of all in upper California. Moreover, if it be necessary to repair the house, the Bishop in a letter which he wrote me from his see of Monterey has promised to assist with money. Your Paternity will certainly ask me on what authority I have dared to accept such things in the name of the Society and even to take actual possession of them. It would be too long a story, and as to justifying myself, I have no need of it. I was a subject of Father Accolti, the only one to whom I could have recourse, when the proposition, which admitted of no delay, was made to me. Father Accolti, in a letter which I preserve, and which I think it superfluous to send your Paternity, answered me, "accept the college of Santa Clara."

There was no need for Father Nobili to enter at length into the reasons which had prompted Father Accolti and himself to accept Bishop Alemany's offer. But he mentioned three. He and his colleagues, Fathers Goetz and De Vos, would be in need of some perma-



Michael Accolti, S.J. (1807-1878) in his early years.
Founder of the Jesuit Mission of California.

San Francisco Jul. 5th 1851.

Rev & Dear Father Nobili,

I received your favour by St. Ignace, and by the same I find you thus, begging for an answer as soon as convenient.

As you are aware, a kind of indisputable title must be secured from the Government to the Mission. This evidently must be attended to by one for all the Missions. In this purpose one or two good lawyers must be employed. I have already done considerable in this affair, and I was on the eve of signing a contract with a firm of two good lawyers; but I have as far deferred, reflecting that what they ask is too much. They wish \$100,000, and then one year after the grant from the Gov. \$500 for each Mission recovered as to the Church, parsonage dwelling and garden grounds. This in substance will, no doubt, be recovered, and for this certainty it appears too much to pay \$11000, or more. Do you not think so?

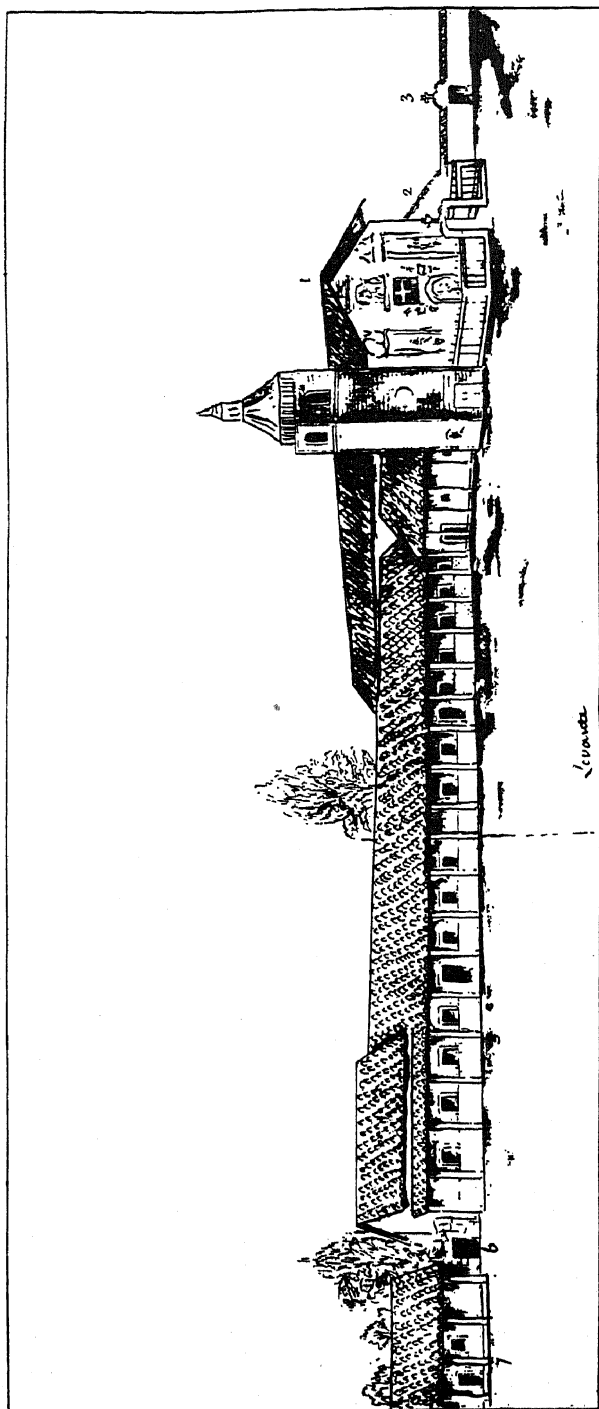
I think it is better plan, to employ a good conscientious Catholic lawyer to collect all information and documents, necessary to make a report to the Commissioners, (who, as you well know, are not to decide, but only to report to Washington on the Mission property) and after that let the counsel of another good lawyer be also employed to aid in perfecting the report before presenting it to the Commissioners. This no doubt will cost much less, and probably will ensure as good or better success. I should like your opinion on it.

May God bless us all.

Your brother in Christ
+ Joseph S.
Bp. of Monterey, Cal.

Letter of Bishop Allemany to John Nobili, S.J., July 5, 1851, on procedure to be followed in securing title to Santa Clara Mission. General Archives of the Society

Presente



1. Chiesa della Santa Clara come si trovava nel 1851 quando vi entrò il P. Nobili

2. Battisterio - 3. Cimiterio - 4. Casa del vescovo - 5. Porta del fabbricato occupata dal Sig. Forbes - 6. Ingresso alla vigna - 7. Casa rustica degli indiani, la quale si intendeva tutto il lungo del muro orientale della vigna -

"View of the church and house of Santa Clara as they were in 1851 when Father Nobili took possession. 1. Church. 2. Baptistery. 3. Cemetery. 4. Pastor's house. 5. Part of the building occupied by Mr. Forbes. 6. Entrance to the vineyard. 7. Indians' huts, which extended the whole length of the east wall of the vineyard." Drawing with Italian legend, 1854. General Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome.

ment shelter as also of means of subsistence, and these problems seemed to find their solution in a school at Santa Clara. Moreover, the Sisters of Notre Dame, who had come down from Oregon, were looking to the Jesuits for spiritual direction. Finally the Oregon missions were in a precarious condition; their dissolution was likely and in this case it would be expedient for the mission-staff to have a refuge in California.¹⁴⁰

It transpires from the foregoing data that Santa College began its career as a sort of grade or grammar school and not as a college in any legitimate sense of the term. A prospectus of the school appeared in the form of a letter addressed by Father Nobili under date of February 16, 1852, to the editor of the San Francisco *Picayune*. "We do not claim for it," the prospectus declared, "even the name of a college but have looked upon it merely as a select boarding and day school,—the germ only of such an institution as we would wish to make it, and as the wants of the community will require."

In December, 1851, Bishop Alemany also conveyed to Father Nobili the parish of San José, which adjoined that of Santa Clara; it was in Accolti's words, "the most valuable and delightful portion of the country." Jesuit plans of the moment received from him sympathy and support. "I am glad," he assured Nobili, "that your General seconds our views. In my opinion California at some future day will be a very great country. I should be most happy to have contributed to the establishment of Jesuits and Dominicans and to see the sons of the two great Patriarchs harmoniously fighting the battles of the Lord against Antichrist and his forerunners. When you write to the General I beg you to offer him my kind regards."^{140a}

Father Accolti's correspondence bears witness to the services rendered by Bishop Alemany to the Society of Jesus in these days of its pioneering in California. "And here I must confess for the sake of justice and truth," he confided in 1852 to Father Murphy at St. Louis, "that if we have laid some solid foundation for our future and permanent existence in California, all [this] we owe to the disinterested and charitable liberality of the zealous and wise Prelate, Bishop Alemany."¹⁴¹ Again, he wrote to De Smet:

¹⁴⁰ Nobili à Roothaan, July 20, 1851. (AA). In a document preserved at Santa Clara, March 21, 1851, is entered as the day on which Father Nobili took over the mission from Father Real, the Franciscan superior. "Recibi en el día 21 de Marzo de 1851. P. Juan Nobili, S.J." Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1915), 4: 691.

^{140a} Riordan, *Half Century*, p. 36.

¹⁴¹ Accolti to Murphy, November 8, 1852. (A). In a letter of Nobili's of about the same date (copy, AA) occurs this testimony: "Novus Episcopus, J. M. Alemany, O.P., vir cruditone et zelo clarissimus et re magis quam verbis Societati

My hopes are very sanguine and I trust in God's benevolent assistance that we shall succeed in casting [laying] down a solid foundation for the permanent existence of our Society in that wonderful and extraordinary country. The worthy Prelate of that Diocese has the best dispositions towards us and he has found in Father Nobili's cleverness and activity those qualities which are the most proper to foster in him these happy dispositions to patronize our society in his jurisdiction, to give her his hearty assistance and to develop her elements of good in the most simple and extensive manner.¹⁴²

The beginnings of Santa Clara College were sketched by Father Accolti with customary exuberance of phrase:

Thither [Santa Clara] the benevolent Prelate sent Father Nobili to take the spiritual charge of both places [Santa Clara and San José] with [the] recommendation of opening a school under his direction. Our aim was attained not by "intrigues" but by the singular dispensation of the wise Providence of God. Father Nobili, true to my instructions and agreeably to the suggestions of his Paternity, took possession of the old mission of Santa Clara already plundered and reduced to the condition of a big stable by the *Molto Reverendissimo Padre*, his predecessor. He gave commencement to a boarding school of young boys with the assistance of some secular teachers. Poor and ugly school, to be sure, the circumstances allowing no better, but all according to the eternal laws of a wise Providence, which in the common order of things operates nothing completely and *ex tempore* but exerts its creative power by slow and gradual development; so from the Chaos the Cosmos, from the seed the tree, and from a monstrous and sloathing [?] embryo the most beautiful and perfect of creatures. But that school was not to remain long in such chaotic condition. The industrious Father Nobili tho' tossed [about] by many contradictions from within and without, tho' disappointed in many ways, still exerted all his power and activity with unrelenting perseverance and in less than one year fitted the decaying building so as to provide both for decency and capacity without contracting any debts. The number of scholars increased ever since the commencement of the establishment and the acquisition of two first-rate Catholic teachers gave much credit to it. The end of the first scholastic year was closed last July with a public examination and solemn Distribution of Premiums which succeeded with great *Eclat* and [to the] full satisfaction of the respective parents of our pupils. Such a success was echoed everywhere by the felicitations of all those who were anxious for the education of their children.¹⁴³

The health of good Father Nobili is considerably impaired. I find him in a more delicate condition than I left him [in] last year. The burden of

nostrae addictissimus, quam nuper concione publica coram maxima populi frequentia extollere non dubitavit, etc."

¹⁴² Accolti to De Smet, November 20, 1852. (A).

¹⁴³ Accolti to De Smet, November 8, 1852. (A). Accolti's comment on the dilapidation of Santa Clara Mission should be checked with Engelhardt, *Mission and Missionaries of California*, IV, 360, 587 and *passim*.

labors he has to bear is far beyond his physical strength, not to say [that] of any other of stronger and more vigorous complexion. The sphere of his duties is so large and extensive that he could not fulfill one of them without omitting others. The supervision of the pupils, the temporal administration of the establishments, the attending to the material work of the laborers, the incumbent obligation of preaching every Sunday, the visiting of the sick even in different distant places, all of these are duties of such a nature as to give, each of them, abundant matter of occupation to many persons. Imagine [whether] if put together, they are not superexceeding the strength of one single individual. We have spared neither ink nor paper in writing very urgent letters to his Paternity in order to obtain some efficient help.¹⁴⁴

Four years later, March 4, 1856, Father John Nobili, founder of Santa Clara College, succumbed to the burden of anxiety and toil he had carried ever since he came in broken health to California.

At St. Louis the Jesuit enterprise in California now on foot met with sympathy and approval; but no material aid for it in personnel or funds was to be forthcoming from that quarter. Father Accolti, at least in the early stage of the negotiations, had assumed the indorsement of his plans by the Missouri vice-provincial to be indispensable. So long as no formal decree had been received from the Father General detaching the Oregon Missions and their men from the jurisdiction of St. Louis, it was taken as a matter of course that connection between them was still to be maintained. Hence, Accolti's repeated letters to Elet and the latter's attitude to the California experiment as one which it was within his competence to approve or reject. The relation of the St. Louis superior to the experiment may be traced in his correspondence. Even before Father Accolti had taken up the matter at all with St. Louis and Rome, an exchange of letters on the extension of Jesuit activities to California was already in progress between Fathers Elet and Roothaan. On March 25, 1849, the former, who was distinctly in favor of California as a promising field of Jesuit missionary and educational endeavor, wrote to the General: "I think your Paternity is misinformed as to the state of things in California. A large number of Catholics are going to leave in the spring for that country and if they are taken care of, it will remain eminently Catholic despite the efforts which will be made by the Bible Societies to protestantize it. The Most Reverend Archbishop of St. Louis has assured us that one or two bishops will be nominated for that region in the approaching Council of Baltimore. No one of this Vice-Province will go there without authorization from your Paternity. Fathers Parrondo and Irisarri would suit admirably."¹⁴⁵ The two fathers named, members of the province of Spain,

¹⁴⁴ Accolti to De Smet, April 5, 1853. (A).

¹⁴⁵ Elet à Roothaan, March 25, 1849. (AA). The Archbishop of Baltimore

had some years previously been assigned by the General to St. Louis as professors for the scholastics but had since returned to their own country. In April, 1849, Father Roothaan wrote to St. Louis: "There are no Spanish Fathers available for California; for the rest the moral condition of that country is too bad for us to think of sending anybody there."¹⁴⁶

In forwarding to the General Father Brouillet's appeal of July, 1849, for a Jesuit college in California, Father Elet appended to it the following indorsement:

I must add a few words to put your Paternity *au courant* with what is going on here. Just now there is being held in St. Louis a convention of delegates from all the states of our Union to examine and discuss a plan for the construction of a railroad from St. Louis to San Francisco. I can say that the matter is all settled. The railroad, says today's paper, will be finished in seven years and will cost 27,000,000 dollars or a hundred and fifty million francs, a mere trifle in a country like this.¹⁴⁷ The journey from St. Louis to San Francisco will then be made in a few days and the importance to the society of having there a foothold, a college, is inestimable. If I have one piece of advice to give, it is to send there at once Fathers Parrondo and Irisarri with an American Father, e. g. Father Samuel Barber or Father Carrell, for my opinion has not changed in regard to California.¹⁴⁸

It was not long before Father Roothaan himself began to take a sympathetic view of the possibilities of Jesuit work in California. As early as December, 1849, he was writing that this newly opened region held out promise. "As to California he [Elet] may send suitable Fathers there if he has them; but nobody will be sent from Europe. The two Spanish Fathers whom he would like to have are no longer available. In accepting an establishment in California care must be taken to proceed with great prudence and especially to avoid infringing on anybody's rights."¹⁴⁹ These lines from the General are significant for they indicate that at this juncture, to wit, in the December of 1849, he was not averse to the Society's entering California if the step could be conveniently taken. Father Elet himself, without adequate help for the few struggling houses of his vice-province, had no workers to spare

and the Bishop of Philadelphia had appealed to Father Brocard, head of the Jesuit province of Maryland, to send some fathers to California, where the Catholic immigrants were without a priest. "No doubt it would be a good thing if this vast and rich country were to be opened up to the Society; but we have so few men at the moment." Brocard à Roothaan, February 27, 1849. (AA).

¹⁴⁶ Roothaan à Elet, April 7, 1849. (AA).

¹⁴⁷ It was not until 1869 that railroad communication between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast was finally established.

¹⁴⁸ Elet à Roothaan, July 1, 1849. (AA).

¹⁴⁹ Roothaan à Elet, December 6, 1849. (AA).

for the proposed new mission on the Pacific Coast. "The Vice-Province alone," he informed Father Roothaan in February, 1850, "cannot charge itself with California; so I give it up, but with the greatest regret. The future will prove whether or not I did wrong to urge this matter with your Paternity."¹⁵⁰

An attempt made sometime in 1851 to interest European Jesuits in California likewise proved abortive. The revolutionary disturbances of 1847 and 1848 in Europe had disorganized many of the Jesuit provinces of Europe, notably that of Upper Germany or Switzerland, as it was sometimes called, the houses of which were all closed and their occupants dispersed. This province of German-speaking Jesuits might possibly find a home for its scattered members in California where, besides, large numbers of German immigrants were beginning to arrive. So at least thought Accolti, who broached the idea in a letter to Father Simmen, assistant to the Father General for Germany.

I think his Paternity must have passed over to you my relations concerning California, thus dispelling any fears that may have arisen that we went there in search of gold. I have received with great disappointment the negative answer of Father General as to an establishment of Ours in that prodigious country, which is now a grown-up without even having been an infant. California has just now been declared one of the stars of the great American constellation. California is now one of the sovereign states of the Union, a thing which presupposes extraordinary progress if you only reflect a little what California was three years ago before it was declared a part of the United States. I know the Swiss Province was anxious to have some sort of establishment of its own on the Pacific. Behold here, Reverend Father, a whole region where not one establishment, but ten, if you wish, can be found in less time than one can think, the wishes of the people being in proportion to the urgency of the needs. Confer on the matter with Very Rev. Father General. The number of Germans at the time I was staying in that country was as high as ten thousand; as subsequent immigration has counted at least two hundred thousand persons, it is to be supposed that the number of Germans has increased in proportion."^{150a}

In the August of 1851 the Spanish Jesuits were instructed by Father Roothaan to send two of their number to California and in December of that year Father Nobili was aware that the incipient mission he had helped to plant had the unreserved approval of the General.¹⁵¹ But by this time the Oregon Missions together with their offshoot, California, had been completely severed from St. Louis and placed by Father Roothaan in immediate dependence on himself. In

¹⁵⁰ Elet à Roothaan, February 14, 1850. (AA).

^{150a} Accolti à Simmen, 1851. (AA).

¹⁵¹ Riordan, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

November, 1852, Accolti was urging De Smet to try to prevail upon the Father General to have the California Mission attached to some American province as the only means of insuring its permanence. "The plan of the venerable Prelate Alemany is to put all that district—the best part of Upper California—under the spiritual and educational sway of our Company. But he don't suffer delay; he likes action and effective action. I hope that Your Reverence, having everything well considered *coram domino* would propose to his Paternity a good plan for obtaining an effectual and not a merely nominal connection of California to the Vice-Province of Missouri or the Province of Maryland. Without that I fear—humanly speaking—that all our hopes will fall short and our projects vanish."¹⁵² On August 1, 1854, Father Nicholas Congiato was appointed superior of the united Oregon and California Missions, which simultaneously with Congiato's appointment were made a dependency of the province of Turin. Four years later, in 1858, the two missions were separated, each being given its own superior, though both remained attached to Turin. The question of adequate resources in men continued for years to be a vexing one, so much so that in 1870 Fathers Accolti, Bayma, Varsi, and Raffo, who constituted the consultorial board of the California Mission, appealed to the General, Father Beckx, for the separation of the Mission from Turin and its annexation to Missouri or Maryland. Time brought the remedy with increasing numbers of Jesuit recruits from the American youth of the Pacific states so that California had no longer to look to Europe or the older American provinces for needed reinforcements. In 1907 the Rocky Mountain and Southern Alaska Missions were united with the California Mission, the resultant unit which was known as the California and Rocky Mountain Mission, being raised in 1909 to the rank of a province. Twenty-one years later (1928) the province of California, prospering with the accession of new recruits, underwent provisional division, its northern territory, which included the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana, being detached December 25, 1930, by decree of the Father General to form a (dependent) vice-province under the name of the "Region of Oregon." This was the historic mission-field of De Smet and his associates, which thus assumed once more the rank of a separate administrative unit in the Jesuit governmental system. In 1931 the "Region of Oregon" was given the status of a province.

§ 7. THE MISSION SUPERIORS, 1841-1852

The beginnings and something of the development of the various units in the group of Oregon or Rocky Mountain Missions have been

¹⁵² Accolti to De Smet, November 8, 1852. (A).

sketched out in preceding pages. It remains to trace the general fortunes of the group under Fathers De Smet, Joset and Accolti (1841-1852), these years covering the period during which the Rocky Mountain Missions remained in connection with St. Louis. In that city originated the missionary effort that gave them birth. "The Province of Missouri," Father Congiato wrote from San Francisco to De Smet in 1860, "has all the honor of having founded the Indian Missions of W. T. [Washington Territory] and it is but natural that we should regard her as our Mother and that we should continue to be regarded by her as her children. May Almighty God continue to bless that noble Province."

De Smet's connection with the missions in the capacity of superior terminated with his return to St. Louis in 1846. He had laid the foundations of the missions and given them a measure of initial impetus and enthusiasm and to this extent his work had been crowned with success; but on the whole his career as a superior can scarcely be said to have been a satisfactory one. For one thing, he was embarrassed at times in his management of things by the singularities of some of the missionaries subordinate to him. Two of them he was on the point of dismissing from the Society. Happily, they were allowed at their own vehement petition to remain in its ranks and did excellent work for years after among the Indians. It may be pointed out that of the fathers engaged in the Rocky Mountain Missions in the first fifteen years of their history, to go no farther, all, with the single exception of Father Soderini, remained Jesuits to the end.¹⁵³ Some proved themselves indifferent Indian missionaries, but all had the good-will to carry on, often with the most gratifying results, in some or other corner of the vineyard of the Lord.

As to De Smet himself, he was scarcely fitted by temperament to be a successful manager of men. To Father Roothaan, when they met in Rome in 1843, he declared that "he was not made to be a superior," an estimate in which the General frankly concurred.¹⁵⁴ He himself was indeed under no illusions as to his lack of administrative ability, especially when it involved the management of others, and for this reason wished to be supplanted in the office of superior. He suggested to Father Roothaan the appointment of Father Elet as his successor. Elet, who was at this time rector of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, had repeatedly asked of the General to be sent to the Rocky Mountains.¹⁵⁵ "It is not the burden I dread," De Smet confided to the General in

¹⁵³ "I deem it necessary to acquaint you that I have found myself in the unhappy necessity of dismissing him [Soderini] from the Society." De Smet to McLoughlin, July 18, 1845. CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1470.

¹⁵⁴ Roothaan ad Accolti, February 18, 1846. (AA).

¹⁵⁵ *Infra*, Chap. XXX, § 3.

September, 1843. "I fear and tremble because of my incapacity and lack of virtue."¹⁵⁶ The following month he wrote again: "His [Elet's] capacity, his prudence, his zeal are known to you; we should have everything to hope for from the success in which they would issue. As to myself, I tremble to find myself at the head of so important a mission."¹⁵⁷ In November of the same year Father Roothaan authorized De Smet to call Elet to the Rocky Mountains and, when the latter should have made himself familiar with the situation there, to appoint him "in his [the General's] name," superior of the mission.¹⁵⁸ But there was one hitch in this arrangement. Father Elet was first to be released from his duties in Cincinnati and this required the concurrence of the vice-provincial of Missouri, Father Van de Velde. The General merely expressed a wish, albeit a very earnest one, that the superior would "make this sacrifice," as he expressed it; he did not strictly enjoin him to do so. As a matter of fact, Van de Velde thought Elet's presence in the vice-province quite indispensable. He was the rector of a college; moreover, he was the only professed father in the vice-province at the time besides Van de Velde himself and was therefore almost necessarily to be held in reserve as the next vice-provincial. De Smet believed, however, that other reasons would prevent Van de Velde from complying with the General's expressed wish. He wrote from aboard the *Infatigable* on Christmas day, 1843, while on his way to Oregon: "I fear that Rev. Father Van de Velde will not let him [Elet] go without a positive order from your Paternity. Reverend Father Van de Velde has never showed himself very favorable to the Indian missions."¹⁵⁹ Father Elet never saw the Rocky Mountains. At the same time, Van de Velde, whatever his attitude toward the Indian missions, pursued an obviously necessary course when he kept Elet in the vice-province, of which the latter did, as had been expected, become the superior in 1848.

The reports that reached Father Roothaan from Oregon led him to conclude that De Smet was doing a deal of unnecessary journeying and was attempting a program of expansion altogether beyond the limited resources in men and money at his command. "In my letter [to him]," he advised Joset in reference to the notice sent to De Smet

¹⁵⁶ De Smet à Roothaan, September 20, 1843. (AA).

¹⁵⁷ De Smet à Roothaan, October 27, 1843. (AA). Elet himself had written to the General: "Continue Father De Smet in the office of Superior and, if you are so kind as to grant me the favor (oh! I have asked it from you so many times) I will go and work there in cooperation with him." Elet à Roothaan, December 23, 1844. (AA).

¹⁵⁸ Roothaan à De Smet, November, 1853. (AA).

¹⁵⁹ De Smet à Roothaan, December 25, 1843. (AA). Van de Velde had volunteered for the Rocky Mountains at the time the missions were started.

that he was relieved of office, "I have stated that the Society cannot assume charge of all the countries to which his taste for travelling would carry him." Some time later Father Roothaan wrote again to Joset: "Let him [De Smet] think now not so much about fresh and far away excursions as about building up the missions already founded and little by little drawing the neighboring tribes into the Church."¹⁶⁰ To De Smet himself the General sent word in September, 1846, that by an agreement he had made with Archbishop Blanchet the Jesuit field of labor was to be restricted to the Rocky Mountain Missions in the region around St. Mary's where "we began the work." "To accomplish anything solid it is necessary to expand little by little, and organize residences according as one has the personnel, two fathers in each, one of whom can make excursions from time to time to the neighboring tribes to baptise the children and old people. It is my hope that in this way good will be done solidly and according to our resources. We have neither the men nor the pecuniary means to take in the whole of Oregon at once. It would be a veritable folly. Now that the boundary between England and the United States is fixed, our mission is confined within the limits of the latter country."¹⁶¹ Somewhat later Father Roothaan repeated to De Smet the same warning against premature expansion: "So you have just opened a new mission and Father Miége whom I had sent out for Oregon will not be there. But take care. In forever starting new undertakings the old ones will never be consolidated. Better do less and do it well."¹⁶²

As to De Smet's alleged fondness for travelling without reference to the actual needs of the missions, something will be said on this head at a later stage of this narrative. Here it will be enough to note that his journeys were at no time mere pleasure trips in the ordinary sense of the term. They were as a rule either imposed on him by superiors or, when he was himself superior, undertaken on his own account with a view to rendering what he at least conceived to be some important service to the missions. Sometimes, too, as in the latter period of his life, they were occasioned by petitions from government for his intervention with the Indians.

In regard to De Smet's subsequent relations with the missionaries associated with him in his Rocky Mountain days, it is significant that all with the apparent exception of Mengarini (at least no letters of Mengarini to his sometime superior seem to be extant) corresponded with him in later years on the most cordial terms and rendered un-

¹⁶⁰ Roothaan à Joset, August 6, 1845; February 16, 1847. (AA).

¹⁶¹ Roothaan à De Smet, September 1, 1846. (AA).

¹⁶² Roothaan à De Smet, February 17, 1849. (AA).

grudging testimony to his early successful work in setting the missions on foot. From Canada the zealous but eccentric Father Point wrote to the General petitioning to be sent back to the Rockies under De Smet as superior.¹⁶³ Earlier tributes from fellow-missionaries are also on record. Nobili in a letter of 1845 to Father Roothaan describes himself as "a pigmy alongside of De Smet who walks with giant strides in the way of the apostolate."¹⁶⁴ The return of De Smet in 1844 to the Rocky Mountains after his first recruiting expedition to Europe moved Father Adrian Hoecken at St. Ignatius to express himself in these terms to the General: "In November (1844) came at last our Superior Father De Smet, whom every one was expecting with such persistent and eager longing. From the day the Indians first saw the whites, never has any one been so generally known among them and so sought for and beloved. Certainly no one has ever understood the Indians' character better or known so well how to get along with them."¹⁶⁵ Father Hoecken's testimony is significant as indicating the prestige which De Smet had acquired within three or four years of his first arrival in the mountains. A testimony of later date (1865) from Lieut. John Mullan indicates that this prestige was still maintained: "The country and the Indians are mainly indebted to the zealous labors of the Reverend Father De Smet in establishing all these missions, for he truly is the great Father of all Rocky Mountain Missionaries. By his travels and his labors and the dedication of his years to this noble task he has left a name in the Mountains revered by all who knew him and [is] a household god with every Indian who respects the Black Gown."¹⁶⁶ Forty-six years later (1911) an opinion of like tenor was expressed by Father Joseph Cataldo, last survivor of the Rocky Mountain Indian missionaries contemporary with De Smet: "It is beyond all question that Father De Smet was a superior man and one sent by Providence to the missions. Humanly speaking, without him or some one of the same calibre, the Mountain missions would never have existed, and, failing these, the California Mission would not now be in existence. He was not a resident missionary, it is true, but he was the great organizer of the missions. He knew how to approach and charm the Indians and to lead them under the direction of a Father. He found not only the means, but the men, whom he accompanied to the scene of

¹⁶³ Father Point, zealous and efficient as a missionary, but odd, had involved himself in difficulties with De Smet when under the latter as superior.

¹⁶⁴ Nobili à Roothaan, August 4, 1845. (AA).

¹⁶⁵ A. Hoecken ad Roothaan, October 13, 1845. (AA).

¹⁶⁶ *Report of a construction of a Military Road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton*, Washington, 1862.

their labors, taught them how to manage the Indians and only departed when he saw them with the work well in hand.”¹⁶⁷

A judicious appraisal of Father De Smet's work in the Pacific Northwest was put on record by Father Congiato, the able superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions, who, after commenting in a letter to Father Beckx on the apparent failure of the missions for many years to realize their early promise, continued:

All the blame fell then on the poor Superior. But I who know the characters of all . . . find that the fault lay entirely in the very strange character of the subjects. In my visits I examined thoroughly into the doings of Father De Smet and found 1, that he is the founder and the principal promoter of the missions of Oregon; 2, that he is a wonderful man for opening up the way and disposing the savages for conversion; 3, that his name is everywhere in benediction and that all the savages speak of him and ask when he will return among them. Things being so I regard it as a great misfortune for the Missions that this man was recalled from them and continues still to remain far away from them. Wherefore looking to the good services I owe to the missions entrusted by your Very Rev. Paternity to my care, I cannot do less than earnestly beg that Father De Smet be sent back to the Mountains, for which he seems destined in a special manner by Providence and which despite their distance from him he has always continued to love, favor and promote in every way by speaking and writing about them and lending them effective aid. Thus this year he sent from St. Louis more than \$1500 in goods, all alms collected by him.¹⁶⁸

Some time after Father De Smet's withdrawal from Oregon exception began to be taken in some quarters to his published letters on the ground that they gave a much more flattering picture of the attitude of the Indians to religion and of the general prospects of the missionary field in Oregon than the facts seemed to warrant. Missionaries who had obtained their first ideas of the mountain tribes from the impressive accounts in the letters were said to have met with disillusionment when they arrived on the spot. De Smet felt this criticism acutely. His answer to it was that he did not stand alone in picturing the Oregon missions in such attractive colors but drew upon reports of like tenor furnished him by his colleagues. De Smet's sensitiveness in this matter was perhaps extreme. Thus Father Accolti had no intention,

¹⁶⁷ Laveille, *De Smet*, p. 247.

¹⁶⁸ Congiato à Beckx, December 10, 1858. (AA). De Smet's difficulties with some of the missionaries are hinted at in a letter to Van de Velde: "Black gowns! Black gowns! is the watchword of the mountains at present; but for the love of God let none be sent, but such as are worthy of it, *true, humble, Jesuits, men full of zeal and courage*. This is no place for persons wedded to their own opinions, for conflicting elements."

it would seem, of disparaging the good results actually achieved nor in all probability was there an understatement of the truth when he wrote to Father Roothaan in 1850 that the Oregon missions "were still in embryo." But the expression gave umbrage to De Smet, to whom apparently Accolti had in all frankness communicated a copy of his letter to the General. De Smet wrote on the matter to Father Nobili:

Reverend Father Accolti in his letter of March 28 last to his Paternity says among other things: "our missions in the Rocky Mountains are still in embryo. They are like the [ms.?] of Naples, rich in reputation, but poor in water." And yet here are some extracts from letters of Fathers Accolti, De Vos, Ravalli, Joset and Mengarini, which were written from the Rocky Mountains since I left them and which have figured in the Catholic papers of the United States and even of Europe. I regret not being able to send them to you in their entirety. Father Accolti wrote in 1847 to Rev. Father Van de Velde, then Provincial (extract from the *American Gazette* [?]): "It is true that at a distance from us, some persons, fond of criticizing, may suppose that there is some exaggeration in our statements; but I assure your Reverence that when seen near and without prejudice the reality far surpasses any account that is given of them. I speak conscientiously. I exaggerate nothing. I express the unanimous opinion of all strangers, even of protestants, whom the evidence of facts compels to bear witness to the truth." He [Accolti] then gives to his Provincial and Superior the most encouraging and flattering details about the dispositions and zeal of the Indians. Father De Vos in a letter to his Superior in the United States names all the stations, missions and residences and adds: "This is the result of what Almighty God has already done (and still does) in this distant corner of the world—incalculable good could and would be done among the settlers, but more especially among the native tribes." Father Joset writes to Father Van de Velde: "Must not our hearts bleed when on one side we see so many thousand souls so well disposed, so eager to taste the bread of life, so docile to the voice of the ministers of God; and when on the other side we see so many of these souls perish or at least languish for the want of apostolical laborers who might help to instruct them. Yet I must avow what is true. Good and very great good is done. All the Flatheads and almost all the Kalispels and the Pointed Hearts have been baptized. A great number of them have made their Easter Communion and are very regular in frequenting the Sacraments. About 600 Indians have been baptized in New Caledonia. Many have been added to the Church among the Kootenays, Flatheads, Blackfeet, etc." Father Ravalli writes to Father Van de Velde, Provincial, from St. Mary's among the Flatheads: "In the letters of Father De Smet which I read in Rome, in the various accounts which I read about the Flatheads whilst I sojourned at Wallamette, I fancied that I saw some exaggeration—that perhaps rhetorical ornament had been resorted to in order to please the reader; but when Divine Providence at length satisfied my longing desires and sent me among them, I was truly astonished to discover that if

anything be objected to in the letters and accounts I had read, it was that they fell below the reality in what concerns the benign and pious dispositions of these good Indians. How excellent their dispositions, how tender their attachment to our Holy Religion, how fervent and sincere the piety which they manifested in all occasions. May God be thanked and praised, etc.”

I possess a great number of letters of Reverend Fathers Point, Hoecken, Joset, and others, written at St. Mary's, the Sacred Heart, St. Ignatius, the majority of which have been published. These letters, which are unanimous on the point, as also the extracts I have just cited for you together with those from Reverend Father Accolti, are good proof and testimony that by the end of 1846 and even into 1847, according to Fathers Accolti, De Vos, Joset, Ravalli, Mengarini, Hoecken, “our missions were not at that time in embryo.” There was then unanimous agreement as to the good dispositions of the Indians and of their zeal for the holy practices of Religion.¹⁶⁹

Notwithstanding the fact that the De Smet accounts, as pointed out in the foregoing letter, seem to have merely reflected the opinion of the missionaries generally regarding the work being done in Oregon, Father Roothaan could not bring himself to regard them as sober statements of fact. In April, 1851, he declared to Bishop Miége that the De Smet letters were “poetry and romance,”¹⁷⁰ while to De Smet himself he wrote at the same time: “More than one person assures me that your relations, published with so much *éclat*, are products of imagination and poetry.”¹⁷¹

As might be expected this estimate of his letters coming from the Father General was very distressing to Father De Smet. To Bishop Van de Velde, who was about to visit Rome, he wrote in May, 1852, in the expectation that the prelate would take up his defence with the Father General:

When you were my Superior you frequently corrected me for being too easily affected and dejected when things were said against me, to which I must plead guilty. Something of the kind has occurred again and from headquarters which has brought me low indeed—the more so as I have the full conviction in my heart that the charges against me are untrue, false and unjust and bring along great evil in their consequences—the neglect in a great measure, of the Indians, for whom I would have gladly sacrificed the remainder of my days. I stand accused of the following: “First. That my letters have done a great deal of harm in America. Second. That my letters are only imagination and poetry, false and untrue. Third. That I have lost the missions by over-liberality to the Indians and by promises to them which the Fathers have been unable to fulfill.”

¹⁶⁹ De Smet à Nobili, May 25, 1850. (AA).

¹⁷⁰ Roothaan à Miége, April 14, 1851. (AA).

¹⁷¹ Roothaan à De Smet, April 14, 1851(?). (AA).

After declaring that he pardoned his accusers he proceeds to say:

All my letters have been written by special requests of my Superiors, chiefly Very Reverend Father General. I declare to have written them all with uprightness and sincerity and that I have never exaggerated, at least wilfully, in speaking of the dispositions of the Indians and of the good which was done in their midst; and of this in particular most of the Fathers have said, spoken and written more highly than I ever did (Fathers Point, Joset, Mengarini, Ravalli, Hoecken, Accolti, De Vos, Nobili, etc.). I have many of their letters still in my possession. They have written the truth and so have I.¹⁷²

It is not unlikely that De Smet in his ardent way overstated at times the literal fact or went beyond the limits of reasonable expectation in picturing the prospects of the new mission-field opened up in the Pacific Northwest. But from any critical point of view his letters in their substance must be regarded as embodying fact, not fancy.¹⁷³ It is to be noted that Father Roothaan's criticism of the letters was not so much his own as that of others on whose judgment in the matter he was disposed to rely. Moreover, he died in 1853, when it was scarcely possible to realize the part the letters were playing and were to continue to play in the missionary propaganda of the day. No contemporary accounts of Catholic missionary enterprise were read as widely as De Smet's or were in any way as effective in fulfilling their object of engaging the sympathy and support of the public on behalf of the missionary cause. Moreover, in the literature of pioneer American travel and exploration the De Smet narratives readily found a place of importance as is evidenced by the appreciation in which they were held by such frontier figures, among others, as Governor Isaac Stevens, Governor Gilpin of Colorado and Lieutenant John Mullan. All in all the missionary's letters in their wealth of detail on the fauna, flora, geography, physical features and Indian life of western America carried on nobly the tradition of the classic Jesuit relations of earlier days.¹⁷⁴

One important phase of Jesuit mission organization must be touched on here before this narrative continues on its way. Whatever success the Oregon missions achieved with the Indians must be credited in no small measure to the coadjutor-brothers. The services they rendered to the

¹⁷² CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1479.

¹⁷³ For a discussion of De Smet's literary methods, accuracy, etc., cf. CR, *De Smet*, 1: 136 *et seq.*

¹⁷⁴ Father Roothaan after forwarding two letters of De Smet to the Society of the Propagation of the Faith for publication wrote to him that one bespoke more the missionary, the other, the traveller. The older Jesuit *Relations* were replete with geographical and topographical data, this being one of the chief features which lend them value today.

missionary cause were of the first importance. Not only, as the rules for members of their grade in the Society of Jesus prescribe, did they leave the priests free for their ministerial tasks by relieving them of the burden of domestic and economic cares; they also, as carpenters, farmers and the like helped to build up the missions on the material side and by the contacts they made with the Indians were able to influence the latter in all sorts of beneficent ways. The brothers sent to the mountains in the opening years of the mission were remarkable for loyalty and devotion to their work. Among them were numbered Claessens, Specht, Huet, Magri and McGean. Somewhat later came the Belgian, Huysbrecht, and the Italians Bellomo, Marchetti and Savio. Three defections from the ranks of the coadjutor-brothers are recorded, Thomas Burris, Daniel Lyons and Daniel Coakley. The last named, who was admitted by Father De Smet, had one time been a member of the Dominican order and had apparently been permitted to take his vows without having previously been relieved of the canonical impediment he was under as an erstwhile member of another religious order. In 1849 an Austrian named Weyering, who had formerly been a teacher in the elementary school at St. Paul's known as St. Joseph's College, was admitted as a novice by Father Joset. The thirteen named fill up the list of coadjutor-brothers employed in the Rocky Mountain Missions during the decade of years they were attached to St. Louis.

In the fifties and sixties Father Congiato paid repeated tribute to the services rendered by the pioneer brothers. "Old, sickly and broken down as they are," he wrote in 1858, "the poor men work with a zeal and an energy that astonish and edify everybody."¹⁷⁵ Three years later he further testified: "For the last fifteen years they have labored like martyrs and suffered great privations as true religious and worthy sons of the Society."¹⁷⁶ When Brother Huet came to die in 1868, he was buried in the Coeur d'Alène mission-church of the Sacred Heart, which he had helped to build. This mission he had aided Father Point to organize in the fall of 1842. "The beginnings were hard everywhere," recorded Father Joset, "and there were numerous privations in the midst of painful labor; but perhaps nowhere were beginnings harder than among the Coeur d'Alènes; our recent missionaries have not even tasted moss, which nevertheless made part of the nourishment of the first-comers. Brother Charles [Huet] endured everything with invincible patience. A devout child of Mary, an excellent religious, humble, obedient, indefatigable, he has, I think, merited a martyr's crown; for God contrived to send him in addition to the ordinary pains

¹⁷⁵ Congiato à Beckx, December 10, 1858. (AA).

¹⁷⁶ Congiato à Beckx, December 24, 1861. (AA).

[of the body] a special kind of suffering which he endured with unalterable patience. He was the Indians' friend and during his last sickness the son of a chief took it upon himself to be his infirmarian and was with him night and day." ¹⁷⁷

Brother Magri had come to the mountains with Fathers Soderini and Zerbinatti in the fall of 1844. Dying June 18, 1869, he had rounded out well nigh a quarter century of continuous service among the Indians. Father Joset bore testimony that he was a great consolation to superiors, their right hand, so to speak, thanks to his sound judgment and fidelity to duty. To the Indians he was the dearest of friends. He knew how to engage them in useful labor and with their aid built three churches, that of the Coeur d'Alènes among them, besides a number of other structures. The Coeur d'Alène church, considering the primitive appliances that alone were at hand, the hempen ropes, for instance, which were made on the spot, was considered a marvel of construction. The admiring comment it elicited from Dr. Suckley on his visit to the mission in 1854 has been cited on a preceding page. Magri succeeded in getting the Indians to work on the church without any assurance whatever of recompense or pay. "No one else besides Brother Magri," declared Father Joset, "would have been equal to such an undertaking." The brother worked all one winter preparing the lumber for a new mill. Pursuing his task daily, generally with wet feet, he contracted an infirmity which was an occasion for him of patience to the end. On his way with Father Tosi to meet the superior of the missions he was seized at Lewiston with a paralytic stroke. Here, after receiving the last sacraments at the hands of Father Cataldo, he died June 18, 1869, and was buried in Walla Walla. "Beloved of God and man," wrote Joset; "his memory is in benediction among Ours and externs, among whites and Indians, but most of all among his Superiors, who will feel his absence." ¹⁷⁸

When Father De Smet withdrew from the mountains in 1846 to return to St. Louis, he left Father Joset in provisional charge of the missions. His opinion as to the latter's fitness for the task was also shared by the General, who, as a matter of fact, had already, August 6, 1845, written to Joset appointing him superior of the missions in succession to De Smet. "I relieve him [De Smet] of the superiorship by a letter which I am writing to him on this same occasion—and it is on you, my dear Father, that I have my eyes as the one to replace him. Be not afraid. . . . Your mission is for the present the Oregon Country on the hither side [south] of the Columbia River, the habitat of

¹⁷⁷ Joset à Beckx, December 29, 1868.

¹⁷⁸ Joset ad Beckx, July 7, 1869. (AA).

the Flatheads and other savage nations. It is to be seen whether it be proper to keep up the establishment on the Willamette."¹⁷⁹

Father Joseph Joset, Swiss-born, was at this time only thirty-five. Personal traits of the man are touched off in contemporary correspondence. Accolti speaks of his "Swiss simplicity." Vercruysse notes his "unquiet, indecisive, precipitate character, which makes him do everything in a hurry. This excellent religious and indefatigable missionary recognizes his faults, acknowledges them, is humbled and distressed on their account." Vercruysse also records that as superior he gave umbrage to the other missionaries by alleged partiality to the Coeur d'Alène mission, where he ordinarily resided, and that he displeased the Flatheads and Kalispel by not adjusting his words to their peculiarities of temper.¹⁸⁰ Father Gazzoli characterized him as being "without a sense of the practical" and Father Congiato in a report to Father Beckx, dated 1858, described him as "an excellent missionary, a good religious but odd and highly imaginative."¹⁸¹ Joset's administration of the mission failed to commend itself to Father Roothaan. He was taken to task for having closed the New Caledonia Mission, which had started out auspiciously under Nobili, as also for not having made greater exertions than he did to save the mission among the Flatheads. It is not easy to determine to what extent, if any, he was to be held responsible for these two setbacks to the progress of the missions. He himself maintained that he was without available personnel to continue the missionary venture begun in New Caledonia; as to the Flatheads it is not clear that in his position as superior he could have saved the situation at all. But these two developments made an unfavorable impression on Father Roothaan, who wrote to De Smet that Joset was without the capacity requisite for the superiorship. "*Pauvre P. Joset! Il n'a pas la tête.*"¹⁸² But if nature had not bestowed on him a capacity for affairs, which seems to have been the case, grace made amends by giving him a measure of zeal and single-minded devotion to duty that made of him an outstanding missionary. He stayed with the Indians to his last day and that was fifty years after he first came among them. In the troubles that broke out among the Coeur d'Alènes in the late fifties he was the dominant influence making for peace and saving the tribe to civilization and the Church.¹⁸³ Moreover, as a recorder of missionary history he wielded a graceful and effective pen. His various

¹⁷⁹ Roothaan à Joset, August 6, 1845. (AA).

¹⁸⁰ Vercruysse à Roothaan, ———. (AA). Cf. *supra*, Chap. XXIII, § 8.

¹⁸¹ Congiato à Beckx, December 10, 1858. (AA).

¹⁸² Roothaan à De Smet, 1849 (?). (AA).

¹⁸³ For Joset's attempt to pacify the Coeur d'Alènes in the outbreak of 1858, cf. San Francisco *Monitor*, March 24, 31, 1860.

memoirs on the Rocky Mountain Indian tribes are important and illuminating documents recalling in their wealth of ethnological and other data, as do De Smet's letters, the Jesuit relations of other days.

In appointing Father Joset superior of the missions Father Roothaan cautioned him against attempting too much with the meagre resources at his command. The territory to be cultivated was now restricted to upper as distinct from lower Oregon:

The field, therefore, which the Lord now assigns to you is by no means the whole of Oregon but the district on the hither side [south] of the Columbia River, in which residences have already been established. Meanwhile, let Lower Oregon, as it is called, and the district to the north of the river, be left to the care of the Rt. Rev. Vicar Apostolic and his associates. As to excursions to long distances, particularly to California, they must not even be considered. In starting new residences the same plan ought to be followed, so it seems, which the Hudson [Bay] Company has been accustomed to follow in erecting its posts, so that domiciles of Ours will be separated by only a few days journey and this with a view to facilitating mutual assistance and the visitations of the Superior. In this way, step by step, and not, so to speak, by immoderate leaps and bounds, should we go ahead. Finally, it is of the utmost importance that the best possible site be chosen for each residence so that the Indians can settle and build their villages around it.¹⁸⁴

The chief reason why the Rocky Mountain Missions were backward in redeeming their early promise, at least during the first decade or two of their history, was that they were altogether understaffed. An appeal which Father Joset addressed to Father Simmen, the German assistant, stressed the need of additional coadjutor-brothers:

What we all earnestly ask for now is that you send us as soon as possible a goodly number of capable collaborators.

On taking up the government [of the mission] I found 5 establishments started and promises made to I don't know how many tribes. These establishments were the three Missions of the Sacred Heart, Saint Mary and St. Ignatius, the Residence of St. Joseph and the one of St. Francis Xavier in Lower Oregon among the whites. I call missions those establishments where you have to open big farms, to feed the Indians and keep them from wandering away, and where the missionaries, holding aloof from every kind of material labor, busy themselves only with the spiritual interests of the Indians. . . . The Willamette farm started by Father De Smet's orders would be neither mission nor residence since there is no work there among the Indians (there are none in that locality); however it is commonly called a residence. The residence of St. Joseph (among the Okinagans) has just been suspended, the two Fathers previously engaged there being unfit for service for reasons of

¹⁸⁴ Roothaan ad Joset, February, 1846. (AA).

health. But I sent Father De Vos here [St. Paul, near Colville] not only to satisfy the incessant pleadings of these Indians but also because (for reasons foreign to my subject) I could not utilize the Father's zeal in any of the missions. Here he does a great deal of good. The residence of Saint F[rancis] Regis, established among the half-breeds, was closed for pretty much the same reasons, so as not to leave St. Ignatius with only a single priest. Now every mission would require at least 4 Brothers: 1° the procurator or dispenser or *praeses familiae*, a man of brains, capable of dealing with the Indians, of putting them to work and of recompensing them without deviating from the path marked out for him [by superiors]; a man of gentleness under every sort of trial, of firmness, even temper, constancy in all his dealings—such must be the qualities of this brother who would be the right arm of the Superior and more or less of all those sent among the Indians; 2° the carpenter, a jack-of-all-trades (*Jean fait tout*) in his sphere; 3° the blacksmith; 4° the cook *ad domestica*. I do not speak of the farmer because the procurator might, strictly speaking, substitute for him. At least the same number of brothers would be needed at the Willamette where in view of the present state of the country a competent man could save a thousand dollars every year for the Mission. It is very hard on the Superior to be travelling six months of the year and more; he may fall sick as happened to me only last month. I was going up from Vancouver with 32 pack animals when an ague (*fièvre tremblante*) reduced me to a state in which I was unable to supervise the caravan. Fortunately my Indians were very reliable fellows, but, like all Indians, not capable of the attentions necessary under these circumstances. Consequently animals and cargo suffered greatly as a result of my indisposition. And so, counting in a companion for the Superior (without speaking at all of the residences) 17 Brothers would be required to keep up what has been begun.

Our men are discouraged and the evil is becoming contagious. They think themselves abandoned. I do my best to check the discouragement but am being attacked by it myself. When I ask myself why in spite of all our appeals we see no reinforcements arriving, at a time, too, when France & Belgium have a surplus of Fathers and Brothers, I can see no other reason for it except perhaps that they are counting on Superiors in the United States. If this be the case, then nothing remains except to close all the missions one after another; unless relief arrives it will not be long before I shall have to make a beginning. No, Reverend Father, they do not trouble themselves about us in St. Louis and I blame no one for it. It is his Paternity who has always governed the Mission and that immediately. Reverend Father Provincial has never mixed up in our affairs. So unless his Paternity appoints some competent man to select and bring out to us or at least send us a good number of recruits, my conviction is that this Mission is ruined.¹⁸⁵

While Father Joset was thus appealing for badly needed additional laborers in the Oregon field, the General's letter of February 18, 1849,

¹⁸⁵ Joset à Simmen, October 29, 1849. (AA).

giving him a successor in the person of Father Accolti, was on its way from Rome. The appointment reached Accolti about a year later than the date it bore and while he was in San Francisco on his first visit to California. The General, not aware that Nobili's promising mission had already been abandoned, constituted Accolti superior of all the Jesuit missionaries in the Pacific Northwest, including the "Rocky Mountains and New Caledonia." Joset, however, was to remain regional superior of all the missionary houses in the mountains but with dependence on Accolti. Something has already been learned of the activities of this forward-looking Jesuit of Neapolitan birth in connection with the Willamette residence and with Jesuit beginnings in California. Father Beckx, the General, was later to rate Accolti "not a good Superior, but otherwise a good man (*ceteroquin bonus vir*)."¹⁸⁶ He had noted in some of Accolti's letters what he considered a lack of due respect for Archbishop Blanchet and he reprimanded him for this defect, so at cross purposes with traditional Jesuit reverence for ecclesiastical authority. Probably what militated most against Father Accolti's success in his position as superior in Oregon was his lack of interest, whether real or only apparent, it is difficult to say, in the Indian missions. Father Joset said of him in 1849 that he was "well enough affected toward the Indian Missions but that nearly all his affection was centered on the Willamette Residence."¹⁸⁶ He visited the Indian missions only once and that was before he became superior; as superior he didn't visit them at all though all his subjects with very few exceptions were engaged among the Indians.

It is clear, in truth, from his correspondence that Father Accolti was drawn to the white immigrant population of the Pacific seaboard rather than to the Indians as a class of people among whom the greater harvest of good in a religious way might reasonably be looked for. He was clear-sighted enough to foresee that Oregon and California were destined for a great economic future and he was interested enough in the welfare of the Church to wish to grasp the opportunities that lay about to secure her a foothold in these growing regions. This after all, from any point of view, was a praiseworthy attitude to take in face of the actual circumstances and that it had for its practical outcome the Jesuit Mission of California is evidence enough of the genuine services rendered by Accolti to the Church. If at the same time he had contrived to lend a greater measure of sympathy and support to the Indian missions, which alone had drawn the Jesuits in the first instance to the Oregon country, he would have met with good effect the demands of the moment. Unfortunately, Father Accolti became involved

¹⁸⁶ Joset ad Beckx, February 5, 1849. (AA).

in differences with Archbishop Blanchet over questions of jurisdiction, the prelate taking up an attitude in regard to the religious orders which the Jesuit believed to be unwarranted in church law. This circumstance, coupled with the economic depression and loss of population in Oregon ensuing upon the discovery of the California mines, seems to have led him to lose his earlier optimism as to Oregon's future and to turn his thoughts towards California. Archbishop Blanchet declared expressly that the immigration to California had discouraged Accolti while Bishop Demers wrote to Propaganda: "Far from being favorable to our missions he [Accolti] has such a dislike for Oregon in general that he cannot refrain from expressing it on every occasion; but this way of thinking is far from being that of all the Fathers."¹⁸⁷ Father Accolti himself revealed his mind in the matter in a letter to De Smet, wherein he wrote that lower Oregon, which formerly he had so much at heart, had no longer any claim on his affections, the condition of things there, especially in the ecclesiastical sphere, being "unpromising and discouraging."¹⁸⁸

In the course of 1853 Father Accolti was instructed by Father Beckx to withdraw from Oregon City and proceed to New York. Father Mengarini, his companion in Oregon City, records the regret among all classes of people occasioned by his departure. To speak humanly, it meant a severe loss to religion. If the Catholic Church was respected in those parts, it was due in large measure to the influence which he exercised. "God had bestowed on him a gift difficult to find in others, that of gaining in a few moments of conversation the heart of every one he spoke to, especially if an American; if the person did not become a Catholic, at least he no longer was an enemy of the Catholic religion. The result was that Father Accolti had become a public man and popular to the last degree with all classes of people, beginning with the Governor of Oregon and the judges (all of them Protestants) and with artisans and soldiers. It was enough that it be known he was going to preach and the church would be filled with Protestants."¹⁸⁹ In fine, so Mengarini declares, a petition was being prepared by the clergy of the diocese asking for Accolti's recall.

In 1854 Father Accolti, with a view to securing the adoption of the Oregon and California missions by some one of the European provinces as a measure necessary to insure their permanence, journeyed to Rome to negotiate the matter in person with the Father General. He was successful in his efforts, Father Ponza, provincial of Turin, writing May 16, 1854, to Father Nicholas Congiato, rector at the time of St.

¹⁸⁷ Demers à Propaganda, November 30, 1853. (AA).

¹⁸⁸ Accolti to De Smet, April 15, 1853. (A).

¹⁸⁹ Mengarini à Roothaan, January 15, 1855. (AA).

Joseph's College, Bardstown, Kentucky: "Very Rev. Father General is about to assign to our Province the Mission of California. After a few days I must start for Rome, where I shall arrange the affair with Father General and Father Accolti."¹⁹⁰ On August 1, 1854, Father Congiato was appointed superior of both the Oregon and California Missions, which became on the same day a joint dependency of the province of Turin.

§ 8. A SURVEY, 1841-1854

The Rocky Mountain Missions, Father De Smet's creation, had thus (1854) lost their affiliation with St. Louis to take up one with a European division of the Society of Jesus. Ten years before, in 1844, Father Roothaan had already written to the Missouri vice-provincial: "Henceforth your missions [of the Rocky Mountains] are independent of the Vice-Province [of Missouri] in money matters," the reason assigned being that the most convenient manner of financing the missions was through the London headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, which carried on a banking and general supply business for the Oregon country. In February, 1844, Father Van de Velde informed the Father General that all his consultors desired the separation of the Oregon Missions from Missouri and their attachment to the Jesuit Mission of Canada.¹⁹¹ When news that such a step was under consideration reached De Smet, he hastened to register a vigorous protest, writing to Van de Velde: "I at the head of this Mission and for its welfare do formally protest against the separation. I glory personally to belong to the Vice-Province. I was amongst the happy first who commenced it and I feel attached to the spot where I first entered the Society. I hope for the interest of the Vice-Province itself that this Mission will remain attached to it, because it must bring down blessings and favors upon the whole concern."¹⁹²

As Father Joset had written in 1849, St. Louis no longer concerned itself about the Rocky Mountain Missions for the reason that the General had taken the government of them practically into his own hands. Yet St. Louis, as late as 1850 or 1851, was still exercising control over them in some matters at least, while, on the other hand, the superiors of the missions were still recognizing some sort of dependence on that quarter. An instance of the latter fact is afforded by the negotia-

¹⁹⁰ Riordan, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹⁹¹ Van de Velde à Roothaan, February 1, 1844. (AA). "I have separated this procuratorship [St. Louis] from that of the Rocky Mountains, the distance between them being too great." Roothaan à L'Oeuvre Propagation de la Foi, March 13, 1844. Archives of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith.

¹⁹² De Smet to Van de Velde, December, 1844. (AA).

tions concerning California, in connection with which Fathers Accolti and Nobili appealed to the vice-provincial at St. Louis for approval of their plans. Accolti was also sending data to St. Louis for insertion in the printed register or catalogue of the vice-province, a thing he could not have done if there was no official connection between the vice-province of Missouri and the missions of which he was superior. Finally, we find Father Elet authorizing in 1851 the return to Belgium of one of the Oregon missionaries, Father Vercruysse, a matter beyond his competence unless he still had jurisdiction over that Jesuit group.¹⁹³ And yet the exact relations between the vice-province and the western missions continued to be obscure. When Father Murphy arrived in St. Louis in 1851 to take up the duties of vice-provincial, he found no one able to enlighten him on the matter, whereupon he wrote to Father Roothaan that he saw no reason why the name of the superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission should continue to appear in the register of the vice-province. The question was finally set at rest by the General when he wrote to Murphy October 30, 1851: "The Oregon Mission is immediately subject to me nor has the vice-province any relations with its members save those of fraternal charity."¹⁹⁴

Thus came to an end a highly interesting chapter of missionary enterprise on the part of the middlewestern Jesuits. That the Oregon missions in their outcome measured up to the expectations they had raised was surely not the case. Father Roothaan, who had watched over their inception with the keenest interest and sympathy, who had financed them to the limit of his ability and to whom they were, in De Smet's language, "the apple of his eye," was openly disappointed. De Smet thought he saw an explanation of the phenomenon in the inefficiency of some of the missionaries. Father Congiato, a superior of clear head and sober judgment, was inclined to adopt the same explanation. He reported in 1858 that since 1847, a date coinciding approximately with the close of De Smet's superiorship, the missions had been stationary, that in the interval no new Indian tribe had been evangelized, the missionaries contenting themselves with the care of the tribes already converted, and that this condition of things was due to a "lack of zeal and ability" on the part of the missionaries. He further wrote apropos of the opening in 1858 by Father Adrian Hoecken of the Blackfoot Mission of St. Peter: "This takes the missions out of the stationary condition in which they have been for ten years and more and opens up a vast field for the salvation of souls."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1474.

¹⁹⁴ Roothaan à Murphy, October 30, 1851. (AA).

¹⁹⁵ Congiato à Beckx, December 10, 1858. (AA).

Father Roothaan himself commented on the issue in a letter of 1852 to De Smet:

It seems that the idea of renewing the miracles of Paraguay amid those mountains was a Utopia. In the first place, we could not hope for the means which our Fathers received from the Crowns of Spain and Portugal. Then, it was impossible to keep the whites at a distance; then, too, the nature of the land is quite different and one cannot hope to wean the bulk of the savages from their nomadic life during a great part of the year when they are on the hunt and scattered and disbanded, some to the right and some to the left. Impossible for the missionary to follow them—their savagery is renewed,—perpetuated, with great danger of profanation of baptism and the other sacraments. I declare, my dear Father, I don't see how one can have any success at all. And where should we get the necessary men and resources! The Willamette farm has also been a sink-hole. In fine, I don't see how these missions can be kept up. May the Lord enlighten us! ¹⁹⁶

Yet, while a new Paraguay had not been created offhand in the fastnesses of the Rockies, the missions achieved in the long run a substantial and in many respects a notable success. What was accomplished in later years on behalf of the Coeur d'Alènes and Kalispels is not inferior in interest and importance to similar achievements in the history of modern missionary effort among the aborigines. The dreams of De Smet and his associates were not to fail entirely. One may even accept, if with some reservation, the verdict of a one-time superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions: "Father De Smet's hopes have been more than realized." ¹⁹⁷ Then, too, there is always the inevitable viewpoint of the genuine Christian missionary which leads him to account any sacrifice worth while if it means the saving of a single soul. Thus, in a mood of depression De Smet wrote to Nobili on receiving the latter's account of the abandonment of the New Caledonia Mission:

I had the pleasure of course of perusing your welcome letter, which I did with no little delight and satisfaction though your allusion to New Caledonia started the tear in my eyes—the only thing that must console you is that many of the poor little ones who have had the happiness of being regenerated in the holy waters of baptism, through your ministry in that country, are now enjoying eternal bliss in heaven—the same consolation is all that is left to me from Oregon and of this I cannot be deprived. ¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Roothaan à De Smet, April 15, 1852. (AA). De Smet had written to Father Roothaan in the beginning: "I hope that with the grace of the Lord zealous and laborious missionaries filled with the spirit of the Society . . . will make the beautiful days of Paraguay live again." De Smet à Roothaan, February 7, 1841. (AA).

¹⁹⁷ Father De La Motte, S.J., in Laveille, *De Smet*, p. 248.

¹⁹⁸ De Smet to Nobili, May 6, 1852. (A).

A similar view of the situation was taken by Accolti, who in the same year thus summed up the status at that date of the Rocky Mountain Mission:

The accounts I receive from the Fathers are rather satisfactory. The progress of the material improvements is slow but never stopping; still, the missionaries are now more comfortable than in former times, though very much exhausted by the continuity of their labors. They now have good substantial churches, and houses better adapted to protect them against the rigors of winter. Their fare is not luxurious, but conveniently abundant and healthy. As to the Indians, they are in general good, but in the totality they are always Indians, that is to say, incapable of being induced to better habits of life. Still I confess that this is less to be attributed to the incapacity of their nature than to the local circumstances of their country. The Indians, as every other living being, want to eat and cover their bodies against the inclemency of the seasons. If they have not at hand raiment and food, they must go to fetch them from elsewhere. On the other hand, the missionaries are not capable of supporting entire tribes at their own expense; then they must allow their sheep to rove here and there in order to get their livelihood. The necessity of being often absent from the Church must assuredly be very noxious to their spiritual well being. The Missionaries of California, following the footsteps of our ancient fathers, had very well known the necessity of keeping the Indians all round the churches in villages regularly built for that purpose; but, at the same time, they used to supply them with everything necessary for their preservation. But they had immense prairies for raising stock of thousands and thousands of head of every description which supplied them with plenty of fresh meat. The tallow and skins of many thousands of cows exchanged with clothing and blankets brought in by Spanish or Mexican vessels gave them every year the facility of being always supplied with decent and substantial raiment. Our Missions in the Mountains have no such advantages at all. The abruptness of those countries, the unproductiveness of the soil in its generality and—what is more—the severity of the winters are and ever will be difficulties for raising numerous stock, of so insurmountable a nature as to require the omnipotence of God to be removed. Therefore I confess that on that score I don't perceive the least beam of hope such as to let us anticipate the gratification of seeing these missions more advanced than they are at present. Nevertheless, I do not oppose their existence. However discouraging may be their future prospect of improvement to our pride and selfishness, still their utility shall always be a truth of an undeniable evidence. The souls that are every year marked with the regenerating water of Baptism and especially those that are so happy as to receive the sacramental comforts of the church in departing from this world, will rejoice forever in the eternal mansions of Heaven, will sing forever the praises of the eternal Lamb for having redeemed them with his blood and the poor missionary destitute of the means of doing better will one day find in them, at the shrine of mercies, that justification for his ineffectual exertions

which very often he could not obtain from the deceived and deceiving judgment of men.¹⁹⁹

The estimate placed on De Smet's missionary program and its outcome by Chittenden and Richardson, editors of his letters, is illuminating:

Father De Smet planned his work among the Indians on a far greater scale than he was able ever to realize. This was due in the first place to lack of resources. The Jesuits never either had the workers or the funds that were necessary. In the second place the field itself was entirely swept away. In 1846 Father De Smet no doubt anticipated that the seed he had sown in Oregon would grow into a mighty harvest. But what man proposes is rarely realized. In 1863, as he passed over the country again, he found it occupied by a new race, the hunting ground of his neophytes filled with settlers; the Indians struggling in vain for their lands and being rapidly huddled together on small reservations. The whole opportunity for a great work had gone in the twinkling of an eye. The work of the missionary among the Indians was confined to a few small localities whose influence upon the general community was wholly inappreciable.

This is not saying that their work so far as it went was not a success. There is no finer example of an Indian mission than St. Ignatius in Montana; but a few individual successes were not a vast field. The truth is the Indian was gone, swallowed up in the flood of settlement and no longer a factor in the life of the country.

It is a reasonable conclusion from the history of the Catholic missions in Oregon that if the Indians had remained in a state of primitive wildness the missionaries would have accomplished their conversion to the Christian religion; and that without interfering with their native customs to any great extent, they would have lessened the wars among the tribes, promoted cleanliness and virtue among them and at the same time have left them free in the exercise of all their manly sports, the chase, the nomadic life, and the gathering of furs by which their conveniences and comforts could be promoted through trade with the white man.²⁰⁰

Father Congiato's statement that the missions had been stationary during the period 1847-58 has been cited. In the following years their status visibly improved so that in 1861 he could write to the Father General in these terms:

To conclude, the missions, however surrounded on every side by dangers they be at present, however few, old and tired out be the workers, however exposed to temptations of every sort the Indians find themselves at present while the whites make every effort to corrupt and ruin them with whiskey,

¹⁹⁹ Accolti to De Smet, November 20, 1852. (AA).

²⁰⁰ CR, *De Smet*, I: 122.

the missions, I repeat, flourish and the good which is being done is plentiful; the Indians listen to us with docility and only in few cases do they suffer themselves to be seduced. From what I have heard of other Indian missions on the far side of the Rocky Mountains, ours in comparison are in a veritable earthly paradise. The spirit of our men is in general good.²⁰¹

With this testimony of Father Congiato, the story of the Rocky Mountain Missions as far as it concerns the present history is brought to an end. An atmosphere of pious adventure and romance enveloped their beginnings, the shadow of indifferent success if not of open failure rested for a space upon them, but in the end a substantial measure of success in the civilizing and christianizing of the Indian tribes of the Pacific Northwest remains laid up to their credit.

²⁰¹ Congiato à Beckx, December 24, 1861. (AA).

CHAPTER XXVI

THE INDIANS OF THE PLAINS

§ 1. THE BLACKFEET

At the time Bishop Miége, Vicar-apostolic of the Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains, first arrived in his vicariate, which was in 1851, there were only two Catholic Indian missions, those among the Osage and Potawatomi, in its whole vast range from the Missouri River to the Rockies. "As to possible missions," he had written to the General from St. Louis before his consecration, "there are as many as there are Indian nations"; but "one cannot establish such without great resources in men and money."¹ For this reason Father Roothaan had suggested more than once in the course of 1850 to Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda, the expediency of uniting under one and the same jurisdiction "the missions to the east of the Rocky Mountains and those in the heart of those same Mountains where now there are eleven Fathers." The Cardinal replied, August, 1850, that the Propaganda would take the proposed plan under consideration.² But the plan did not commend itself either to the bishops of Oregon or to Father Accolti, superior of the Oregon Missions. The latter expressed the opinion that a single vicariate would not suffice even for the region east of the mountains, where there was a very numerous Indian population, "the Sioux alone counting at least 80,000," which figure, however, was an overstatement.³ In the end Father Roothaan advised Cardinal Barnabo, December, 1850, that the proposal to unite the missions east and west of the Rockies under a single vicariate had met with disfavor and that he would urge it no longer.⁴

That efforts be made to evangelize the Indians of the plains was a plea persistently made by De Smet both with his superiors and with the bishops. In 1850, at the request of Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati, he drew up "a brief memorial of the Indians who inhabit the Great Desert and on the means of coming to their aid in a religious way." He calculated, roughly it would appear, the entire Catholic Indian

¹ Miége à Roothaan, February 13, 1851. (AA).

² Barnabo à Roothaan, August, 1850. (AA).

³ Accolti à Roothaan, January 22, 1851. (AA).

⁴ Roothaan à Barnabo, December 1, 1850. (AA).

population east of the Rockies at only six thousand, of which number twenty-eight hundred were Osage and Potawatomi, the rest being for the most part children baptized by him in visits to Indian tribes of the upper Missouri. There were great tribes still awaiting the gospel message, as the Comanche, twenty thousand; the Sioux, thirty-five thousand in forty bands; the Assiniboin, six thousand; the Crows, eighty-five hundred; and the Blackfeet, twelve thousand.⁵ Sporadic attempts were made to extend the missionary activities of the vice-province of Missouri above the line of the Osage and Potawatomi, but without result. The Indian missions established by it in the remote Northwest were all situated to the west of the main ridge of the Rockies. No permanent establishment had been made by it among the Indian tribes dwelling on the great plains east of the continental divide. But the seeds of future missionary harvests were planted by De Smet and one or other of the Missouri Jesuits in occasional travels through the upper Missouri country and it is with this phase of the missionary activity of De Smet and his associates that the present chapter purposes to deal.

Conspicuous among the Indian tribes of the eastern slope of the Rockies were the Siksika or Blackfeet. They were of Algonkin origin and consisted of three sub-tribes, the Siksika proper or Blackfeet, the Kainah or Bloods, and the Piegan, the whole body generally going under the popular name of Blackfeet. Their habitat in the last century, before they were gathered into reservations, included the greater part of the vast plains extending "almost from the North Saskatchewan river in Canada to the southern headstreams of the Missouri in Montana and from about longitude 105° to the base of the Rocky Mountains."⁶ Closely allied with the Blackfeet, though of different stock, were the Sarsi and the Atsina or Gros Ventres of the Plains.

Between Flatheads and Blackfeet, though separated by the main ridge of the Rockies, relations were those of chronic hostility. Encounters between their warriors were frequent and bloody, especially in the plains east of the mountains, whither the Flatheads journeyed every year to hunt the buffalo that roamed in innumerable herds over that grassy region. "The buffalo hunt is attended with dangers," wrote Father De Smet from Madison Forks, August 15, 1842, "but the greatest of these does not consist in the mere pursuit of the animal, but proceeds rather from the bands of Blackfeet who constantly lurk in these regions, especially when there is some prospect of meeting with the larger game or stealing a number of horses. Of all the mountain savages the Blackfeet are the most numerous and wicked and the great-

⁵ (AA). De Smet in 1866 computed the Sioux population at "from 35,000 to 40,000 souls." CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1328.

⁶ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, art. "Blackfeet."

est thieves. Happily, however, from having been often beaten by the smaller tribes they have become so dastardly that unless they are twenty to one they confine their attention to the horses, which, thanks to the carelessness of their courageous enemies, they go about stealing with so much dexterity and success, that this year, while our good Flatheads were asleep, they discovered their animals as often as twenty times and carried off more than a hundred of them."⁷

To bring about peace between Flatheads and Blackfeet and evangelize the latter tribe were ambitions of the missionaries resident at St. Mary's in the Bitter Root. The baptism at the mission on Christmas Day, 1841, of a Blackfoot chief, Nicholas, together with his family gave promise of what might be expected from future missionary labor in behalf of that truculent tribe. Father Point especially was eager to go among them. In the summer of 1842 he and De Smet accompanied the Flatheads on a buffalo hunt as far east as Madison Forks on the Missouri, but without meeting any Blackfeet on the way. In an attempt to come into touch with the latter and induce them to make peace with the Flatheads De Smet undertook in the fall of 1845 the most adventurous journey of his whole missionary career (*supra*, Chap. XXIV, § 10). Setting out for the Blackfoot country, he travelled north to a point beyond the American line, crossed the continental divide and made his way some distance south along the east slope of the Rockies. But he failed to find the object of his search, the Blackfeet, and was obliged to retrace his way over the Rockies to the Flathead country, which he reached only in the spring of 1846.

In the fall of 1846 De Smet undertook for the third time the long journey back to St. Louis to obtain supplies and discharge other important business in connection with his Oregon missions. Having failed in his attempt of the preceding winter to reach the Blackfeet, he determined to take advantage of his passage through their country on the way to St. Louis to search them out and persuade them to live on terms of peace with the Flatheads. He left St. Mary's Mission August 16 in company with Father Point. It happened that a Flathead hunting party reenforced by thirty Nez Percé lodges and, curiously enough, by a few Blackfoot lodges, were at this time in the Yellowstone Valley in the immediate vicinity of the Crows. De Smet knew what would happen if the hunters came into contact with the Crows, for the latter were then at war with the Nez Percés and Blackfeet. He appears to have been moving towards the Flatheads and their friends when news of the critical situation reached him. He at once sent his two interpreters, Gabriel and Charles, to the allied camp to announce his ap-

⁷ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 363.

proach. Shortly before the arrival of the interpreters a Crow party had come up to the Nez Percés and Blackfeet, and, greatly outnumbering them, were eager to give battle, a step they were restrained from taking only by the interposition of the Flatheads. The news of De Smet's approach also served for the moment to check them. In the end, however, the chiefs could no longer restrain the martial ardor of the younger Crows, who fell with vigor upon the allies. But the latter had been able to fortify themselves and succeeded in throwing back the Crow attack with great success. The Crows lost fourteen men, the allies only one, a Nez Percé. When the two missionaries arrived on the scene, the battle was over and the Crows, to his great disappointment, had disappeared in the direction of the Wind River Mountains. The aftermath of the incident is told by De Smet:

Shortly after my arrival the Blackfeet came in a body to my lodge to express in a manner truly eloquent their admiration of the Flatheads, with whom in future they desired to live on terms of the closest friendship. "To their prayers," said they, "must this extraordinary victory be attributed. While the battle lasted, we saw their old men, their women and children, on their knees, imploring the aid of heaven; the Flatheads did not lose a single man—one only fell, a young Nez Percé, and another mortally wounded. But the Nez Percé did not pray. We prayed morning and evening with the Flatheads and heard the instructions of the chiefs." They then beg of me in their own affecting way to take pity on them and be charitable to them; they are now determined to hear the words of the Great Manitou of the whites and to follow the course which the Redeemer had marked out on earth. Having addressed them on the nature of the life they had proposed to adopt, they all without exception presented their children for baptism to the number of eighty.

From the Yellowstone Valley the allied camp withdrew in a northwesterly direction to the Judith Basin and thence to Fort Lewis on the Missouri, a few miles above the later Fort Benton. Father De Smet accompanied the Indians on this occasion, making the acquaintance of Piegan, Bloods, Blackfeet proper and Gros Ventres. As a result of his five weeks' stay with them, he had the consolation of seeing a solemn peace established between the Flatheads and Blackfeet. With this result accomplished, he resumed in September his journey to St. Louis, leaving Father Point to prosecute the work of evangelizing the Indians. De Smet's impression of the Blackfeet and the prospects of missionary work among them were summed up by him as follows:

From all that I have seen and heard of the Blackfeet, during the five weeks I have spent among them, I am firmly convinced that a mission to this tribe would produce results very fortunate and very consoling for religion.

It is assuredly a task full of difficulties and obstacles, requiring the zeal and courage of an apostle; one must be prepared for a life of crosses, privation and patience; they are savages in the full meaning of the word, accustomed to wreak vengeance on their enemies and wallow in blood and carnage. They are plunged in coarse superstitions which brutalize their souls; they worship the sun and the moon and offer them sacrifices and propitiation and thanksgiving. Now they cut deep gashes in their bodies and catch the blood; now they strike off joints of their fingers and present them to their divinities, crying: "I do thee this favor Apistotokio (God Spirit), I give thee my blood; do me also a favor on the war-path, and when I come again I will worship thee with scalps that I take from my enemies."

Despite their cruelties and abominable superstitions, a bright light is beginning, it would seem, to dispel the shadows under which these poor pagans have lived for so many ages. During the five weeks that I stayed among them they were as assiduous and attentive as possible to the instructions I gave them, and seemed to listen with pleasure to the consoling truths of the gospel.⁸

Of the earliest trading-posts of the American Fur Company on the upper Missouri, Fort Lewis stood furthest up the river. At the time of the arrival of Fathers De Smet and Point at this fort, September 24, 1846, Alexander Culbertson, noted frontier figure, was in command. Point has listed the personnel in his memoirs: "Mr. Culbertson, bourgeois or Captain; Mr. [Malcolm] Clark, *commis* or lieutenant; A. Hamel, interpreter; J. Berger, trader; Michael Champagne, store-keeper; J. B. Champagne, son of the preceding." For a period Charles Larpenteur, later in charge of Fort Vermilion, relieved Culbertson as head of the post. "I wish to finish my days," he confided to Father Point, "as a good Christian and with that end in view to retire from civilization." In the May of 1847 Culbertson closed Fort Lewis, transferring the post to a point about three miles below on the opposite bank of the Missouri. Both at Fort Lewis and at the new post, known as Fort Clay, subscription-lists were opened on behalf of the projected Catholic mission among the Blackfeet. Some forty-one names were entered, among them those of Culbertson and Clark. The relations between the missionaries and the officials of the fur companies were apparently of the best, while the influence exercised by the latter upon

⁸ The account of De Smet's experiences with the Blackfeet is based on CR, *De Smet*, 2: 570-599. A missionary from the Red River district appears to have visited the Montana Blackfeet and administered baptisms among them before the arrival of De Smet and Point. For data on the ministry of Pembina (Red River) missionaries who accompanied hunting-expeditions to the buffalo region east and north of the Missouri in the thirties and forties, cf. Mary Aquinas Norton, *Catholic Missionary Activities in the Northwest, 1818-1864* (Washington, 1930). p. 91 *et seq.*

the Indians was beneficial. Point, in announcing later to De Smet his high hopes for the conversion of the Blackfeet, wrote: "What most consoles us is that the regeneration, if things go on as they are, will be due in great measure to the present exemplary conduct at the fort."⁹ Father De Smet himself remained only four days at Fort Lewis, setting out thence on September 28, 1846, for St. Louis.¹⁰

The series of over six hundred baptisms administered by Father Point in the Blackfoot country, lying in what is now eastern Montana,

⁹ "I am assured that there is no liquor (always the cause of most Indian troubles) in this year's shipment [to Fort Lewis] and that this injurious traffic is to be discouraged from now on." De Smet to Van de Velde, September 26, 1846. CR, *De Smet*, 2: 595.

"Father Point . . . was furnished quarters and a room for a chapel and school. He was a man of great austerity and severe in the practice of his religion. He had daily service in his chapel and Mass upon Sundays attended by all the squaws and most of the white employees of the fort, Major Culbertson himself setting the example. The Father was filled with zeal for their conversion to the holy faith, sternly reproved every exhibition of profanity and rebuked every immorality and gradually made himself feared but respected by every inmate of the fort, over the squaws in particular gaining a complete ascendancy. Even Major Culbertson was not exempt from his denunciation when occasion rose. . . . His influence at the fort had been decidedly for good; among the reforms which he accomplished was a change of relations between the white employees of the fort and the squaws living there. When the former were willing to become lawful husbands of their squaws, he solemnized marriages between them; and when they would not consent to do this, he induced the squaws to leave them and return to their respective tribes." "Affairs at Fort Benton from 1831 to 1869 from Lieut. Bradley's Journal," in *Montana Historical Society Contributions*, 3: 201-287. Bradley's notes were taken down at Alexander Culbertson's dictation. Cf. Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River*, 1: 222-235.

Unpublished material from Father Point's pen, practically all dealing with his Rocky Mountain experiences, includes: (1) Memoirs in French (*Souvenirs des Montagnes Rocheuses, Séjour au Fort Louis etc.*), filling three bulky volumes, with original drawings. Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. Selections tr. in *WL*, XII. (2) Letters and numerous pen-and-ink sketches in the Archives of the Missouri Province, S.J. (St. Louis University). (3) Baptismal records (1846-1847) in the Jesuit General Archives, Rome. (4) A few pages of a journal kept in the Blackfoot country and now in the Biblioteca Nazionale (*Fondo Gesuitico*), Rome. (5) *Voyage en berge depuis le fort des Pieds Noirs [Fort Lewis] jusqu'à celui des Assinaboines* [Fort Union]. Journal of Point's descent of the Missouri in 1847 from Fort Lewis to Fort Union. Tr. in *Mid-America*, 13: 236 *et seq.* (1931). Cf. also Garraghan, "Nicholas Point, Jesuit Missionary in Montana of the Forties," in Willard and Goodykoontz (eds.), *The Trans-Mississippi West* (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1930), p. 43 *et seq.*

¹⁰ For traditions of the presence of De Smet among the Blackfeet in 1846 cf. McClintock, *The Old North Trail, Life, Legends, and Religion of the Blackfeet Indians* (London, 1900). The Blackfeet appear to have called De Smet Innu-e-kinni (Long Teeth) "because of the appearance of his teeth." Big Lake, the Piegan chief mentioned in Point's journal, figures also in McClintock's book.

was inaugurated at Fort Lewis on St. Michael's day, September 29. "Twenty-two baptisms," records his journal, "were administered to Blackfeet children in the isle [*sic*] of the fort. May this bouquet, which the missionary offers to St. Michael, merit for him his protection; he has great need of it in the country where he is." Having remained at Fort Lewis up to the fall hunt Father Point started on October 18 for the camp of the Piegan, "the first to receive us." "A Creole of thirty" and a metif interpreter, Jean Baptiste Champagne, a boy of twelve, were his companions. The Piegan chief, Le Grand Lac or Big Lake, had come to Fort Lewis to meet the Jesuit. Among the Piegan there were numerous baptisms, as there were also among the Gros Ventres, the Bloods (*Gens du Sang*), the Blackfeet proper, and the Crows. The missionary's journal for October 28 noted that two hundred lodges of the Gros Ventres were approaching to have their children baptized. These particular Indians are described by the missionary as "naturally good as is proved by the fact that when drunk they think only of showing one another marks of friendship."¹¹ The baptisms and marriages which Point performed among these Indians of the plains are apparently the earliest church ministrations recorded for eastern Montana. The register in which they are entered with meticulous accuracy and neatness is extant.¹² With its aid one may follow Father Point from camp to camp as he made his way among the various groups of the great Blackfoot tribe. The one or other Canadians who accompanied him on his missionary trips in the capacity of interpreter or engagé also lent him their services as god-fathers in his numerous baptisms or as witnesses to marriages. The names of Jean Baptiste Champagne, Honore Arnault, Jean Baptiste Deschamps, Pierre Choquette and Augustin Hamelle thus occur in the records.

Father Point's relation of his experiences among the Blackfeet goes into much interesting detail. Some passages are cited:

I think I can say, to the glory of the only Author of all good, that with his grace I have not lost my time among the Blackfeet. I have performed 667 baptisms, the records of which are in due form; I have taken notes of whatsoever appeared to me suitable for interesting the curious or edifying the pious. During the winter I was accustomed daily to give three instructions or catechetical lessons proportioned to the three very different classes of

¹¹ Journal in the Biblioteca Nazionale (*Fondo Gesuitico*), Rome.

¹² (AA). Father Point's register includes also a few marriages. Thus, at Fort Lewis, December 27, 1846, he officiated at six, all of them between white attachés of the Fort and Indian squaws, the latter baptized the same day on which they were married. On the day named Michael Champagne, son of Louis Champagne, was married to the Piegan woman Marie Nitchetoaki. The marriages of December 27, 1846, are apparently the first recorded for Montana east of the mountains.

my auditors. It is unnecessary for me to say that the prayers have all been translated into Blackfoot and learned in Fort Lewis and in the camp of the Piegans, and there is scarcely any camp among the Blackfeet in which the sign of the cross is not held in veneration and even practised, at least among those individuals who have had any intercourse with the missionary.

Of the twenty-five or thirty camp-leaders or chiefs who visited me or whom I have visited, there is not one who has not given me ideas of his people or tribe less disadvantageous than those generally entertained, and of course among the whites who inhabit the Indian Territory as elsewhere. Among the different camps, there is a species of emulation as to which shall have the Black-robe or rather the mission on its lands. Concerning this article I have decided nothing. I have only said that in case a Reduction were formed, it would be built in the position or locality which would afford the greatest advantage to all the tribes taken collectively. All found this idea reasonable and have promised that they would exert their utmost endeavors to satisfy the Black-robos.

The Gros Ventres of the Plains appear to me to have the advantage over the others in being more adroit, docile and courageous; but they are more strongly attached to their old superstitions and are terrible *demandeurs*, as the Canadian employees here call shameless beggars; happily, they are not offended when refused. The Piegans are the most civilized, but the most noted thieves. The *Gens du Sang* [Bloods] are well made, of fine blood, and are generally less dirty. It is said that the Blackfeet proper are most hospitable.

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I have been on a six weeks' hunt with the fifty lodges of the Piegans, which are under the command of the chief, Amakzikinne or "Big Lake." This camp is one of the seven or eight fractions of the Piegan tribe, amounting in all to about 300 lodges. This tribe forms a part of the four known under the generic title of Blackfeet. I have spoken of them already. The Piegans are the most civilized on account of the relations of a portion of their people with the Flatheads. If the Gros Ventres were less importunate, I would willingly entitle them the Flatheads of the Missouri. They have something of their simplicity and their bravery. They are improperly ranked among the Blackfeet; besides the fact that they did not originate in the country [of the Blackfeet], they do not speak their language and are different in many respects.

However this may be, these four tribes may contain about 1,000 lodges or 10,000 souls. This is not half what they were before the contagion of smallpox introduced among them by the whites. I believe that women constitute more than two-thirds of them, if not even three-quarters. This inequality, so baneful to morals, is the result of war. In the visit I paid to the Gros Ventres, divided into two camps, I counted 230 lodges. I visited or received visits from several fractions or detachments of Blackfeet and further from an entire camp of *Gens du Sang*; and all were in such dispositions that only a word on my part would have been necessary to enable

me to baptize, with their consent, all the children from the largest down to those of only a day old, which the mothers brought me of their own free will.¹³ I could have baptized a great number of adults; they even seemed to desire it ardently; but these desires were not yet sufficiently imbued with the true principles of religion. I could not content myself with the persuasion generally existing among the savages, that when they have received baptism they can conquer any enemy whatsoever. The courage and the happiness of the Flatheads have inspired them with this belief. This explains why some wretches, who seek only to kill their neighbors, were the first to petition for baptism.

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I have yet one consoling piece of news to announce. On my route, traveling with the Piegan camp, I baptized fourteen little infants of the Crow nation, so well did I find them disposed—these were on their way to visit the Gros Ventres.¹⁴ They desire to see you [De Smet] among them again. Indulging this hope, they will go to meet you in the spring.¹⁵

Before leaving the Flathead country Father Point had written to the Father General asking permission to be allowed to go to Canada where French Jesuits had recently opened a mission. Though applying himself all along to his missionary tasks with unremitting and really extraordinary zeal, he was never at ease in his own soul since his removal from the presidency of St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana. (*Infra*, Chap. XXXII, § 2.) From the Flathead Mission he penned a long letter to Father Roothaan to justify his course at that institution. The General was surprised; he had himself forgotten the affair long ago. "*Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia*," he quoted from the breviary hymn. Point's petition for Canada was dated April 14,

¹³ Father Point's total of six hundred and fifty-one baptisms shows only twenty-six adults baptized, four men and twenty-two women, the rest being children, three hundred and thirty boys and two hundred and ninety-five girls. "As to the adult Indians no attempt was made, except in a few exceptional cases to baptize them, as in their present environment and without the ministerial aid supplied by a permanent mission, there was little prospect of their continuing to live as Christians. Moreover, an adult Indian rarely showed the moral dispositions required for the licit administration of the sacrament. 'I could have baptized a great number of adults,' comments Father Point in reference to the numerous visits he received from Blackfeet camps; 'they even seem to desire it ardently; but these desires were not yet sufficiently imbued with the true principles of Religion.' Even in the case of the children it would appear that they were not baptized unless they were in some danger of death from sickness or unless there was some reasonable prospect of their being reared as Christians." Garraghan, "Point," *Trans-Mississippi West*, p. 55.

¹⁴ The Crow baptisms are dated June 9, 1846.

¹⁵ CR, *De Smet*, 3: 949-956.

Voyage en berge
Depuis le fort des Pieds noirs
Jusqu'à celui des assiniboïnes —

Soumis à la révision du P. P. Supérieur
des missions des montagnes Ocheuses
avec prière de vouloir bien la faire —
parvenir au P. P. Provincial du Missouri

†

Voyage en berge sur le Missouri
Depuis le fort des pieds-noirs jusqu'à
celui des assiniboïnes.

Particularités édifiantes ou curieuses

Le fort sous qui est le point de notre départ fut bâti par M^r Colberson, Bourgeois de la compagnie américaine, ainsi que le fort Clay qui lui succède. Il étoit situé sur la rive gauche du Missouri, au centre à peu près du pays Pied-nois. — Jusques là peut-être un steamboat eût pu monter le fleuve sans les plus hautes eaux, c.-à-d. depuis mai jusqu'en juillet; mais au-dessus toute navigation devient impossible à cause des enchâtes qui se succèdent dans un espace de huit milles. En hiver elle l'est presque partout à cause des glaces, qui ont de deux à trois pieds de profondeur. — Dans la saison des sécheresses qui dure depuis août jusqu'en gelée, les berges peuvent monter mais ce n'est qu'un moyen de toutes les forces qui vont à bord, rarement le vent en poupe, permet à l'équipage de se reposer et certaines années on échoue jusqu'à dix et douze fois par jour; alors il faut finetter à l'éau et faire des nœuds au tirage de la corde, les forts coups de paules, ce qui fait de la marine de ces parages un métier si rude que le fort des Pieds noirs qui a besoin de plus de bras que les autres, est encore obligé de les payer plus cher. Un simple engagé lui coûte annuellement de 150 à 230 piastres, sans compter la loge — ment, le chauffage et la nourriture qui est celle du pays; les charpentiers, forgerons, chasseurs, tous les gens de métier dont on ne peut se passer, sont encore mieux nourris et mieux payés que meilleurs appointemens; les commis, le principal interprète et les traiteurs sont admis à la table du maître; En sus le fort se charge bénévolement de nourrir les malades, les infirmes, les femmes, les enfans, les visiteurs, en un mot toutes les bouches inutiles qui montent communément à plus de soixante

1845. Not until ten months later, February 18, 1846, could the General return an answer, so long had it taken the missionary's communication to bridge the long distance between what is now western Montana and Rome. "May you find peace of mind there," Father Roothaan wrote in granting Point's request to attach himself to the Mission of Canada. "There is nothing I more desire you to have and therefore do I beg you *in visceribus Christi* entirely to forget the past." Father Roothaan's communication of February, 1846, reached Point among the Blackfeet early in the spring of the following year.

On May 19, 1847, all the movable effects of Fort Lewis and even, it seems, the building materials were transported to the recently opened Fort Clay. Three days later at 8 A.M., May 21, Father Point set out from the latter post by barge for Fort Union where he caught the steamer *Martha* for St. Louis. Of his trip down the Missouri as far as Fort Union he has left an interesting account.¹⁶ The barge was in charge of Michael Champagne, storekeeper at Fort Lewis. On June 16 he baptized some Assiniboin children at Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone, which place had been reached May 31. Baptisms are also recorded for Fort Pierre (June 29), Fort Vermilion (July 2), and Bellevue (July 5). Westport was reached July 7 and at the beginning of August, 1847, Point was in St. Louis. On the 5th of that month Father Van de Velde wrote to a correspondent: "Father Point arrived here from the Blackfeet, where he has done much good and baptized more than 600 persons. He has left for Sandwich in Canada."¹⁷ From his new station Point was at pains to inform the General that he had been able to defray the entire expenses of his stay of eight months with the Blackfeet "including interpreter and engagé" and of the long journey to Canada without help from St. Louis and, in fact, had been able to leave a surplus of some hundred dollars with Van de Velde.

Shortly after his return to Canada Father Point submitted to the Father General a report on the prospects for missionary work among the Blackfeet. He began by pointing out the existing deplorable condition of the tribe. The buffalo was gradually disappearing and the number of hunters was increasing in direct proportion to the disappearance of the animal. No other alternative, should conditions continue as they were, seemed to face the Blackfeet but exile or death. "The buffalo is their bread." The surest means of guaranteeing the future of the tribe would be to organize a Catholic reduction on their lands. Point then discussed the relations that would probably exist between the fur-companies and the missionaries. The bourgeois, the traders proper, who bought the robes direct from the Indians, were a doubtful quantity.

¹⁶ *Voyage en Berge depuis le fort des Pieds Noirs*. Cf. note 9.

¹⁷ Van de Velde à ———, August 5, 1847. (AA).

The Chouteaus and other *fournisseurs*, who supplied goods to the bourgeois for their trade with the Indians, appeared better disposed to the missionaries. Whether it was better that there be only one trading company operating on or near the reduction was also made the subject of discussion.¹⁸ Father Point thus concluded his report:

Supposing the favorable dispositions of all the traders, what are the best steps to take to assure the success of our undertaking? I leave the solution of this important question to the proper authorities. The only thing I ought to say to enlighten superiors in their government is that Father De Smet has acquired a great popularity both among the officials of the company and among the Indians, at first no doubt by his courtesy towards all strangers but above all by the generosity of his gifts, promises, etc. Were he and *a fortiori* others not to come with more means than he left behind for me, they might as well, unless a miracle occur, think of returning immediately they arrived. The post which I have filled and which others will have filled provisionally better than myself would not be tenable the next year. A promise to construct a village has been made by Father De Smet to the Blackfeet (and very positively). This promise I have renewed everytime I had the opportunity and this by order of Father De Smet. It must then be executed; otherwise the Black Robes will pass in the eyes of the Indians as liars. . . . The greatest obstacle to the entire conversion of the Indians of the Missouri is the inequality of the sexes; this will diminish only with the diminution of wars, which are here wars of extermination.¹⁹

Obviously there were reasons why the project of a Blackfoot mission should not be allowed to lapse. The Indians had been assured a resident missionary and a fund, albeit of very modest proportions, had been gotten together to finance the venture. Van de Velde wrote in August, 1847: "I expect him [De Smet] back about the beginning of April, in order that, should it be agreeable to your Reverence, he may go to the Indians commonly known as the Blackfeet and reside among them with a companion." The following November Van de Velde wrote again: "We ought not neglect the mission among the Blackfeet as Father Point has promised them that I would send one or other Father next spring."²⁰ In June, 1848, Father Elet, who had just taken up the duties of vice-provincial, informed Father Roothaan that the

¹⁸ The two companies then operating among the Blackfeet were the American Fur Company and a group of former employees of that company, as Messrs. Harvey and Primeau, who left it to go into business on their own account with the backing of Col. Robert Campbell of St. Louis. Garraghan, "Point," *Trans-Mississippi West*, p. 52.

¹⁹ *Opinion du P. N. Point Relativement à la Mission Commencée des Pieds Noirs*. (AA).

²⁰ Van de Velde ad Roothaan, August 13, 1847; November 13, 1847. (AA).

mission would probably be delayed until April of the following year, as there was war on between the Indians and the whites and De Smet had returned from Europe too late to reach the Blackfoot country by water.²¹ In December, 1849, De Smet himself wrote to Charles Larpen-teur: "We contemplate starting out next spring for the Indian Territory, but have not as yet determined the spot where we shall establish ourselves. The whole season may probably be spent in visiting the various tribes and sounding their dispositions before any decision will be taken on this subject. Once determined upon, we will then take the necessary measures to form a settlement and most of the halfbreed families on the upper Missouri have promised me already that they are willing to join with us in the undertaking. Your presence and experience among the Indians will, no doubt, further our own endeavors in converting and civilizing the heathen nations—such being the principal object we have in view in penetrating and settling upon their lands."²²

In the sequel the Missouri Jesuits were at no time to establish themselves among the Blackfeet though in 1855 De Smet was writing that the project of a mission on behalf of that tribe had never been abandoned. As a matter of fact, men and money adequate to the purpose could scarcely be said to have been available; but probably what militated most of all against the proposed mission was the positive discouragement by Father Roothaan of all expansion of activities on the part of the Missouri Vice-province.²³ In the meantime government officials were appealing to De Smet to do something on behalf of the Blackfeet. In May, 1857, Agent Vaughn proposed to him that a mission be opened on the Judith River.²⁴ In July of the same year Col. Cummings, head of the western superintendency of Indian affairs, was asking for a mission among the Blackfeet. "I prefer Jesuits to all other missionaries."²⁵ Finally, in 1858 Father Adrian Hoecken, a member of the

²¹ Elet à Roothaan, June 7, 1848. (AA).

²² CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1471.

²³ "It is impossible that the new mission among the Blackfeet, Crows, Snakes, etc., be continued without funds. It is essential therefore that Father De Smet take advantage of his stay in Europe to promote the interests of the mission and that he obtain authorization from your Paternity to this effect." Memorial, Elet à Roothaan, 1848.

²⁴ De Smet à Beckx, June 29, 1857. (AA).

²⁵ Cited in De Smet à Beckx, August 3, 1857. (AA). Cf. also Cummings to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Denver, August 20, 1857: "By the provisions of the Treaty of the Judith [October 17, 1855] liberal arrangements are made for the advancement of the Blackfeet Nation in educational and other useful employments. No portion of that fund has yet been expended; I would therefore recommend that contracts be made with suitable persons to carry into effect the provisions of that treaty.

An admirable institution for the education of the Indians on the western slope

vice-province, who had remained in the service of the Rocky Mountain Missions after their detachment from Missouri, carried out a commission he had received from his superior, Father Congiato, to open a mission among the Blackfeet. "This move," commented Congiato, "takes the missions out of the stationary condition in which they have been." The new mission was first located on the Teton River near the present town of Chouteau, Montana. This site was abandoned in March, 1860, for one on the Sun River, near Fort Shaw, which latter site was in turn abandoned for a location on the left bank of the Missouri River about six miles above the Sun River. Finally, on April 27, 1866, the Blackfoot Mission, named St. Peter's in honor of the Jesuit General, Peter Beckx, was transferred to a site near the Bird Tail Rock between the Dearborn and Sun Rivers.²⁶

Though lending himself with characteristic zeal to his new duties in the Jesuit residence of the Assumption in Sandwich, Ontario, directly across the Detroit River from Detroit, Father Point cherished for years a longing to return to the Rocky Mountains. "When I left them [the Flatheads] for the last time in company with Father De Smet," he wrote to Father Beckx, in April, 1854, "from conquerors of their most deadly enemies they had become their saviors, since by example and counsel they had worked so far upon the Blackfeet as to bring them to petition for a Catholic missionary. Chosen as I was for the work, I should still be there were it not for a very positive promise given by Father De Smet that I should be given a substitute. I baptized eight hundred [?] infants there in a single winter."²⁷ "Ever since then the Flatheads and the Blackfeet have been uppermost in my thoughts. The interior movement which draws me to them is so imperious that I should think myself doing violence to the will of heaven if I did not renew the offers I have already made to all my Superiors in regard to this mission. I am convinced that events have rid the excellent Father

of the Rocky Mountains at St. Mary's in the Bitter Root Valley has been conducted with singular success by certain Jesuits who manifest peculiar adaptation to the duties of education in those remote regions. At this institution many of the Nez Percés and Flatheads are highly educated—all seem intelligent, moral and observant of the forms of Christian worship.

The Blackfeet are intelligent and tractable and could they enjoy the benefits of a similar institution, would become equally distinguished." (H).

²⁶ Palladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest*, p. 168 *et seq.* A detailed and accurate discussion of the successive locations of St. Peter's Mission is to be found in a ms. account prepared in 1914 by Father Francis Kuppens, S.J., one-time missionary among the Blackfeet, "Remarks concerning the account about St. Peter's Mission among the Blackfeet Indians in *Indian and White in the Northwest*." (A).

²⁷ An overstatement. Father Point's own total in his register is six hundred and fifty-one.

[De Smet] of the doubts he entertained concerning my intentions and attitude of mind, and these doubts once dissipated there are perhaps in the Rocky Mountains no two hearts more naturally drawn one to the other than would be ours.”²⁸ In 1860, “despite the solace and edification he is finding among his brethren in Canada,” nothing has made it possible for him to forget the Rocky Mountains; “they are at the bottom of all his thoughts, their cries have gone deep into his soul. If he forgets them, he has reason, to fear, so it seems to him, that God may forget him.”²⁹ He was ready accordingly to return to the mountains and under any superior, even Father De Smet, especially now that he had addressed a letter to his one-time leader “to make him forget the unpleasant impressions of other days.”

Father Point in his mountain days had on occasion been strangely intractable. De Smet had the Father General's authorization to send him away from the mission and even out of the Society, and on one occasion instructed Father Joset to serve papers of dismissal upon him; but he pleaded so vehemently to be spared this extreme penalty that Joset thought it wiser not to proceed to it. In view of Point's personal piety and capacity for effective work his lapses now and then from the deference due to superiors seemed curiously inconsistent. But it had an explanation. He appears to have suffered at times from abnormal psychic states, which rendered him more or less irresponsible while under their influence. Already, while in his company along the Oregon Trail in 1841, De Smet noted his “sombre and melancholy humor.”³⁰ At St. Mary's in 1842 Mengarini observed, “this good father is under delusion or there is something wanting in his head.”³¹ In 1848 Father Joset wrote that opinions regarding Father Point were contradictory. “Now it was said of him that he was extraordinary, now that he was intolerable. He was disturbed over the Louisiana affair and always seemed afraid of being sent away from the Society and had recourse to apologies and recriminations in the hope of staying in. He would allow no exception to be taken to anything he did. For the rest, he would have been a man very well suited for the Mission, a lover of poverty, generally obedient in executing orders, zealous and pious.”³² Twenty years later Father Joset suggested an explanation of the oddities that marked his former associate. “What did he not do for the poor Indians? His zeal and courage were above his strength. Besides, he

²⁸ Point à Beckx, April 17, 1854. (AA).

²⁹ Point, *Quelques notes sur les Missions des Montagnes*. (AA).

³⁰ De Smet made Point diarist of the 1841 journey over the Oregon Trail and this “to distract him.”

³¹ Mengarini à Roothaan, March 10, 1842. (AA).

³² Joset ad Roothaan, March 18, 1848. (AA).

suffered other privations and heart-breakings which added greatly to his crown. I think that God in the riches of his mercy sometimes reserves for his servants whose merit he would increase infirmities which are real sicknesses and yet do not pass for such and expose the individual to criticism. I have never known a more devoted missionary than Father Point."³³ A similar appraisal of Point's difficult personality was made by one associated with him in Canada, Father Joseph Hanipaux:

Father Point is equipped with all sorts of virtues, is inspired with a boundless zeal and has the deepest love for the Society; but he is very often especially at certain periods submitted by Divine Providence to a very painful trial, painful for himself as for those about him who cannot comprehend why he entertains such ideas of them as those to which he gives expression. He has times when the cross relaxes, at least sensibly; but it is not slow in making itself felt again. When he is in this state he cannot be persuaded that he is dealing not with realities, but with phantasms of the imagination, trials of Divine Providence, which makes certain souls pass through this state in order to have them arrive at great consolations. In spite of these torments he works and renders good service to the Mission. He has a great and ever increasing desire to return to the Rocky Mountains, where many of his former neophytes are in the greatest desolation. He would not do well there except with adequate support while this condition of trial is upon him.³⁴

Father Point never had his wish to return to the Rocky Mountains gratified; he continued to labor with devotion among his brethren of Canada, dying at sixty-nine, at Quebec, July 4, 1868. In the romantic attempt made by the middlewestern Jesuits in the forties to evangelize the Rocky Mountain tribes he had a distinguished share. Moreover, to his ready pen we are indebted for interesting and informing memoirs on this initial period of his missionary career. Not only did he sketch in writing the story of his Rocky Mountain experiences, but having some ability as an artist he enriched his work with pen-and-ink drawings and sketches in colors. Numerous aspects of American frontier life,

³³ Joset à Beckx, December 27, 1868. (AA). According to Father Adrian Hoecken as reported by Father Vercruysse, Point "loved the Indians and was loved by them." Vercruysse à Roothaan, April 25, 1851. (AA).

³⁴ Hanipaux à Beckx, May 1, 1854. (AA). "I will observe in the first place that I have always highly esteemed the good Father [Point] and have ever considered him as a strict and good religious man. His character, human, was such that since my acquaintance with him, I have known none of Ours with whom he could live in peace or they with him. . . . All the troubles that seemed to surround him wherever he went were more to be attributed to something wrong in his mind, of which he was not master, than to his will. Nevertheless the troubles existed and hindered in a great measure the progress of the mission. At the same time by his zeal and fervor, his deeds of mortification, etc., he has certainly done a great deal of good among the Indians." De Smet to Sopranis, February 1, 1860. (A).

secular and religious, are thus preserved, from the buffalo hunt to the trading-posts of the upper Missouri and their personnel and the first church on the site of Kansas City, Missouri.³⁵

§ 2. GROS VENTRES AND OTHER TRIBES

With other Indians of the plains besides the Blackfeet Jesuit missionaries came into contact in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. At the time De Smet and Point visited the Blackfeet there was living in close association with the latter the tribe known as the Gros Ventres of the Prairie or Atsina, a detached branch of the Arapaho. That they had no racial kinship with the Blackfeet was known to Father Point, who performed numerous baptisms among them.³⁶ Thus, on October 13 and 14, 1846, he baptized at Fort Lewis eighty children of the tribe, twenty-eight of them boys and fifty-two girls, the names of the parents being in most cases entered in the records. The roll-call of the saints of the Catholic Church was drawn upon heavily to provide names for these numerous neophytes. Thus, Felicité, Appoline, Skolas-tique, Opportune, Onesime and Jovile occur in the register. The ages of the infants are almost invariably given as are also the names of the parents, it being noted in some cases that "the parents went away without giving their names." Some forty-six additional baptisms among the Gros Ventres, these taking place in one of the camps, are recorded by Point for December, 1846.³⁷

The name of Gros Ventres ("big bellies") as applied to the Atsina or Gros Ventres of the Prairie, owes its origin to the sign by which the tribe is designated in the Indiana sign-language, this being a sweeping pass made across the abdomen by both hands to convey the idea of "always hungry," i.e. beggars. It is to be noted that the name Gros Ventres was applied by the French traders and voyageurs and after them by others to two entirely distinct tribes; the Atsina or Hitunena, a detached band of the Arapaho, and the Hidatsa or Minitaree, a Siouan tribe. Atsina and Hidatsa were often distinguished as the Gros Ventres of the Plains or Prairie and the Gros Ventres of the Missouri.³⁸ The Gros Ventres of the Prairie were subsequently gathered with the

³⁵ Two of Father Point's drawings are reproduced in Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri* (Chicago, 1919).

³⁶ "They [the Gros Ventres] are improperly ranked among the Blackfeet; besides that they did not originate in the country, they do not speak their language and are different in many respects." CR, *De Smet*, 3:952.

³⁷ Point, *Registre des Baptêmes, etc.* (AA). In 1862 Father Giorda, S.J., administered 162 baptisms among the Gros Ventres of the Prairies. Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

³⁸ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, art. "Gros Ventres."

Assiniboin on the Fort Belknap reservation and for the united tribes the Mission of St. Paul was established in 1886 by the Jesuits of the Rocky Mountain Mission.

As to the Minitaree or Hidatsa, nicknamed the Gros Ventres of the Missouri, De Smet, according to his own account, visited them in his first journey to the mountains in 1840 though under what circumstances is not noted.³⁹ On his way to the Great Council of 1851 he visited the Minitaree village at Fort Berthold on the Missouri, meeting the great chief Four Bears, whom he calls "the most civil and affable Indian that I met on the Missouri."⁴⁰ Four Bears requested the missionary to baptize his two young sons and other members of his family. All the children of the tribe at this time appear to have been baptized by Father Belcourt, a priest of the Vicariate-apostolic of the Red River, who visited the Minitaree on several occasions. De Smet visited the tribe again on his upper Missouri journeys of 1862, 1864, 1866 and 1867. "At the post of Berthold [1864] there are three tribes (Minitaree, Arikara, Mandan) united in one large village, numbering about 3,000 souls. They welcomed me with the greatest cordiality."⁴¹ In his visit of this year, 1864, he baptized at Fort Berthold two hundred and four children of the Minitaree and Mandans, his description of the ceremony being a vivid one: "Through the constant bending of my somewhat obese body to give the baptism, I was scarcely able to move for several days afterward, '*met het geschot in den rug*,' which is Flemish for with a 'crick in my back'."⁴² Fort Berthold, successor of Fort Clark, was on the Missouri River in what is now North Dakota.

The Arikara are a tribe of Caddoan stock, whose language differs only dialectically from that of the Pawnee.⁴³ Early in the nineteenth century they became neighbors and finally allies of the Mandans and the Minitaree, the three tribes living together in close confederacy in the neighborhood of Fort Berthold, where they were sometimes described collectively as the Fort Berthold Indians. De Smet met the Arikara and their allies for the first time on his return trip from the mountains in 1840. "The next day we passed through a forest on the banks of the Missouri, which had been in 1835 the winter quarters of the Grosventres [Minitaree], Aricaras and Mandans; it was there that these unfortunate nations had been attacked by that epidemic, which, in the course of a year, made such ravages among the Indian

³⁹ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 277.

⁴⁰ *Idem*, 2: 651. For an account of the Great Council of 1851, cf. *infra*, Chap. XXX, § 1.

⁴¹ *Idem*, 3: 834.

⁴² *Idem*, 3: 829.

⁴³ Hodge, *op. cit.*, art. "Arikara."

tribes; several thousand of the savages died of small-pox. We observed in passing that the corpses, wrapped in buffalo hides, had remained bound to the branches of the largest trees. This savage burial-ground offered a very sad and mournful sight, and gave my travelling companions occasion to relate anecdotes as deplorable as they were tragic. Two days later we came to the miserable remnants of these three unfortunate tribes. The Mandans, who today scarce number ten families, have united with the Grosventres, who themselves have joined the Aricaras; altogether they are about three thousand of them.”⁴⁴

Father De Smet met the Arikara again in 1846 while returning to St. Louis from the upper country.⁴⁵ In 1851, while on his way to the Great Council, he baptized about two hundred children of the tribe, which was terrified at the approach of the cholera. These were apparently his first baptisms among the Arikara. “Not long after I heard that the cholera had swept through the village of the Aricaras and that many of the children had fallen victims. What a consolation that by the sacrament I unlocked the gates of heaven to them.”⁴⁶ In 1862 the missionary again visited the tribe.⁴⁷ In 1864 he was with them still again, baptizing one hundred and three children. As a result of this visit, he even planned a mission among the united Arikara, Mandan and Minitaree.⁴⁸ In 1866 he was with the Arikara for the fifth time. “At Forts Berthold and Sully sickness has carried off a majority of the children of tender years. Fortunately the greater part had received baptism at the time of my last visit. They rejoiced at my presence and hastened to bring me all the newly born of the three tribes, the Gros Ventres, the Aricaras and the Mandans begging me to grant them the holy sacrament of regeneration.”⁴⁹ De Smet met these tribes for the last time in 1867.⁵⁰ As late as 1870 a mission among them appears to have been under consideration.⁵¹

The Cheyenne, an important plains tribe of the Algonkin family, once occupied the country of the upper Mississippi, whence they were driven westward by the advancing Sioux, separating into two bands, the Northern and the Southern. The Northern Cheyenne lived for a con-

⁴⁴ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 245.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, 2: 606.

⁴⁶ *Idem*, 2: 650.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, 2: 786.

⁴⁸ *Idem*, 3: 835.

⁴⁹ *Idem*, 3: 857.

⁵⁰ *Idem*, 3: 882.

⁵¹ *Idem*, 4: 1591. F. F. Gerard writing to De Smet May 1, 1870, advises him that the Berthold Indians would readily move from the fort to a point opposite the Little Missouri, which is suggested as a good location for a mission. “The Berthold Indians have been expecting you for the last two seasons.” *Loc. cit.*

siderable period on the head waters of the Cheyenne River in South Dakota, to which they gave their name, which is of Sioux etymology and signifies "people of alien speech." De Smet first made the acquaintance of the Cheyenne in 1840 near Fort Laramie. A party of them made up of about forty lodges listened to the missionary's discourse. "I took the opportunity to speak to them of the principal points of religion; I explained to them the ten commandments of God and several articles of the Creed. I made known to them the object of my journey to the mountains, asking whether they also did not desire to have Black-robos among them, to teach their children to know and serve the Great Spirit. The proposition seemed to please them greatly, and they answered that they would do what they could to render the stay of the Black-robos among them agreeable. I believe that a zealous missionary would meet with very good success among these savages. Their language is said to be very difficult; they are about 2,000 in number. The neighboring nations consider these Indians the most courageous warriors of the prairies." At the Great Council of 1851 De Smet baptized two hundred and fifty-three Cheyenne children. In the early nineties there were living many Cheyenne Indians who remembered him and took pride in the fact that they were baptized by him.⁵²

The Crows or Absaroka are a Siouan tribe allied ethnologically to the Hidatsa, from whom they separated, according to their own traditions, about 1776. They were then living on the Missouri River and the band which became the Crows withdrew to the plains east of the Rocky Mountains, through which region they roamed until gathered into reservations. Their country extended from the mouth of the Yellowstone south along the sources of the Powder, Wind and Big Horn Rivers as far as the Laramie fork of the Platte. The name Crows is a translation through the French, *gens de corbeaux*, of their own name Absaroka, Crow, "sparrow-hawk or bird people."⁵³

Father De Smet first met the Crows on his return trip from the Northwest in 1840.

⁵² CR, *De Smet*, 1:212; 2:679. The Mission of St. Labre "among the Cheyennes on Tongue River near the mouth of Otter Creek, some 75 miles south of Miles City in Custer County, Montana," was founded in 1883. "These Indians are a small fraction of the Northern Cheyennes and number close on 1000. They live grouped in little settlements in the Upper Tongue country and along the Rosebud." From De Smet's time there was apparently no evangelical work among these Indians until 1882-1883, when Father P. Barceló, S.J., visited them from Helena and spent several months among them. Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 203. St. Labre Mission was for some years a charge of the Jesuits of the Rocky Mountain Mission.

⁵³ Hodge, *op. cit.*, art. "Crows."

Presently we perceived a considerable troop of savages some three miles off. They were in fact Crows returning to their camp, after having paid the tribute of blood to forty of their warriors, massacred two years before by the Blackfeet. Since they are just at present allies of the Flatheads, they received us with the greatest transports of joy. Soon we met groups of women covered with dried blood, and so disfigured that they aroused at once compassion and horror. They repeat this scene of mourning for several years, whenever they pass near the tombs of their relations and so long as the slightest spot of blood remains on their bodies they may not wash themselves. The Crow chiefs received us with cordiality and gave us a great feast. The conversation was really pleasing; the languages of the two nations being different, it was carried on by signs. All the tribes of this part of America know the system and understand one another perfectly.

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The main wealth of the western Indians consists of horses; every chief and warrior owns a great number of them, which may be seen grazing in herds about their camps. They are objects of trade for them in time of peace and of booty in war, so that they often pass from one tribe to another at a very great distance. The horses that the Crows have are principally from the wild races of the prairies; but they had stolen some from the Sioux, the Cheyennes and other tribes of the southwest, who in turn had got them from the Spanish in their raids into the Mexican territory. The Crows are considered the most indefatigable marauders of the plains; they cross and recross the mountains in every direction, carrying to one side what they have stolen on the other. This is how they get the name of Absaroka, which signifies "Crow." From their childhood they are practiced in this kind of larceny; they acquire an astonishing ability in it; their glory increases with the number of their captures, so that an accomplished robber is in their eyes a hero. Their country seems to stretch from the Black Hills [of Dakota] to the Rocky Mountains, embracing the Wind River Mountains and all the plains and valleys watered by that stream [Wind River], as well as by the Yellowstone and Powder rivers and upper waters of several branches of the Platte. The soil and climate of this country are very diverse; there are vast plains of sand and clay; there are springs of hot water and mines of coal; game is very abundant throughout. These are the best-formed savages I have met on my travels.⁵⁴

Shortly after this first meeting with the Crows De Smet came up to a second camp of the tribe on the Big Horn, the largest tributary of the Yellowstone. "There we found another camp of Crows, to the number of about 1,000 souls. They too received us with the greatest demonstration of friendship and again it was necessary to pass the day in going from one feast to another. I took a favorable occasion to speak

⁵⁴ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 237 *et seq.*

to them upon various points of religion.”⁵⁵ In the fall of 1842, De Smet met the Crows again on the Yellowstone. It was a notable meeting, the Indians manifesting great eagerness on the occasion to listen to the missionary’s appeal.⁵⁶ Later, while returning to St. Louis in the fall of 1846, he arrived at a Flathead camp just after it had been attacked by a band of marauding Crows. He was anxious to meet the latter and sent messages ahead of him at the utmost speed to advise them of his coming, but failed to get into touch with them. Father Point, however, was more fortunate. On his journey from Fort Lewis to St. Louis he visited near Fort Union a camp of Crows, whose good dispositions so impressed him that he baptized fourteen of their children, June 9, 1847. These are the first recorded baptisms among the Crows.⁵⁷ In 1855 the tribe was petitioning De Smet for a missionary. Fourteen years later, 1869, General Sully tried to interest him in doing something for the Crows. “I think there is a good opening for your party there and if you think the matter worthy of trial, I will do all in my power to assist you.”⁵⁸ Nothing, however, was done for these Indians until the establishment in their behalf in 1886 of St. Xavier Mission in Custer County, Montana, not far from the scene of Custer’s memorable defeat by the Sioux.⁵⁹

The Arapaho are a typical plains tribe of the Algonkin family closely associated at one time as allies with the Cheyenne. They are divided into two bands, the Northern and the Southern Arapaho, the first residing in Wyoming, the latter in Oklahoma. The Arapaho are the parent stock of the Atsina or Gros Ventres of the Plains, the two tribes speaking practically the same language. De Smet met the Arapaho at the Great Council in 1851, on which occasion he baptized three hundred and five of their children.⁶⁰ This was the first and apparently the only time he came into contact with the tribe, at least in an apostolic way. The Arapaho were not to be evangelized systematically by Catholic missionaries until the establishment among them of the Jesuit Mission of St. Stephen’s in 1884.⁶¹

⁵⁵ *Idem*, 1: 239.

⁵⁶ *Idem*, 1: 393.

⁵⁷ *Idem*, 3: 955. Point, *Registre des Baptêmes, etc.* Palladino (*op. cit.*, p. 220) inclines to the view that the Indians met by Point were River Crows (so called because they lived along the Missouri) and not Mountain Crows, among whom the Mission of St. Francis Xavier was later established.

⁵⁸ Sully to De Smet, December 8, 1869. (A).

⁵⁹ Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 223. “His [De Smet’s] name is inseparably connected with the Big Horn country.” Coutant, *History of Wyoming* (Laramie, Wyo., 1899), p. 236.

⁶⁰ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 679.

⁶¹ The Jesuits at St. Stephen’s were preceded by a diocesan priest, Rev. Thomas

Living with the Arapaho today on the same reservation in western Wyoming, though for a long period their inveterate enemies, are the Shoshoni or Snake Indians. These are the most northerly division of the Shoshonian family, consisting of two groups with the same general characteristics, a western one with habitat along the Snake River in southern Idaho and an eastern one residing chiefly in western Wyoming. The Snake River Shoshoni were also known as Root Diggers, a name suggesting the chronic destitution in which this group appeared to live. Father De Smet made acquaintance with the Snakes at the Green River rendezvous on his first visit to the mountains in 1840. At the invitation of thirty of their chiefs he addressed them on the subject of religion:

The savages paid the greatest attention and appeared struck with wonder at the holy doctrine that I had been explaining to them. They then took counsel among themselves for the space of half an hour, when the spokesman, in the name of all the chiefs, addressed me in the following words: "Black-gown, your words have entered our hearts; they will never go out from them. We wish to know and practice the sublime law that you have just made known to us, in the name of the Great Spirit, whom we love. All our country is open to you, you need only choose to settle an establishment. We will all of us leave the plains and the forests to come and put ourselves under your orders, about you." I advised them, while awaiting that happy day, to choose wise men in their several camps, to perform the prayers in common evening and morning; since thereby the good chiefs would find occasion to incite all the people to virtue. That very evening they assembled and the head chief promulgated a law that whoever in future should steal or commit any other scandal should be punished in public.⁶²

Colonel Ermantinger, the commandant at Fort Hall, assured De Smet in 1841 that he would use his good offices to promote the latter's ministry among the Snakes, with whom that functionary had marked influence. But no apostolic work among them appears to have been attempted by the missionary or his associates. Representatives of the tribe were present at the Great Council of 1851, but De Smet performed no baptisms among them, as he did on that occasion among the Arapaho, Cheyenne and Sioux.

The Ponca, a Siouan tribe closely related to the Omaha, Kansa and Osage Indians, were visited by De Smet in 1848 in their village near the mouth of the Niobrara River in what is now Nebraska:

In none of my preceding voyages had I met the Poncas; this time I found the whole of this nation assembled at the mouth of the Niobrara—

Moriarity, who took preliminary steps towards starting the mission. Cf. *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 9: 18.

⁶² CR, *De Smet*, 1: 218, 262.

their favorite haunt during the fruit season and the gathering of the corn harvest.

They besought me to visit their village, four miles from our camp, in order to pass the night with them. I accepted the invitation the more willingly, as it would afford me an opportunity of announcing the truths of Faith. In fact, I lost no time, and shortly after my arrival the whole tribe, numbering more than 1,000 persons, surrounded the "Black-Robe." This was the first time that the Poncas had heard Jesus Christ preached by the mouth of his minister. The holy eagerness and attention which they lent to my words induced me to prolong my instructions until late in the night. The next day I baptized their little ones, and when the time of separation arrived they besought me with the greatest earnestness to renew my visit, and to fix my residence among them. "We will cheerfully listen to the Words of the Great Spirit," said they, "and submit to all his commands that you manifest to us." Until their wishes can be gratified, I consider myself happy to find among them a Catholic half-breed, tolerably well instructed in his religion, who promised me to serve as catechist.

The language of the Poncas differs little from that of the Otoes, the Kansas and the Osages. Of intrepid and tried courage, they have, notwithstanding the paucity of their numbers, made themselves feared by their more numerous neighbors. They may with justice be styled the Flatheads of the Plains, on account of their bravery. Although attached by taste to the wandering life, they have begun to cultivate some fields of corn, or pumpkins and potatoes.⁶⁸

The Omaha, a Siouan tribe, whose village was on the west bank of the Missouri, twenty-five miles below the present Sioux City, came in touch with Father De Smet in 1838, while he was stationed among the Potawatomi at Council Bluffs.

This tribe has a population of about 2,000 souls. Two of their chiefs, Kaiggechinke and Ohio, with two-score warriors, came to dance the calumet or their dance of friendship for us. Such a dance is really worth seeing, but it is not easy to give one an idea of it, because everything seems confusion. They yell and strike their mouths, at the same time performing leaps of all descriptions, now on one foot, now on the other, always at the sound of the drum and in perfect time, pell-mell, without order, turning to the right and left, in every direction and in every shape, all at once. They all evinced the greatest affection for us and prayed us to smoke the calumet with them. I showed our chapel to the chiefs, who appeared to take great interest in the explanation I gave them of the cross, the altar and the images of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. Afterward they urgently begged me to come

⁶⁸ *Idem*, 2: 625-627.

and make them a visit, to baptize their children, and they made me a present of a fine beaver skin for a tobacco-bag. I in turn gave them some chaplets for the children and to each one a fair copper cross, which they received with great gratitude, kissing them respectfully and putting them around their necks. When speaking, they addressed me in the most cordial manner. They are scarcely more than a hundred miles from Council Bluffs.⁶⁴

This appears to be the only occasion on which De Smet met the Omaha. In 1855 an unsuccessful attempt was made by the tribe to have Bishop Miége send them missionaries.

Like the Omaha, the Pawnee Loups were visitors at the Council Bluffs Mission. "Three of the head chiefs of the Pawnee Loups came to pay us a visit [June, 1838] and lodged in our cabin. They noticed the sign of the cross that we made before and after our prayers and our meals, and when they went home, they taught all the inmates of their village to make the same sign, as something agreeable to the Great Spirit. They begged us, through their interpreter, to come and visit them. The Government had sent them a Protestant minister, but they did not choose to keep him."⁶⁵ In 1858 De Smet met a camp of Pawnee Loups near Fort Kearney where he baptized two hundred and eight of their children.⁶⁶

The Assiniboin, a detached tribe of the Sioux, were met for the first time by De Smet in 1840. The impression they made was not a favorable one; he called them cowards. He made contact with parties of them also in 1846 and 1862.⁶⁷ In 1866 he baptized a great number of Assiniboin children at Fort Union and in the following year forty-seven children of the same tribe received the sacrament at his hands at Fort Buford near the mouth of the Yellowstone.⁶⁸ In 1851, on meeting some Assiniboin at Fort Union, he had held out hopes to them that a missionary would be sent them within a few years. In 1854, the Assiniboin chief, Crazy Bear, whom he had come to know at the Great Council of 1851, recalled to him the promise he had made. "All my nation call aloud for the Black-gown and invite him to come with all speed." Crazy Bear's appeal, addressed to "The Medicine Man of the White Nation," is a fine specimen of the Indian's native vein of poetry and eloquence.⁶⁹ Together with the Gros Ventres of the Plains, the Assiniboin are today

⁶⁴ *Idem*, 1: 165. The Maha or Omaha were one of the first tribes known to the French explorers, being indicated on Marquette's map as also on Delisle's map of 1703, at which time they occupied lands east of the Missouri.

⁶⁵ *Idem*, 1: 165.

⁶⁶ *Idem*, 2: 722.

⁶⁷ *Idem*, 3: 857. De Smet baptized Assiniboin children on his visit of 1862.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, 3: 857, 883.

⁶⁹ *Idem*, 3: 934.

(1936) under the spiritual charge of the Jesuit fathers at St. Paul's Mission on the Fort Peck Reservation in Montana.⁷⁰

§ 3. THE WINNEBAGO

The Winnebago are a tribe of the Siouan linguistic family and dialectically are close of kin to the Iowa, Oto and Missouri.⁷¹ The explorer, Jean Nicolet, met them in the neighborhood of the present Green Bay on the occasion of his historic visit to that locality in 1634. By the French they were called "*les Puans*," "people of the fetid water," probably, it has been suggested, owing to the circumstances that the first white men to make their acquaintance noted along the shores of the Bay the odor of putrid fish. A Jesuit map of date 1670 designates Green Bay as "*Baye des Puans*," and the map published with Marquette's *recit* in 1681 shows a village of the "*Puans*" near the northern end of Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin. From the Mission of St. Francis Xavier at De Pere, near the mouth of the Fox River, Jesuit priests began to evangelize the Winnebago as early as 1669. Ceding their lands east of the Mississippi in 1837, the latter removed first to Iowa Territory and later to northern Minnesota, where in 1848, they began to occupy Long Prairie Reservation, bounded by the Crow Wing, Watab, Mississippi and Long Prairie Rivers.

The question of a Catholic school for the Winnebago in their new home was quick to engage the attention of Bishop Loras of Dubuque, whose jurisdiction extended over the whole of Minnesota Territory. The prelate wrote March 12, 1847, to his vicar-general, Father Joseph Cretin, subsequently first Bishop of St. Paul, who was at that moment in Rome:

Since your excellent confrères of Lyons cannot be granted to us nor probably the Marists, and since we are in absolute need of missionaries for the more than 30,000 Indians whom we have in our diocese, it will be necessary to address ourselves to the worthy Jesuit Fathers who after all are the most competent in this sort of ministry. Our Winnebago, Sioux and others will sooner or later be driven towards the Rocky Mountains; there they will find Father De Smet and the companions of his apostolate. Their

⁷⁰ Palladino, *op. cit.*, p. 197. For the story of Tchatka, famous Assiniboin chief, with interesting notes on the tribe, cf. CR, *De Smet*, 3:1108. Cf., also, *op. cit.*, 3:936 for religious views of the Assiniboin. For a retelling of Tchatka's story, based on De Smet's account, cf. Marius Barbeau, *Indian days in the Canadian Rockies* (Toronto, 1923).

⁷¹ Hodge, *op. cit.*, art. "Winnebago." "Win̄pig, filthy water" (Chippewa); *winipyagohag*, "people of the filthy water (Sauk and Fox)." Cf. also report, October 17, 1849, of Alexander Ramsay, Indian superintendent for Minnesota Territory (RCIA, 1849).

success here is assured because these masters in the great art of the missions succeed always.⁷² They can count on my entire devotion [to them] and cooperation as well as yours. Dubuque will always be for them a place of refuge and generous hospitality, being as it is so close to the first theatre of their apostolic labors.⁷³

In May of the following year Father Cretin petitioned the Winnebago Indian agent, J. E. Fletcher, on behalf of Bishop Loras: "I make a new and last application to know if we can expect any assistance from the Government to establish a school among the Winnebagoes in their new home. The desire of the Indians to have teachers of this denomination has been enough manifested; and no doubt can be entertained about the wishes of the half-breeds, who are all Catholics." Father Cretin's petition was transmitted by Fletcher to Major Harvey at St. Louis with the comment: "I would recommend that Mr. Cretin be permitted to try his hand at civilizing and christianizing the Winnebagoes and if he accomplishes one-tenth of the good he has promised me that he can and will accomplish among them in elevating and improving their morals, he will have more than realized our expectations." Cretin's petition was in turn forwarded by Harvey to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill at Washington with an indorsement: "From all the observations I have been able to obtain from a slight personal observation and from other sources, I am convinced that the heavy expenditure for the education of the Winnebago Indians has been productive of no moral good whatever. I think the system should be entirely changed (to manual labor system). I would think it advisable that the Catholics should have the management of one of the schools. Two, I should think, would be sufficient."⁷⁴ A petition signed, February 1, 1849, at Long Prairie by L. J. Alexander and thirteen other half-breeds and addressed to Major Harvey at St. Louis manifested the persistent desire of the Winnebago for a Catholic school:

We, the undersigned, members of the Catholic faith respectfully represent to your Honor that the school now in operation among the Winnebagoes

⁷² Complimentary to the Jesuits but not historically true. Not all Jesuit missions have been successful in the sense of converting the Indians in large numbers or ameliorating their condition in any notable way. For Catholic missionary work among the Winnebago prior to 1849, cf. M. M. Hoffman, "The Winnebago Mission: a Cause Célèbre," *Mid-America*, 13: 26 *et seq* (1930).

⁷³ Loras à Cretin, March 12, 1847. (AA). On becoming Bishop of St. Paul Cretin appealed to Father Villefort, assistant to the Jesuit General, for five or six men, "for the 30,000 Sioux, Chippeway and Winnebago" in his diocese and for work among the whites, a college in St. Paul being even proposed. "St. Louis always answers—no men." Cretin à Villefort, April 18, 1851. (AA).

⁷⁴ Cretin to Fletcher, May 28, 1848; Harvey to Medill, June 14, 1848. (H).

is of little benefit.⁷⁵ We do think that we should have a Catholic school for the benefit of our children, as we are connected with the Winnebagoes and that it would be no more than right and just that we should have a Catholic school as we number over 50, besides a great many of the Indians that would be glad to have such a school in operation. We the undersigned think that we could procure teachers that have education enough to do all that is required, with the exception of a priest to superintend the school. It is the wish of three-fourths of the Indians to have another school established among them to see if it would not be better than the one now in operation and at much less expense. The chief braves and head of the Winnebago nation have repeatedly requested the Agent, J. E. Fletcher, to abandon the school now in operation among them. They have signed a great many petitions to have the school changed, but for some cause or other they have not yet learned why it is not done.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Conducted since 1842 by the Rev. Mr. Lowry, a Protestant clergyman.

⁷⁶ (H). The grant made to the Catholics of part of the Winnebago school-fund was protested by the Rev. Mr. David Lowry and his friends and efforts were made by them to have it revoked. As appears from their correspondence in the files of the Indian Office, Washington, the curious charge was made by them that the grant was motivated by a desire on the part of the Polk administration to gain the Catholic vote of Iowa. Louis A. Lowry, of Uniontown, Pa., a son of the Winnebago school-head and also a minister, appealed personally in the matter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Orlando Brown. "The views of Mr. [Louis] Lowry," wrote John C. Young (also a "preacher," as he describes himself) to Commissioner Brown, July 1, 1849, "in regard to what is desirable for the good of the Indians to keep them from falling under the dominion of the counters of beads and worshippers of crucifixes, he will explain—and by hearing his statements and reading a few papers which he will exhibit, you will be put in possession of facts sufficient to enable you to see both the importance and mode of keeping the relics of this unfortunate tribe from becoming the prey of those sons of superstition and intrigue—the Jesuits." Charges were made by the younger Lowry that the Indians and half-breeds in signing the petition of February 1, 1849, for a Catholic priest were mere tools in the hands of the Winnebago agent, J. E. Fletcher, who, as alleged, was appointed by Polk to win the support of the Catholic voters of Iowa, the elder Lowry, to whom the position of agent was said to have been virtually promised by the administration, being rejected. "This request [Winnebago petition, February 1, 1849] was sent on to Washington backed by the influence of the agent and others upon the eve of the Presidential election [this had actually taken place the preceding November, 1848] while the report of my father made out at the instance of the Department was secretly laid aside until the request of a few Indians, who did not know what they were doing, could be acted on. Mr. Polk, however, being personally acquainted with my father, who was backed by a strong influence from political parties in Tennessee and being pressed so hard by a Roman Catholic influence from Iowa with such false representations as had been made, very imprudently if not unfeelingly split the education fund in two, half to the Cumberland Presbyterians and half to the Roman Catholics. The latter have taken care, as you will see, to have the matter so hurried that their contract might be signed and sealed before ever the facts could come before the present administration." L. A. Lowry to Orlando Brown, July 11,

Towards the close of 1848 the Indian Office took favorable action on Father Cretin's petition and forwarded to Bishop Loras a contract for a manual labor school among the Winnebago. The Bishop, however, in anxiety over the small number of priestly workers in his diocese, declined eventually to enter into an obligation which it was doubtful whether he could satisfactorily discharge. But, not to lose for the Church so welcome an opportunity for spiritual good among a destitute and neglected portion of his flock, he determined to enlist, if he could, the services of the Jesuits of St. Louis in behalf of the enterprise. Visiting that city in person, he there succeeded in inducing the vice-provincial, Father Elet, to take in hand the projected Winnebago school.⁷⁷ By a contract signed February 19, 1849, by Elet and Commissioner Medill, the former agreed to educate eighty Winnebago children, (to be equally divided as far as possible between the two sexes), or a smaller number if more could not be induced to come; to erect or cause to be erected a suitable building for a manual labor school in the country occupied by the Winnebago; to clear, fence and put under cultivation at least fifty acres of land and as much more as might be necessary for pasture; to procure such stock animals and farming utensils and such tools for the workshop to be connected with said school as might be necessary for the instruction of the scholars in agriculture and the mechanical arts; to instruct the male students in agriculture and the practical use of agricultural implements and in certain mechanical arts. Government, on its part, undertook to contribute four thousand dollars to cover the cost of

1849. Even the recently inaugurated president, Zachary Taylor, was appealed to by the elder Lowry, who had made his acquaintance at Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien. Lowry's letter to Taylor, May 7, 1849, reads in part: "Three [two] Catholic priests recently paid a flying visit to this place evidently on a secret mission. They left yesterday morning with a list of names showing that they have a church here of 80 members. One of these gentlemen is going immediately to St. Louis and the list will doubtless soon find its way to Washington perhaps accompanied by an expression from some of the Indians in behalf of the Black Gowns and another attempt will be made to mislead the Department. . . . It is admitted that the present dominant party in Iowa have been and still are kept in the ascendancy by the Catholic votes of the state. It is an incident too that perhaps a politician would understand that the favor of controlling the school-fund in question was proposed to that church just before the political struggle in Iowa in November last." No action was taken by President Taylor on the protests filed against the proposed Catholic Winnebago school, Fletcher retaining his post, while in 1851 the Reverend David Lowry withdrew definitely from educational work among the tribe. That the Catholic Winnebago school was a bid made by the Polk administration for Catholic political support in Iowa was apparently a mere assertion without any known evidence to support it.

⁷⁷ The minutes, March 19, 1849, of the mission-board at St. Louis speak of the Winnebago mission as already accepted. There is no entry indicating the date of acceptance. (A).

the buildings and one thousand dollars for the clearing of the land and the purchase of agricultural implements, workshop tools and stock-animals. Moreover, a subsidy of fifty dollars a year was to be allowed for each pupil educated.⁷⁸

On March 25 De Smet wrote to Bishop Loras:

I have the honor of acquainting your Lordship that one or two days after your departure from St. Louis, Reverend Father Elet signed the contract and accepted the Winnebago Mission. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs forwarded the document immediately to Washington for confirmation and on receiving its ratification, we will commence the mission—all is ready for it. We were requested by Major Harvey not to proceed to the Indians before this document arrives. The fact of your Lordship not having signed the contract, as agreed on, leaves its acceptance on the part of the Government rather doubtful, as the Government is not acquainted with Father Elet. The Metifs among the Winnebagoes have sent lately a new petition to Major Harvey (who certainly is very friendly to Catholics), urging the acceptance of a Catholic mission among them, which he immediately forwarded to Washington. Please to present my best respects to the Reverend Mr. Cretin, who will accept of this, I hope, as an answer to his very kind letter, as likewise to the Reverend Mr. Donohoe, to whom we will apply in due time for Sisters for the new Winnebago Mission. ⁷⁹

The contract for the Winnebago school having been confirmed at Washington, measures were at once taken to inaugurate the work. On April 18, 1849, Father Ignatius Maes accompanied by Father John Baptist Miége, left St. Louis for the Winnebago country, which lay

⁷⁸ Harvey to Medill, February 19, 1849. (H).

⁷⁹ De Smet to Loras, March 25, 1849. (A). Father Donaghoe was the founder of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin established in Dubuque in 1844. He had written to United States Senator G. W. Jones of Iowa expressing the readiness of his sisterhood to undertake the education of not more than thirty Indian children for the first year, an improved property near Prairie du Chien which belonged to the nuns being available for the purpose. "What I propose is simply this—to accept a certain sum appropriated by the Department for Indian Affairs—to educate as many girls and boys, if wished, by our community, the Sisters of Charity at St. Joseph's. I can bring them down the Mississippi and go myself and make the proper selection [and] obtain them from their Parents, which is difficult by any other than a Black Gown, even should the Department expend thousands in magnificent buildings, as indeed they have already done in some [places?] for the Indian children. I shall not wish to be confined to the Winnebagoes alone as I'm better acquainted with the Sioux. . . . The Sisters have had the desire for a long time to be engaged in the care of the poor Indians." T. J. Donaghoe to G. W. Jones, St. Joseph's Academy, January 30, 1849. (H). According to Father Donaghoe, Bishop Loras had rejected the offer made to him by the Indian Office as unsatisfactory. "I [Donaghoe] would not consent under the conditions to give the Sisters of Charity."

north of St. Paul.⁸⁰ Maes was commissioned to select a site for the buildings and to superintend their construction. Miége, to whom had been entrusted the task of opening a mission among the Sioux on the upper Missouri, was not assigned to the Winnebago Mission, but undertook this journey north chiefly with a view to meeting the venerable Sioux missionary, Father Ravoux, from whose counsel and direction he expected to derive help for his own contemplated missionary venture among the Sioux.⁸¹ Father Sautois and later Father Truyens were to be held in reserve at St. Louis as assistants to Maes among the Winnebago. What befell Maes and Miége on their arrival among the tribe is detailed in a communication addressed by De Smet to D. D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis:

After having accepted the contract of the Government for the establishing of a Manual Labour School among the Winnebagoes, two Missionaries went out immediately on a visit to those Indians to examine the position and to choose a favorable spot where the intended establishment might be raised. Seventy-seven miles above St. Paul they found a number of Indian lodges opposite a place called the Sauk rapid and met General Fletcher, the Government Agent among the Winnebagoes. He had the great kindness to convene the chiefs in the presence of the Missionaries and made known to them his desire of moving 57 miles higher up to a place called the *Round Prairie*, about four miles distant from *Long Prairie*, where already another portion of the same tribe has already located. His proposition did not meet with ready approval and he, on his part, did not readily grant another place the Indians proposed—for they expressed the desire that Government should buy from the Sioux a tract of land, to be occupied by them, a few miles distant from the Sauk rapid. It was not in the power of the Agent to grant them such a request for it would, at the same time, have placed the Missionaries in the necessity of postponing the intended Manual Labour School till said request had obtained the sanction at Washington. This band of Indians appeared unwilling to leave the borders of the Mississippi on account of the great facility they thus possess of obtaining whiskey.

The Missionaries, of course, have not been able to come to any conclusion as to the location of the school. I must remark that the chiefs of this band of the Winnebago tribe are the very ones who asked for Catholic teachers of Government together with the half-breed Winnebagoes, and it is to these Indians likewise that the Agent counselled the missionaries to devote their care. The Missionaries by the advice of General Fletcher visited Long Prairie, where the Reverend Mr. Laury [Lowry] of the Presbyterian church has established a school. In that place are eighty half-breeds, who are all Catholics and who sent the Government several petitions to obtain

⁸⁰ "Fathers Truyens and Maes will commence the Winnebago mission." Elet à Roothaan, March 25, 1849. (AA).

⁸¹ The Sioux mission project was not carried through.

Catholic ministers. These manifested a strong desire that the Missionaries should locate among them—possessing a very suitable spot for the erection of a Manual labor school. The reasons why the Missionaries would feel inclined to establish in Long Prairie are 1st because a great number of the Catholic half-breeds families are located in it. 2^o because a band, as stated above, of Winnebagoes have expressed the intention of settling in it and actually occupy it. Rev. Lowry, no doubt, will endeavor to prevent this if he can and as the Catholic Missionaries wish to avoid being the occasion of any difficulty, I, in their name beg of you, Honorable Sir, to manifest your intentions on this subject and to tell us what may be the best course for us to pursue in the actual circumstances—we will abide by and follow your decision.⁸²

A few weeks after the date of the above letter, General Fletcher, the Winnebago agent, was in St. Louis, where he met De Smet and conferred with him on the projected mission. No satisfactory arrangement regarding it could be reached and in July Fathers Maes and Miége were back in St. Louis. Bishop Loras had without intending it overstated the prospects for successful missionary work among the Winnebago. "Maes does nothing among the Winnebagoes," De Smet reported to Father Elet, June 19, 1849, "not by his fault, [but] owing to certain local difficulties. I fear good Bishop Loras has put us completely in the sack. This will turn out another Miami mission if not worse." The Winnebago after being forcibly removed from Minnesota in 1863 were finally settled on a reservation in northeastern Nebraska and no further attempt to evangelize them was made by the Jesuits of the West.

§ 4. THE SIOUX

Probably the earliest extant notice of the Sioux occurs in the Jesuit Relation of 1640 where mention is made of the Winnebago (Ounipigou), Naduesiu (Sioux), Assinipour (Assiniboin) and Pououtouatomi (Potawatomi).⁸³ In 1641 St. Isaac Jogues and his companion, Charles Raymbaut, the first Jesuits to reach the Middle United States, planted the cross at Sault Ste. Marie, their eyes, we may surmise, turned still farther to the west in the hope of some day evangelizing the distant Nadouessi or Sioux.⁸⁴ In 1689 Father Joseph Marest was "missionary to the Sioux," being, as far as record attests, the first priest after Father Hennepin to attempt the conversion of the tribe. He was one of the Frenchmen present at the famous *prise de possession* of Nicholas Perrot on Lake Pepin in 1689 when that picturesque pioneer took formal pos-

⁸² De Smet to Mitchell, May 16, 1849. (A).

⁸³ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 18: 231.

⁸⁴ *Idem*, 23: 225.

session of "the Sioux country" in the name of Louis XIV.⁸⁵ In 1727 a Sioux mission named for St. Michael the Archangel was opened by the Jesuit, Michel Guignas, on the west or Minnesota side of Lake Pepin; it had been maintained only a few years when the unfriendly attitude of the Indians necessitated its suspension.⁸⁶ The notoriety which the tribe acquired for cruelty and bloodshed dates from the time when white men first made their acquaintance. Their bloody forays carried them down the Mississippi as far as Cahokia, which within a few years of its founding in 1699 saw its citizens threatened and sometimes massacred by these murderous marauders of the North.⁸⁷ The memory of these Sioux invasions of the lower Mississippi country lives on in the name of the village of Portage des Sioux in St. Charles County, Missouri.

Relations between the Sioux and the restored Society of Jesus were renewed in the person of Father De Smet. In the latter years of his career they were the tribe uppermost in his thoughts and plans. He died, it is true, without the satisfaction of having opened a mission on their behalf; but his influence over the tribe, in the opinion of his biographers, Richardson and Chittenden, had come to be the greatest ever wielded by any white man.⁸⁸ His life-long ambition to organize effective missionary work among the Sioux began with the first personal contact he ever made with them. This was in May, 1839, when he visited from Council Bluffs the Yankton Sioux, who were settled in the vicinity of Fort Vermilion on the upper Missouri. In the early summer of 1840 Father Christian Hoecken, De Smet's successor at Council Bluffs, undertook a missionary trip up the Missouri as far as Fort Union, the baptisms he administered on this occasion being, as far as known, the earliest recorded for the Missouri River country above Council Bluffs.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIII^e Siècle*, 1: 188.

⁸⁶ *Idem*, 1: 182 et seq.; Louise Phelps Kellogg, "Fort Beauharnois," in *Minnesota History*, 8: 232-246. The Ursuline Convent at Frontenac, Minnesota, is close to the site of the mission.

⁸⁷ G. J. Garraghan, "New Light on Old Cahokia" in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 11: 132 (1928).

⁸⁸ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 254.

⁸⁹ An autograph record (*Register Baptismorum diversarum nationum aboriginensium anno Domini 1840*) of the seventy-eight baptisms administered by Christian Hoecken on this occasion, ranging in date from May 30 to July 19, 1840, is in the Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas. These are apparently the earliest recorded church ministrations for North and South Dakota. On May 30 there were two baptisms at the Vermilion (*au Vermilion*); Louise, daughter of William Dickson, born June 5, 1839, god-father, H. Angé; and Victoire, daughter of H. Angé and of Marie, born August 15, 1839, god-father, C. Hoecken and god-mother, Jeanne Dickson. These would seem to be the first baptisms known to have taken place within the limits of South Dakota. Three baptisms "at the village of the Yan-

In October of the same year, 1840, while journeying back to St. Louis from the first of his many visits to the Far West De Smet passed through the Sioux country, where he met several bands of prowling Indians. "The inhabitants of the fort [Clark] had carefully recommended to us to avoid meeting the Yanktonnais, the Santees, the Hunk-

tons" are recorded for June 3, and thirty-two "at the Little Missouri" for June 13 and 14, the names of the sponsors at the last named place including those of Baptiste Constant, Joseph Allerow, Joseph Ortebize, Antoine de Rencontre, François Le Picotte, and Messrs. Papin, Kipp and Chartron [Chardon]. The baptisms at the Little Missouri are the earliest for North Dakota unless it be that they are antedated by extant church records of the Catholic settlement at Pembina on the Red River. (Cf. Sister Mary Aquinas Norton, *Catholic Missionary Activities in the Northwest, 1818-1864* (Washington, 1930), pp. 28-45). Further, it is to be noted that Hoecken records seven baptisms, June 22, at "Fort Clarke," which place he must have reached before coming to the Little Missouri. Seven baptisms were administered June 28 at Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone just within the western boundary of North Dakota. Among the baptized were Elizabeth, "daughter of Mr. Robert and of a squaw (*sauvagesse*), Robert, son of Mr. Edouard Denis [Denig], Jean Baptiste, six-year old son of Mr. Michael Champagne "and of a squaw," and Joseph, "son of Mr. Bonaventure le Brun and of a squaw." On his return trip down the Missouri Hoecken baptized at Fort Clark, July 4, Marguerite, aged thirty-eight years, wife of "Mr. Garnière," Marguerite Marie, aged twenty-five, wife of "Mr. Chardon [Chardon?]," and two children of Pierre Garreaux, Paul, eleven, and Rosalie, seven. On July 16 there were four baptisms at Fort Pierre, all children of Joseph Le Compte "and of a squaw." At Fort Lookout, July 17, there were four baptisms, three of them of children of Xavier Rencontre "and a squaw." At the Vermilion, July 19, five persons were baptized, four of them children of Olivier Le Clerc.

The earliest known Nebraska baptisms are the eight administered by Father Christian Hoecken at Bellevue, June 4, 1846. (*Sugar Creek Baptismal Register*. (F). Among the eight was Emilie, daughter of Logan Fontanelle and Depeche, an Omaha squaw. Baptisms and marriages performed by Hoecken in his last missionary trip up the Missouri were recorded by him in the above-mentioned register. November 11, 1850, he baptized thirteen at the mouth of the Big Sioux (*à la grande rivière des Sioux*). These are the earliest recorded baptisms for the locality of Sioux City. "On reaching Bellevue I learned from Mr. Sarpy that Messrs. Bruyère and Argot had started the day before and that I could easily overtake them; that there was no guide for me, and that they knew none about there. I bought the necessary utensils, a little pot, tin-pans, provisions, etc., and started in pursuit of the gentlemen who live about thirty miles below Fort Vermilion at the mouth of the Great Sioux. I overtook them the next day at Boyer River. I travelled in their company seven days when we reached the Great Sioux. I spent three days there instructing the people and baptized fourteen persons. They treated me with great kindness and expressed their extreme delight at the prospect of the establishment of a Sioux Mission. They promised to pay for their children's board. They are not only full of good will, but capable of acting." Hoecken to Elet, Territory of the Platte, December 28, 1850. CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1255. The children baptized on this occasion were all the offspring of Frenchmen and Sioux women. Five of the number had for god-father Theophile Bruyère (Brughier), first white

papas, the Ogallalas and the Blackfeet Sioux. Still we had to traverse the plains where they range. On the third day, a party of Yanktonnais and Santees, who were in hiding behind a butte suddenly surprised us; but they were so far from meaning any harm that they loaded us with kindness, and after smoking the calumet of peace with us, furnished us provisions for the road. The next day we met several other

resident of the Sioux City region, who settled near the mouth of the Big Sioux in 1849, marrying the daughter of War Eagle, a Sioux chief. The earliest recorded baptisms at Sioux City after it became a settlement (1855) were administered by Father De Smet in 1867, entries of them in the missionary's own hand being in the cathedral register. (Mariana and Sophia Versani, August 4, 1867, are the first names recorded). The fourteenth baptism in Christian Hoecken's list of 1850 is dated Vermilion, December 15, and is that of Louis Benoit, two years and nine months old, son of Charles Larpenteur and an Assiniboin squaw. "Mr. Charles Larpenteur, whose hospitality you often enjoyed when travelling in the desert to visit the Indian tribes, is now in charge of the post [Fort Vermilion] and he received us with all the goodness of a father. He procured for us all he could. May the Lord bless him, for he deserves it. I shall spend some days instructing and baptizing a score of people who live around here." Hoecken to De Smet, Sioux country, Fort Vermilion, December 11, 1850. CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1250.

"I have left the Vermilion Post on the 3rd Sunday of Advent, came down as far as the mouth of the Big Sioux river where I met with Major Holton, Agent for the upper Missouri. He tried very much to prevail on me of accompanying him to the Little Missouri Post called Ft. Pierre. He is to stay there probably to the middle of January before he will be able to start—God knows what kind of weather it will be then. He made me a present of a beautiful buffalo robe and told me if we established a mission there that he would contribute to it out of his own pocket \$100 per annum. Another replied, I have 3 children to send to it, I will give \$300 and so every one will do,—the one in money, the other in other things—each one according to his abilities. . . . The Brules and the Yanton of the Sioux nations have said that the missionary would not starve, that they would bring him plenty of meat and buffalo robes to enable him to buy clothes for their children, which they would place under his care." Hoecken to Elet, December 23, 1850. (A).

The first priests known to have visited Nebraska were the chaplains of the so-called "Spanish caravan," massacred August 11, 1720, by Loup and Oto Indians within the confines of the state. Cf. *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days*, 4: 1. Only one of the chaplains escaped. After these Spanish missionaries De Smet was apparently the first priest known to have visited Nebraska, relating somewhere that while attached to the Council Bluffs Mission (1838-1840) he said Mass on the west side of the Mississippi, on or near the site of Omaha. Moreover, he journeyed a considerable stretch through the state on his Oregon Trail trips of 1840 and 1841. But his earliest Nebraska baptisms (Fort Robidoux, Drips's Fort, Fort Kearney) belong to September, 1851. Father Hoecken baptized December 26, 1850, at Bellevue, Susanne, "daughter of Logan Fontanelle and an Omaha squaw, born February 8 of the past year, godfather, Mr. Bruyere," as also Marie, another child of Fontanelle, born December 21, 1848. On December 27, also at Bellevue, was baptized Louis, "son of Joseph La Flèche and an Omaha squaw, born the middle of last May, god-father, Mr. Bruyere."

parties who showed us the same friendliness and the same attentions; they shook hands with us and we smoked with them.”⁹⁰ On October 11, in the course of the same trip, De Smet fell in with a band of Blackfoot Sioux. On this occasion occurred a well-known incident in his career. Twelve warriors of the tribe presented themselves before him with an uncommonly large buffalo robe, which they spread on the ground, at the same time inviting him to be seated. The missionary accepted the invitation. Scarcely, however, had he seated himself on the robe when the twelve warriors suddenly grasped its sides and corners and then lifting him from the ground, bore him off in triumph to the Sioux village where every honor was lavished upon him. The chief harangued the guest in his most eloquent vein: “Black-robe, this is the happiest day of our lives. Today for the first time we see among us a man who comes so near to the Great Spirit. Here are the principal braves of our tribe. I have bidden them to the feast that I have had prepared for you, that they may never lose the memory of so happy a day.” As no interpreter was at hand competent to render Father De Smet’s instruction into Sioux, he lost this opportunity of imparting to his auditors some little knowledge of the Gospel message. When he left the Indians to pursue his journey, he was accompanied by a son of the Sioux chief and two other young men of the tribe.⁹¹ This same homeward journey of Father De Smet brought him past Fort Vermilion on the Missouri. Here he met a Santee war-party, just back from a scalping expedition against the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs. He upbraided the Santees for their cruelty and succeeded in making them thoroughly ashamed of themselves and ready for peace-terms with the Potawatomi.

The frequent meetings which De Smet thus came to have with the

⁹⁰ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 251.

⁹¹ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 251 *et seq.* At Westport, April 20, 1840, just before setting out on his first journey to the mountains De Smet baptized two children of Andrew Drips, chief of the American Fur Company expedition with which he travelled on this occasion. A record of these baptisms is in the *Sugar Creek Baptismal Register*. (F). Thereafter records of De Smet’s church ministrations are missing until 1846, in which year he administered a number of baptisms in his descent of the Missouri, leaving behind him a memorandum of the same. These took place at Fort Union, October 12, Fort Pierre, November 4, Medicine Creek, November 5, Fort Lookout, November 6, and Fort Vermilion, November 13. At Fort Pierre he baptized “54 children of which number eleven were half-breeds.” At Medicine Creek he baptized among others Jane, daughter of Antoine Bouis, Alexis, son of Zephyr Antoine Rencontre, and Emilia, Paul, Susanne and Marie, children of Joseph Picotte. At Fort Lookout he baptized Maria Culbertson, aged 11, Fanny Cardinal Geant, aged eighteen years, six months, Ferdinand Cardinal Geant, aged eleven (god-father, Campbell), William and Zoe Cancellor (Kanzler), children of William Cancellor, and Louis and Honore Le Clair, children of Grand Le Clair. (A).

Sioux of the upper Missouri led up to the idea of a permanent mission on their behalf. With a view to ascertain its prospects of success he undertook a journey to the upper Missouri in the summer of 1848. Travelling by steamboat to Bellevue on the right bank of the Missouri, he went overland from that point to the mouth of the Niobrara and thence to Fort Pierre in the heart of the Sioux country. Here he met an Oglala chief, Red Fish, whose daughter had been carried into captivity by the Crows. The missionary, at the urgent entreaty of the chief, promised to pray for her deliverance, which occurred shortly after to the great joy of Red Fish. "The report flew quickly from village to village, and this coincidence that Divine Providence permitted for the good of the Ogallalas was to them a certain proof of the great power of Christian prayer, and will, I hope, contribute to confirm these poor Indians in their good dispositions."⁹² On occasion of this meeting with the Oglala Father De Smet baptized six adults of the tribe, all of advanced age, but no infants. Among the Brulés he administered the sacrament to a large number of children, as also to a half-idiot boy, about fifteen years of age, whose pathetic attachment to the person of the missionary is recorded by him in one of the most engaging of his letters.⁹³ As a result of this trip of 1848 to the Sioux tribes of the upper Missouri De Smet came to realize the great difference in degree of religious susceptibility that separated them from his beloved Flatheads of the mountains. There was little in what he saw, so he reported, to encourage the missionary. Still, with Divine Providence to rely upon, he had hopes for the success of the enterprise and wrote in 1849 as though he expected to see the work taken in hand before the end of that very year.⁹⁴

⁹² CR, *De Smet*, 2: 631.

⁹³ *Idem*, 2: 632.

⁹⁴ *Idem*, 2: 635. "The Rev. Mr. De Smet, of the Catholic Church, is now [1848] on a visit to the Sioux; his plan is, if he can carry it out, to introduce among them a number of clergymen, in order, as far as practicable, to travel with them in their hunts, and exercise among them their ministerial functions. Taking into view the admitted influence of Catholic clergymen (black-gowns, as the Indians call them) over the Indians, such a course would have a most salutary effect in curbing and holding in check the untamed spirits of these wild Indians. Rev. Mr. De Smet is the great missionary pioneer of the Rocky Mountains; his high character, energy, and devotion to the improvement of the red man, should strongly recommend himself and his plans to the favorable consideration of the government. In the spring he intends establishing a mission among the Blackfeet Indians." Report of the secretary of war, 1848-49. Executive Doc. No. 1, p. 438. Cf. also *RCIA*, 1849, p. 131, for an appeal made by Superintendent of Indian Affairs Mitchell, St. Louis, for government aid on behalf of De Smet's projected missions on the upper Missouri.

At the Great Council in 1851 two hundred and eighty children of the Brulé and Oglala Sioux were baptized by De Smet.

They [the Oglala] besought me to explain baptism to them as several of them had been present when I baptized the half-blood children. I complied with their request and gave them a lengthy instruction on its blessings and obligations. All then entreated me to grant this favor to their infants. The next day the ceremony took place; two hundred and thirty-nine children of the Ogallalas (the first of their tribe) were regenerated in the holy waters of baptism to the great joy and satisfaction of the whole nation. I held daily conferences on religion, sometimes with one band of Indians, sometimes with another. They all listened with great attention and unanimously expressed the wish to be supplied with Catholic missionaries.⁹⁵

The year following the Great Council De Smet in a letter to the Assiniboin trader, Edwin T. Denig of Fort Union, assured him that the project of a mission in the upper Missouri country had by no means been abandoned. Two years later, in 1854, he returned to the topic in a letter to the same friend.⁹⁶ Again he wrote in 1855 to Denig: "I hope I shall see you perhaps in the course of the next year. Assure the Indians that the Black-robe has not forgotten them and try your best to prepare the way."⁹⁷ The following year he wrote to Joseph Rolette at Fort Union: "Continue to encourage them [the Indians]. I have little doubt that in the course of next spring either myself or some other Black-robe of my friends will leave St. Louis for the Upper Missouri with the intention to carry out the long projected mission."⁹⁸ In 1858 De Smet, while on his way to Utah in the capacity of army chaplain, met thirty lodges of Oglala at Cottonwood Springs, "two days' march above Fort Kearney." "At their request I baptized all their children. In 1851, at the Great Council on the Platte, I had brought them the same blessing. They told me that a great number of their children had died since, carried off by epidemics which had raged among the nomadic tribes of the plains. They are much consoled at the thought of the happiness which children obtain by holy baptism. They know its high importance and appreciate it as the greatest favor which they can receive."⁹⁹ In

⁹⁵ *Idem*, 2: 678.

⁹⁶ *Idem*, 4: 1482; 1492.

⁹⁷ *Idem*, 4: 1494.

⁹⁸ *Idem*, 4: 1497.

⁹⁹ *Idem*, 2: 722. De Smet's autograph register of his baptisms on the journey of 1851, which were 1856 in number, bears the caption, "List of persons baptized by me in my late journey among the Indians on the Upper Missouri and its tributaries addressed to the Right Revd. Bishop Miege Vicar Apostolic of the Indian Territory

1862 Father De Smet went up the Missouri as far as Fort Benton, baptizing on this trip more than nine hundred infants and a great many

East of the Rocky Mountains." (A). The series begins June 29 at Medicine Creek and closes September 25 at Fort Kearney. At Fort Pierre, July 2, there were twenty baptisms, among those receiving the sacrament being Samuel T. Gilpin. "I baptized on the same day (July 2) in the two kettle Band of the Sioux nation near Fort Pierre, at the request of two chiefs named Grand Mandan and Puckawagan Rouge, 162 little children under 7 years of age." Ten baptisms followed, July 7 at Fort Mandan or Ricaries (Arikara). "July 7, I baptized one hundred and eighty-six children belonging to the tribe of the Ricarie (Arikara) nation, of whom a great number died a month after having recd. Baptism, of Cholera." On board the steamer St. Ange, July 10, five children were baptized, among them Joseph and Marie Quatre Ours (Four Bears), "children of the great Minitaree Chief." At Fort Union, July 20, there were eight baptisms of children, among them Nancy and Francisca Culbertson. Baptisms followed at Harvey's Fort opposite the mouth of the Yellowstone, July 25, and "in the camp of L'Ours Barbouille," September 9. In the latter place the sacrament was conferred on fifty-six Indian children, as also on Louisa Kipp, aged two years, Henry St. Pierre, two years, and Marguerite, a Sioux, six years and ten months. These would seem to be the earliest recorded baptisms for Wyoming; at least none prior to this date are known to the writer. Twenty-five baptisms are recorded for September 12, "at the mouth of the Horse Creek on the Platte River," the first of the series being that of Andrew Jackson Fitzpatrick, born October 8, 1850, god-father P. J. De Smet. This was a son by an Indian squaw of Thomas Fitzpatrick, one of the commissioners presiding over the council. Fitzpatrick himself appears as god-father to Joseph Tesson, baptized on September 14. While the council was in session at Horse Creek large numbers of Indian children received the sacrament. "September 15. In the great camp of the Rapahos 305 children. September 16. In the great camp of the Ogallalla Sioux 239 little children. In the great camp of the Sheyennes 253 little children. September 18. In the United camp of Brules and Osage [*sic*] Sioux 280 little children." Baptisms are also recorded in the course of De Smet's return journey from the council. "September 24. I baptized at Fort Robidoux two children of Mr. Robidoux and two children of persons engaged at the post (names lost). September 24. I baptized one child at Dripp's Fort. September 25. On the borders of the Platte I baptized Louis Vasquez born July 7, 1847, Mariana Vasquez, born 25 July 1849, Sara Ellen Vasquez, born 14 July 1851, children of Louis Vasquez and Narcissa, who on this day renewed their marriage vows in my presence. Witness Alexander Gaineau, Marquis Spencer." "September 25 at Fort K[e]arney, I baptized the twin children of Sergeant Fox. God-father, Mahony." As far as can be ascertained, the above-mentioned marriage is the earliest Catholic one certified for Nebraska.

A brief memorandum of baptisms administered by De Smet on the journey of 1858 is in the St. Mary's (Kansas) *Baptismal Register*, Vol. 11, 1851-1871. "1858. About June 17 at Mary-ville near Blue River two young daughters of Mr. McClauskey and his wife of the Sioux Ogallalla band. 14 July. Ft. Kearney. 3 sons of Sergeant Butler, his wife (Irish), about 7, 5 and 3 years. 12 July near Cottonwood Springs 35 infants of the Ogallalla tribe and band of the chief Tatankakaoutaka or le Boeuf debout. 17 July, 160 infants of Loup band of Pawnees. The principal chiefs are le Petit Couteau and le cheval caille. July 30, 3 children of Pierre Cajoux and his Kickapoux wife."

adults "of the sick and aged."¹⁰⁰ Some of these baptisms were among the Yankton, but he was unable to penetrate any distance into the Sioux country, as he had intended, the tribe being at the moment on the war-path. In 1863 he again ascended the Missouri to Fort Benton on a missionary excursion but owing to the continued hostile attitude of the Sioux failed to meet with the success he had expected. Yet the excursion was not fruitless; he administered baptism to more than five hundred persons, most of them Indian children.¹⁰¹ The next year he made still another journey up the Missouri, going as far as Fort Berthold and visiting near Fort Sully some Two Kettle and Yanktonnais Sioux, one hundred and sixty-four of whose infants he baptized. The Yankton chief known as Man Who Strikes the Ree begged for a resident missionary, a favor which De Smet could promise only with reserve.¹⁰² But these annual excursions into the Indian country, however productive of good results, were no adequate substitute for a permanent mission. Both Indians and government officials were appealing to De Smet to undertake such, but year after year he was finding his hands tied for lack of funds and

¹⁰⁰ *Idem*, 2: 784, 786. De Smet left St. Louis early in May, 1862, on the *Spread Eagle*, Charles P. Chouteau, Captain. On June 30 he was one of a party of eleven to visit the Great Falls of the Missouri. "Madam La Barge and Margaret Harkness, leaving the ambulance, ran to the point from which the first glimpse could be had and are the first white women to have seen the Great Falls of the Missouri." "Diary of James Harkness of the Firm of La Barge, Harkness and Company," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, 2: 350.

¹⁰¹ *Idem*, 2: 788.

¹⁰² *Idem*, 3: 826. De Smet's baptisms during his western trips of 1846, 1851, 1864, 1866, 1867 and 1868 were entered in the St. Mary's Mission (Kansas) *Baptismal Register*, Vol. 11, 1851-1871. (E). The entries for the four trips of the sixties are in his own hand. The baptisms for 1864, six hundred and twenty-three in number, run from May 3 (Marguerite, daughter of Antoine Plante and his Indian wife, "on his farm near Sioux City") to July 15 at Yankton Agency. Among the baptized were "5 children belonging to the scattered Winnebago tribe along the shores of Missouri River," and at Yankton city, May 16, Noel, Henry, Peter and Charles, children of Charles Picotte. "May 31, of the Blackfoot tribe and of the two Kettle Band I baptized one hundred and sixty children. The two tribes form portions of the great Dacotah nation. June 10. I baptized in their own permanent village on the banks of the Mo. 1916 miles above its mouth the young children and infants of the Hedatzas (*Gens de Saules*) [the Willow People], commonly called Gros Ventres and of the Mandan tribes to the number of two hundred and ninety-two. June 12. At the same place and village near Fort Berthold I baptized one hundred and three little children belonging to the tribe of the Riccaries [Arikara]. July 9. On board steamer Yellowstone, Emma, about 6 mo. old, d. of Hodgkins and his Sioux wife. Fanny four months old. d. of agent Vaughan. July 11. Yellowstone steamer about Little Cheyenne River baptized Mary about 25 years of age of the Upper Blackfoot tribe. Same day she was married by me to Robert Meldrum, Indian trader. Witnesses and sponsors of Mrs. Meldrum were Mr. Roelotte and Mr. Culbertson."

personnel. In February, 1866, Brigadier General Alfred Sully, special Indian commissioner, made a definite proposal to him for the opening of two missions on the upper Missouri:

Knowing the great interest you take in the welfare of the Indians, I write you in their behalf that you may interest yourself and such as may so be disposed to assist in the establishment of religious missions in the Indian Country.

I would suggest as a commencement such institutions be established, one at the [?] village, Fort Berthold, another at the Yankton Agency, Dakota Territory. I would recommend the establishment of others as soon as the means could be procured. In making this request I am only asking what the Indians at these two above mentioned places have repeatedly requested me to do. Their predilections are decidedly in favor of the Catholic religion to the exclusion of any other. As I do not profess myself to be a Catholic, I can speak of the great good they have done towards civilizing the savage without fear of being accused of prejudice. In fact, I can say that the priests are the only missionaries I have ever seen who have been successful in improving the condition of the Indians to any great extent and I have had many opportunities of judging, not only in this country and California, but in Mexico and parts of South America. I attribute this in part to the solemnity of the ceremonies of the Church, but in a great measure to the example set the Indian by the priests, their self-denial and devotion and their mode of living, which causes the Indian to believe them something superior to the rest of mankind. Among the Rees [Arikara], Gros Ventres and Mandans, who have their villages at Fort Berthold, as you know, there is a great disposition to become civilized. The establishment of a mission at that point would not only be a great benefit to the Indians, but to the country, for though their number is but small, I suppose all told some 4,000 souls, they would in a few years form a settlement in that far-off region which would be a benefit to travellers to and from Montana. I would propose maintaining there the same military protection they have at present, one company of infantry, until the Mission got firmly established and able to take care of itself. The Fathers should be, if possible, French, the Sisters also, on account of the half-breeds who live with the Indians being French.

The other point for a mission, Yankton Agency [near Fort Randall], is much further down the Missouri River and in the settlements. These Indians, Yankton Sioux, have made a treaty with our Government, by which, for several years, they are to receive a large annuity, a part of which is set aside for the instruction of the children and religious improvement of the Indians. I have known these Indians well ever since 1857 and I can safely state they are in a bad, if not worse condition now than they were then. The children have no schooling or any instruction whatever. I doubt if they have ever had a school among them. I would suggest that this part of the annuity for school purposes be paid over to a Catholic Mission estab-

lished at that point. If the Government would allow this, a few years would see these much imposed upon Indians partly civilized and happy.¹⁰³

At St. Louis, March 13, the Jesuit missionary board gave General Sully's proposal what approval and encouragement it could without actually accepting it. "It was highly approved and will be looked to," Father De Smet wrote to Sully. "Owing to our own numerous establishments and the great want of personal means the design could not be immediately acted upon."¹⁰⁴ In the summer of 1866 De Smet was again on the upper Missouri, where in the neighborhood of Fort Sully he met numerous Sioux of the various tribes, among them Yankton, Yanktonnais, Brulés, Oglala, Two-Kettles, Santees and Sioux Blackfeet. On July 6 he baptized the head chief of the Yanktons, Pananniapapi or Man that Strikes the Ree, an old acquaintance of the missionary, who had known him since 1844. On the 26th of the same month the Yankton chiefs, including Man Who Strikes The Ree and Jumping Thunder, affixed their marks to a petition addressed to De Smet for a mission and school. "We want no other but you and your religion. The other [non-Catholic teacher] wants us to learn how to read and sing in the Indian language, and which we all know how to do in our own way. What we want is to learn the American language and their ways. We know enough of the Indian ways."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Sully to De Smet, February 28, 1866. (A).

¹⁰⁴ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1279.

¹⁰⁵ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1287. The following entries occur in De Smet's record of baptisms in the course of his upper Missouri journey of 1866. "April 30, 1866—on board the steamer Ontario Mrs. Mary Tilton, wife of the editor of the Montana Post, Virginia City, g. [god] mother Mrs. Elizabeth Meagher. May 5. Yankton Agency Rosalie about 1 yr. of age, d. [daughter] of F. B. Chardon and his Sioux wife—g.f. [god-father] Alexi[s] Giou. Maria Tshapa (Beaver) about 40 yrs. of age, of the Sioux nation, wife to Alexi[s] Giou, g.f. F. B. Chardon (Co. Judge)." "Baptized large number of children belonging to united camp of Indians (200 lodges) of Yanktons, Yantonnais, Brules, Ogallalas, Deux Chaudières (Two Kettle) Santies and Piedsnoirs Sioux." (Charles Primeau was god-father to all these). "May 21, Fort Berthold. Virginia (b. 25 June '65) d. of Frederick Gerard and his Riccaree wife, g.f. W. Conkey, g.m. Elizabeth Meagher. May 25. Fort Union. Nicolas b. Febr. 8, 1866, son of Philip Alvarez and his Assinaboine wife. bapt. numb. Assinaboine children, g.f. to all, Theodore L'Espagnol. May 30. on board Ontario bapt. Marie (7) and Pierre (5) children of Little Wolf, Crow chief, g.m. Elizabeth Meagher. June 7. Fort Benton. I baptized Joseph born in Sept. 1863, legitimate son of Cyprian Mott and Meline his wife. At Fort Berthold June 18, 1866 to end of month I baptized 147 children belonging to the three United Bands of Indian Riccarees, Minitarees and Mandans, g.f. Pierre Garrot. On board of steamer Minor below Fort Rice I baptized Dominic about 2 yrs. old s. of Franc. La Framboise and his Sioux wife. July 2, in an island of the Missouri 2 children of Benjamin Cadotte and his Sioux wife. July 6. [Yankton Agency?] I baptized Pan-

In 1867 De Smet was again a visitor to the Yanktons in their camp near Fort Randall. "The chiefs, with Pananniapapi (Man who Strikes the Ree) at their head, begged me to grant them a mission and establish schools in the tribe. The head chief, a good many adults and all the children of this tribe have been baptized."¹⁰⁶ None of the St. Louis Jesuits could be spared at the moment for a mission among the Sioux. A plan to invite two Fathers of the English province of Jesuits to take the work in hand came under consideration; but it was concluded not to involve any of the European Jesuits in what might prove an abortive undertaking. In 1868, on the occasion of his remarkable peace expedition to the hostile Sioux bands encamped on the Yellowstone above the mouth of the Powder River, De Smet on his journey thence to Fort Rice baptized over sixty children and five adults. Near Fort Sully other Sioux children received the sacrament at his hands. Finally, in the summer of 1870 he undertook in company with Father Ignatius Panken a journey to the Grand River country in what is now North Dakota to prospect for a Sioux mission in that quarter. A letter of the provincial, Father Coosemans, to the General alludes to the circumstance:

naniapapi or L'Homme qui frappe le Riz great chief of the Yankton tribe and I baptized Anna Mazaitzashanawe his wife under the patronage of S. Pieter and S. Anne. Peter is about 66 years of age, Anne about 50, g.f. P. J. De Smet. I baptized Alec Rencontre about 25 yrs. of age son of Zephyr Rencontre and Lucy his wife about 25 yrs. of age. g.f. of both Alexi[s] Giou." Alexis Giou was Yankton interpreter. "I took up my lodging in the house of the excellent interpreter of the nation, Mr. Alexis Giou, who loaded me with kindness and friendliness." CR, *De Smet*, 3: 867.

¹⁰⁶ At the Yankton Agency, May 7, 1867, was baptized Francis, born in November, 1866, son of Chardon (Christian name not given) and a Blackfoot Sioux mother. Large numbers of Indian children were baptized. Thus, May 7-11, at the Yankton Agency, seventy-one children of the bands of Pananniapapi (Yankton chief), La Belle Rade and La Vache de Medicine; May 19, in camp of Le Tonnerre qui Saute and camp of the Brulé Tetons about one hundred and ten children; May 21-22, in camp of the Zuan [*sic*] Teton chief, some eighty-one; May 27, in camp of Brulés, Deux Chaudières (Two Kettle) and Yantonnais, about one hundred and thirty-five; May 31, at old Fort Sully, about two hundred and twenty-nine children of the Two Kettle Band, Blackfoot Sioux, Minicanjous, Sans Arcs, Yantonnais; July 4, at old Fort Buford or Union in camp of Tourniquet, Assiniboin chief, about forty-five children. A great many Sioux children received baptism at De Smet's hands in the course of the journey of 1868. At Fort Rice, May 28, Uncpapakan (Hunkpapa) and others. May 29, Camp of Two Bears, Yantonnais, Sisseton, a large number of children. "June 25. On my way from the Uncpapa hostile camp baptized about 54 children. June 28, baptized Paul Zetemenisapa (Black All Over)." "July 3. Fort Rice, baptized Old Owl orator of the Uncpapa camp about 65 yrs. old and his wife and La femme qui regarde en sortant, about 60 yrs. of age. July 4. Fort Rice, baptized wife of Major Galpin 49 years old. July 8, 1868. Near Fort Sully in the United Camp of Big Mandan, Yellow Hawk, and Red Fish large number of children."

I have just received a letter from Father De Smet from the Indian country. He is now on the way to St. Louis where he hopes to arrive before the 15th of August. He complained of his health and of a loss of strength. Father Panken whom I sent along with him as companion on this last trip has been a great consolation to him. They succeeded in doing much good among the Indians and among the soldiers in the Forts, by whom they were well received everywhere. For many years Father De Smet has wished to see a permanent mission established among these poor people deprived of all religious aid except what he has been able to render them on his annual visits. He undertook this trip more particularly to look over the ground and see when and how this mission ought to be commenced.¹⁰⁷

Returning to St. Louis early in August from what was his very last visit to the Indians, Father De Smet wrote thence to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Parker:

At my return to St. Louis in the beginning of last month I gave an exposé to my Superior and his consultors of my visit and mission among the various Sioux tribes. They readily approved and resolved on the establishment of a mission among the aforesaid tribes, without deciding on the locality. During the consultation a letter was read from General Stanley, in which he advised, stating his motives, establishing the mission in Peoria Bottom, where General Harney raised buildings fifteen miles below Fort Sully and where the little band of Yellow Hawk habitually resides (north side of the Missouri River).

I will here state that, personally, I am in favor of establishing the mission on the Grand river reservation from the fact that it will bring the missionaries in closer contact with a greater number of Indians and give them more facility to visit the hitherto hostile bands in the interior. I was assured while at Grand River that the bottom lands four miles above and six miles below the agency are susceptible to cultivation with plenty of timber and good grazing around. My proposition will, no doubt, meet with the approbation of my Superior and his board of whom I am a member.

My health has been rather feeble for some time past owing to the excessive summer heat in the upper country. I trust the coming cool weather will again brace me up and prepare me for the new Sioux mission, which for years has been dear to my heart.¹⁰⁸

As he had expected, De Smet's recommendation as to the location of the proposed mission was adopted by the missionary-board in St.

¹⁰⁷ Coosemans à Beckx, July 27, 1870. (AA).

¹⁰⁸ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1297. "I have always favored putting the mission on the east bank of the Missourí, but if it be decided to commence it at once on the west bank, the place known as Isaak's [?] Wood Yard—30 miles beyond Grand River and fifteen miles below Battle Creek is the best place. The timber, farming land and hay are all good at that place." Stanley to De Smet, January 20, 1871. (A).

Louis, made up of the provincial, Father Coosemans, and his consultants. "This year," read the minutes of the board for January 27, 1871, "a new mission will be established, *Deo volente*, among the Sioux on Grand River." At a meeting of the board in March the names of fathers to be assigned to the mission were proposed. Fathers Hoecken, Panken, Driessen, Van den Bergh, De Meester were mentioned, Father Hoecken to be superior. In the outcome Father Francis Kuppens was to go as superior with Father Peter De Meester as assistant. The commissioner of Indian affairs showed himself friendly to the project, requesting De Smet to name some acceptable person for appointment by the president of the United States as Indian agent at Grand River, "it seeming very desirable that any agent sent by the Government to the care of those Indians should be in full harmony and sympathy with the local missionary or teacher."¹⁰⁹ De Smet's first suggestion for the position was Dr. William F. Cody, a person other than the Buffalo Bill of later days. De Smet was not sanguine over the success of the mission and wrote in this sense to General Sully.

In the mid-June of 1871 Fathers Kuppens and De Meester, commissioned to set the Sioux mission on foot, arrived at the house of the brothers Louis and Adrian Egat, two Frenchmen resident at Grand River, Dakota Territory. Thence on the following day they were conducted by Louis Egat to the camp of a Great Yankton chief, Two Bears, where they proposed to stay a few days to learn something more of the Sioux language and look over the ground of their future labors. "Permission to stay awhile with his people," Father Kuppens relates, "was politely but coldly granted me and I was introduced into the lodge of my host. This mansion I saw gaudily decorated with paintings of bears, eagles, buffaloes, tomahawks, pipes, houses, men, etc. After smoking a pipe which passed from mouth to mouth according to the rule of Indian etiquette, the chief deigned to explain to us that all his people had gone forth from the camp to prepare for a solemn dance in honor of the Sun; that there was not a single squaw left to unsaddle my horse; so he proposed that we should all remount and ride together to the scene of the celebration." Father Kuppens then enters on a minute description of the gruesome dancing ceremony he was permitted to witness. His account concludes:

At length, the most painful operation begins. While the dancers are so exhausted that they seem momentarily on the point of falling down, the chief medicine man steps forth and with a knife cuts two gashes on the back of each one's shoulder blade, then thrusts his fingers into the gashes and passes a string through the flesh, to which he fastens a dried buffalo head,

¹⁰⁹ *Idem*, 4: 1298.

which dangles from the shoulders of the nine remaining dancers. Now they are to dance again till the weight of the heads has caused the strings to cut through the bleeding flesh from which they are suspended. What a relief I felt when at last the heads one after another had fallen to the ground! But all was not over yet. They are now cut on the upper arm and with a rope ten feet long fastened similarly to the tree. At about 2 o'clock P. M. they had danced themselves loose and the ceremony was concluded. Alas that all this suffering is not undergone to gain an eternal crown! If converted these men would not shrink back at hearing these words, "the Kingdom of heaven suffereth violence and the violent bear it away."¹¹⁰

Fathers Kuppens and De Meester remained but a few weeks at Grand River. In August they were back in St. Louis after meeting and lodging in the same tepee with the celebrated Sioux chief, Sitting Bull. Major J. C. Connor, the agent at Grand River, wrote in appreciation of the work they were carrying on at the time he penned his report of September 9, 1871. The following year he declared that nothing in the way of cultural and religious improvement could be effected among the grown up members of the tribe. The only hope lay with the children, who under the influence of patient discipline and education, could be weaned away from the savage ways of their elders.¹¹¹ But a Catholic school, it would seem, was not for the moment a practicable proposition.

Before he had left St. Louis in 1870 to visit the Indian country for the last time De Smet had expressed a wish that in the event of his death in the course of the journey or of failure to open the projected Sioux mission, the money collected by him for that purpose should be applied to an object which he designated.¹¹² At his death three years later this fund amounted to six thousand dollars. No instructions of his in regard to the disposition to be made of the fund seem to have been known to Father Coosemans's successor as provincial, Father Thomas O'Neil, who was of the opinion that as it had been got together with a view to the Indians, it should be expended directly on their behalf and he advised accordingly that the entire sum be transferred to the Rocky Mountain Missions. The project of a Sioux mission, De Smet's dream of a life-time, was thus not realized in his own day. But within a decade or so of his death German Jesuits with headquarters at Buffalo succeeded in establishing Sioux missions on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud agencies in South Dakota, which have since

¹¹⁰ *WL*, 1: 110.

¹¹¹ *RCIA*, 1871, no. 92, 1872, no. 28. Major Connor seems to have owed his position to Father De Smet. There is extant a letter from General Harney to De Smet requesting him to support Connor's application for the post. (A).

¹¹² Coosemans à Beckx, June 15, 1870. (AA).

developed into the largest Catholic Indian schools in the United States. They carry out effectively the program of religious and social service cherished by De Smet on behalf of the Siouan tribes and they do so on a scale far more elaborate than would have been possible for him.

A few Sioux who met De Smet on his excursions to the upper Missouri probably yet survive and among the various bands of that once powerful tribe his name is still a familiar one, around which a body of story and reminiscence, partly authentic and partly apocryphal, has grown up.

§ 5. EXCURSIONS TO THE UPPER MISSOURI

In the last decade or so of his life the missionary zeal of De Smet as has been pointed out, found its principal and in fact only outlet as far as field-work was concerned in the journeys he made almost every year to the upper Missouri country. The nature of these journeys is explained by Father Keller in a letter to the Father General:

Father De Smet will undertake a trip to the more distant missions with a view to meet the missionaries of that region and deliver to them whatever he has got together for their use. He prepares for this annual trip by buying various things for the use of those Fathers; then he goes up the Missouri by steamboat as far as navigation reaches and there either stores with reliable persons what he has brought along for the missionaries or else delivers the material to the missionaries themselves, who come to meet him. And so descending the river in the same boat he returns home after an absence of three or four months. Meantime, on the river banks as he goes up or down as also at the place where navigation stops, he visits numerous Indian villages and gatherings, distributing presents and baptizing the children. As a matter of fact, this trip is not so necessary that it cannot be omitted, since its principal object, which is to fetch goods to the missionaries, could be equally attained by putting the goods in charge of the captain of the boat, who would either deliver them to the missionaries or else store them in a place whence the latter could afterwards have them transported. But as long as Father De Smet is eager to put up every year with a journey of this sort, I should think that he ought to be sent, especially as he can at the same time gain a number of souls for heaven and procure for himself the recreation he finds necessary.¹¹⁸

This opinion of Father Keller in regard to De Smet's yearly expedition up the Missouri was also shared by Father Murphy, who

¹¹⁸ Keller ad Beckx, April 21, 1863. (AA). "I hope Almighty God will grant you perfect safety and great prosperity during your trip. May you be in His hands the instrument of the salvation of many souls. Do all you can, dear Father, for the good of these poor people whilst you are with them, in the way of instructing, baptizing, marrying." Coosemans to De Smet, April 9, 1863. (A).

thought that circumstances warranted him in allowing to the veteran missionary this periodical outlet for his energy and zeal. On the other hand, Father Sopranis, the Visitor, looked with disfavor on these excursions nor did he think that the reason chiefly alleged by De Smet to justify them, namely, the numerous baptisms performed, was a valid one. Moreover, strange to say, he had been assured by Fathers Congiato, Gazzoli and Hoecken that these excursions to the Indians had become a hindrance rather than a help to the missions, though in what way is not revealed. Sopranis would therefore have the General instruct Murphy to hold De Smet in St. Louis and have him attend to the business of the vice-province, adding that Murphy had De Smet for assistant and reposed a great deal of confidence in him.¹¹⁴ In the end Father Murphy's view prevailed and, with the approval of the General, De Smet continued his periodic visits to the upper Missouri which, as a matter of fact, were on more than one occasion undertaken chiefly in deference to government request.

To baptize in numbers the children of heathen parents leaving more or less to chance their future upbringing as Catholics is not the approved practice of the Church. That De Smet did so is to be explained on the ground that, infant mortality being very high among the Indians, probably the majority of the children baptized by him might be expected to die before attaining to fully conscious life. "The life which the Indians lead," he wrote to Coosemans from the Yankton Agency, May 15, 1867, "is a very hard and painful one and the climate is exceedingly rigorous. A great number of their little children succumb before the ordinary age of reason, not being able to resist strain, wretchedness and baffling diseases, for there are no remedies among them. It is a real feast day for me when I baptize these poor little innocents. I have a very intimate conviction that baptism has opened heaven to a very great number of children whom I have had the happiness and consolation of baptizing in my long excursions and missions among the Indian tribes."¹¹⁵ De Smet always had a great trust in the power of these little recruits for heaven to help him and, after the example of St. Francis Xavier, frequently implored their aid. This he did with particular earnestness in the days immediately preceding his death. To Father Coosemans he sent from the Yankton Agency a passage copied from a letter of St. Francis Xavier, adding that he was at pains to put it into practice: "Among other intercessions we invoke that of the children whom I have baptized and whom God in His infinite mercy has called to him before they have tarnished the robe of their

¹¹⁴ Sopranis ad Beckx, February, 1862. (AA).

¹¹⁵ De Smet à Coosemans, May 15, 1867. (AA).

innocence. I believe they are to the number of a thousand and more. I invoke them to obtain the grace of doing in this land of exile and misery what God wills and in the manner He wills it."

The journal of De Smet's Missouri River trip of 1867 notes repeatedly the baptisms of Indian children along the way. The register which accompanies the journal records only the given or Christian name conferred by the missionary on the infants at their entrance into the Church. At Fort Thompson, May 27, one hundred and sixty and more received the sacrament. "They [the Sioux] were very attentive to the religious instructions they received. Having spoken on the necessity and benefits of infant baptism and of all the dangers the children are exposed to, principally from sickness, the chiefs harangued their various bands and the mothers hastened to present to me their little ones to the number of over one hundred and sixty. The ceremonies of baptism lasted till evening. This has been a day of great consolation to me and I trust shall be long remembered and prove very beneficial to the Indians." On May 31, also at Fort Thompson, there were numerous baptisms. "This day, at the breaking up of the Great Council the mothers with their infants were awaiting me and I regenerated one hundred and seventy four of their little children in the holy waters of baptism."¹¹⁶ The Indians, however, were not alone in sharing the benefits of Father De Smet's ministry on these missionary journeys. Not a few Catholic families of whites were settled here and there along the upper Missouri in the neighborhood of the forts and among them baptisms and marriages were administered. Moreover, government troops stationed at the forts included numerous Catholics in their number and these were privileged to have the services of a Catholic priest. "May 28th, I said Mass late in the morning and gave an instruction at Fort Thompson. The garrison is principally composed of Irish, Germans and French, all Catholics. It was the first visit they had received from a priest. Accordingly a good number made haste to profit by my presence to approach the sacraments."¹¹⁷ On board the *Graham*, 249 feet in length, "a floating palace and the largest boat that has ever come up the Upper Missouri," De Smet found himself in company with a large detachment of soldiers. "My quality of envoy extraordinary of the Government carries with it the title of Major, strangely mated, it must be owned, with that of Jesuit. Still, it must be said in its behalf that it gives me readier access among the soldiers, a great many of whom are Catholics. I gave them, not as a Major, but as a priest, all my spare moments. Sunday, I said Mass in public, in the spacious ladies' cabin;

¹¹⁶ Ms. journal. (A).

¹¹⁷ CR, 3: 875.

and every day I offered the holy sacrifice in my private state-room, with the consolation of being able to distribute holy communion to several. I found myself conducting a small mission on board; my days were past in doing the catechism and instructing and confessing the soldiers, who hastened to come before me. As I went along I baptized a lady and her children."¹¹⁸

De Smet's last upper Missouri trip was in 1870 when he went with Father Panken to Grand River to prospect for his long-contemplated Sioux mission.

The Indians of the Spanish Southwest were not among those evangelized by the middlewestern Jesuits. But attempts were made in the fifties to interest the latter in the Indians named and the correspondence incident on the attempts brings out interesting data. Beginning with 1852, Bishop Lamy of Santa Fe made repeated appeals to St. Louis and even to Rome for priests to work among the aborigines of his diocese. Probably the fact that he had been a pupil in a Jesuit school, Father Murphy, vice-provincial at St. Louis, 1851-1856, having been an instructor of his in France, made him feel that he had a special claim on the Society's attention. "An amiable and holy prelate," Murphy described him to the General, and "devoted to the Society."¹¹⁹ Lamy's diocese numbered one hundred thousand Catholics, ten thousand of them being Indians. He appealed to Father Roothaan:

To administer the sacraments to so many of the faithful scattered over an immense territory, I have only a dozen priests and I do not think I can rely even on all of these. We have in the same territory an Indian tribe whom it would be easy to bring under the banner of the cross if we had a number of good missionaries, men of God, who would seek only the good of souls and the glory of our Divine Master. I have had long conversations with Father De Smet at the college of St. Louis where the Fathers have extended to me and my party the most generous hospitality. . . . He [De Smet] has a particular grace for the conversion of the Indians. Two tribes, the Comanches and Navajos, number 10,000 together and are ready for the harvest. And so I entreat you for God's glory and the salvation of souls, do all in your power to send some of your Fathers to a field where the harvest is already so ripe, but is being lost for lack of workers.¹²⁰

In a letter of February 1, 1852, to Father Roothaan, Lamy had asked for the Spanish-speaking Fathers De Blicke and Druyts. De Blicke was not available, being in his theological studies at Georgetown, and Druyts as president of St. Louis University was not easily

¹¹⁸ *Idem*, 3:881.

¹¹⁹ Murphy à Roothaan, November 12, 1875. (AA).

¹²⁰ Lamy à Roothaan, July 29, 1852. (AA).

to be spared. Though Father Murphy could not supply the aid the Vicar-apostolic of New Mexico was begging for, he was desirous that the field be accepted. "What a fine field for our Spanish Fathers," he wrote March 3, 1852, to Roothaan. "No Rosas, no pragmatic sanction of his Catholic Majesty." In 1854 Lamy, passing through St. Louis on his way to Santa Fe with a party of five French and Spanish priests and three deacons, renewed his petition for the services of Fathers De Blicck and De Smet. De Blicck was thought by Murphy and his council to be unsuited physically and otherwise for the hard missionary life of the Spanish Southwest. Of De Smet Murphy said: "I should indeed be very reluctant for Father De Smet to leave me since I need his services constantly; he himself is of the opinion that if he must eventually leave here, he ought to labor for the Indians of our own territory."¹²¹ In 1855 Father Machebeuf, Lamy's vicar-general, indited a long letter to Father Beckx from Florissant, where he was awaiting an opportunity to travel back to Santa Fe. He had already made three appeals to Father Murphy but without result and was now about to return with four Loretto nuns who were to join their sisters in Santa Fe. He had learned from Father Gleizal that the Spanish Jesuits had recently been expelled from Loyola in Spain by an anti-clerical government and he pleaded with the General to assign him some of their number to work among the Indians and whites of New Mexico. He offered them a parish in Santa Fe, another one in Zami (?) near the Navajo, a property "two leagues in length" situated some five leagues from Santa Fe; finally, there were good prospects for a college. Machebeuf's appeal was made in the name of Bishop Lamy, but it met the same fate as the previous one. Later, in 1861, the Bishop addressed himself to the Visitor, Father Sopranis, asking for priests and repeating the offer of an extensive property five leagues from Santa Fe. "We should need not fewer than four or five Spanish-speaking Fathers." All Sopranis could do was to forward the petition to the Father General, as it was impossible for the overburdened vice-province to take on additional tasks. Happily, in 1862 Lamy received aid, temporary though it was, from the California Jesuits.

At a still later date, 1867, a group of Italian Jesuits arrived at Santa Fe to lay the foundations of the New Mexico-Colorado Mission. With them on their journey over the Santa Fe Trail to New Mexico was Father De Blicck, the same whose services as a Spanish-speaking priest had been solicited by Bishop Lamy as early as 1852. He was to spend some nine months in the latter's jurisdiction in the capacity of missionary-preacher. We find this reference to him in a letter of Father

¹²¹ Murphy ad Beckx, September 14, 1854. (AA).

Machebeuf, April 14, 1868: "The celebrated missionary, Father De Blieck came to Denver, over a month ago from Santa Fe, where he had preached several missions and retreats. He gave a mission in our principal mountain parish where I was with him for a week, and he began one here in Denver on Friday of Passion Week. Unfortunately he was taken sick on the third day of the mission." A week later than the date of this letter, Machebeuf started from Denver for his consecration as Vicar-apostolic of Colorado and Utah leaving Fathers De Blieck and Matthonet in charge of the only parish then in the town.¹²² The party of missionaries, De Blieck among them, and Loretto nuns with Bishop Lamy at their head which journeyed over the Santa Fe Trail in the summer of 1867 was attacked by Indians at the crossing of the Arkansas, one of the nuns dying of fright.¹²³

¹²² W. J. Howlett, *Life of the Right Rev. Joseph P. Machebeuf, D.D., Pioneer Priest of Ohio, First Bishop of Denver* (Pueblo, Col., 1908), p. 337.

¹²³ *History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth* (Kansas City, 1898), p. 105.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE OSAGE MISSION

§ 1. NEGOTIATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT

The first Catholic priest to evangelize the Osage Indians in the nineteenth century was Father Charles de la Croix, parish-priest at Florissant, Missouri, who visited them under orders from Bishop Du Bourg in 1822 while they were still living on their ancient lands along the Osage River in Missouri. After their removal to the Neosho district in the Indian Territory they were seen in 1827, 1828, and 1830 by Father Van Quickenborne.¹ The Osage were the first of the Indian

¹ *Supra*, Chap. VI. Osage baptisms and marriages prior to the establishment of the Osage Mission are recorded in four registers: (1) *Old Cathedral Register*, St. Louis, Mo.; (2) *Registre des Baptêmes*, St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, Mo.; (3) *Sugar Creek Register*, St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas; (4) *Osage Register* (St. Francis Monastery, St. Paul, Kans.). The series of Osage baptisms up to the establishment of the Osage Mission in 1847 is as follows: (1) in St. Louis were baptized a number of Mongrains, progenitors of the numerous mixed-bloods of that name found among the Osage. Thus, Jean Baptiste Mongrain, son of Nicholas Mongrain and a Pawnee woman, July 28, 1773; Noel Mongrain, April 18, 1787; François Mongrain, son of J. Bte. Mongrain and Marie, an Indian, Aug. 6, 1797. (*Old Cathedral Register*, St. Louis). According to a statement in the *Osage Register*, Noel Mongrain's wife, Marie Pahushan, and his nine (?) children, Jean Baptiste, Noel, François, Joseph, Jules, Pelagie, Charles, Victoire, and Louis were baptized about 1820 in St. Louis. The statement, which is vouched for by Joseph Mongrain and Pierre M. Papin, is not borne out at least by the St. Louis cathedral records. Noël Mongrain and each of ten children of his (names as listed in the treaty not identical with above series) were allotted a section of land under the Osage Treaty of 1825. Article 5 of same treaty designates numerous other half-breeds who were allotted sections. Charles J. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), 2: 218. (2) At the Paul Liguiste Chouteau trading-post, Bates County, Mo., Father Charles De La Croix, parish-priest of Florissant, Mo., baptized May 5, 1822, fifteen Osage half-breed children, their names being Antoine Chouteau, Pierre Lambert, Jean Bte. Le Suis, François Le Suis, Joseph Peras, Antoine Pieu, Auguste Capitaine, Paul Lambert, Joseph Capitaine, Hélène Lambert, Rosalie Capitaine (afterwards wife of Edouard Chouteau, trader residing at mouth of Flat Rock Creek, two miles from Osage Mission), Therese Sarpie, Sophie Peras, Catherine Le Suis and Eulalie [Emilie?] Lambert. On May 7, 1822, were baptized by Father De La Croix Antoine Lambert, Rosalie Lambert and Susanne, a slave (?) of Paul Liguiste Chouteau. The following were also baptized by the same priest, all in 1822: May 12, James Chouteau and Marie

tribes to engage his apostolic zeal. They were the first whom he visited in their native habitat; from them he drew the majority of the pupils for his Indian school at Florissant and among them he proposed at one time to realize a somewhat visionary plan of a Jesuit reduction modeled in accordance with the instructions of his General, Father Roothaan, on the famous reductions of Paraguay. Apart, however, from taking up again the thread of Catholic missionary activity in the midst of this interesting tribe and planting anew the seeds of faith in numerous infant baptisms, no result in the way of a permanent mission followed Father Van Quickenborne's visits to the Osage country. Already the chapter of

Kennelle, an Indian squaw thirty years old; August 11, Joseph Bienvenu, Baptiste St. Michel, Louis Bte. St. Michel, Auguste St. Michel, François Bernale, Julie St. Michel, Victoire J. Bte. St. Michel, Louis [?] J. Bte. St. Michel, Celeste Cardinal, Ursule Cardinal, Susanne L'Anué, Helene le Hetre; August 16, Julie Mongrain. (3) Father Charles Van Quickenborne, S.J., administered seventeen baptisms at the new Liguette Chouteau trading-post on the Neosho (*à Neosho chez Mr. Liguette Chouteau*) on August 27 and following days, 1827 (*supra*, Chap. VI, note 37). Names of the Osage half-breeds baptized at Harmony Mission, Missouri, by Van Quickenborne, August 21, 1827, were Pierre Quenville (Canville), François Quenville (Canville), Jesse alias Gesseau Chouteau, Jean Marie Vasseur, Xavier alias Brogan Entaya, Andre Marlo, Victoire Entaya, Auguste Chouteau, Pelagie Entaya, François Tayon, Julie Renon, Joseph St. Michel, Rosalie St. Michael, Sara Perra, Pelagie Bruce, Michael Entaya, Auguste Jaco Sarpi, Sabath or Elizabeth Sarpi. (Cf. Chap. VI, § 3). On June 8, 1830, Father Van Quickenborne baptized, "at the house of Francis D'Aybeau near the banks of the Marmiton river, opposite the place where formerly was the village of the *grand soldat* [Big Soldier, an Osage chief]," Mary, an Osage woman about twenty-six years old, Joseph Brent Brown, son of Joseph Brown alias Equesne and Josette D'Aybeau, and Archange Vasseur, son of Basil Vasseur, a mixed-blood, and Mary, an Osage, his legitimate wife. (Cf. Chap. VI, note 42). June 9, 1830, Van Quickenborne baptized a number of children at the house of Joseph Entaya near the Marais des Cygnes. About this time also (1828) Josephine Louaise, daughter of M. Louaise and Mianga, an Osage, was baptized in Paris, France. From 1830, when Van Quickenborne last visited the Osage up to the establishment of the Sugar Creek Potawatomi Mission (1838) or a few years later, the tribe was apparently unvisited by any Catholic priest. In 1840 Herman Aelen, S.J., administered four Osage baptisms near the Marais des Cygnes. The next year (July 15, 1841) he baptized ten of the tribe in a private dwelling near the Marmiton, among the number being Louis Farramond (Pharamond) Chouteau, son of Edouard Chouteau and Rosalie Capitaine. In 1842 Aelen was at the Neosho where he baptized nineteen. Verreydt had four Osage baptisms in 1843. Thereafter, up to the opening of the Osage Mission in 1847, there were numerous baptisms among the Osage by Sugar Creek missionaries, all recorded in the *Sugar Creek Register*.

The Osage Mission baptismal and other church registers, together with record-books and correspondence pertaining to the Indian school, are in the archives of the Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas, the Passionist fathers having taken over the buildings of the mission and the care of the parish on the withdrawal of the Jesuits in 1892.

his earthly career had closed when his Jesuit brethren began to take active measures towards the establishment of an Osage mission.

The first steps leading to a permanent Jesuit residence on the banks of the Neosho were taken by Father Felix Verreydt, superior of the Sugar Creek Mission, who on April 23, 1844, visited the Osage reserve with a view to establish a missionary-station within its borders.² He must have held out hope to the Indians of a Catholic school and mission on their behalf. On May 10, 1844, seventeen days later than Verreydt's visit to the Osage, nine chiefs of the tribe, including the principal chief, George White Hair, affixed their signatures in the shape of crosses to a petition addressed to the commissioner of Indian affairs:

Honorable T. Hartley Crawford:

This petition of the undersigned chiefs and warriors of the Osage tribe of Indians respectfully represent that in accordance with the benevolent intentions of the Government of the United States we are disposed to better our condition by the introduction among us of education and the domestic arts. That a school being felt by us necessary for the instruction of our children we wish to see one established among us with as little delay as possible and the Catholic Missionary Society of

² From the date of Verreydt's first visit to the Osage reserve in April, 1844, up to the arrival of Schoenmakers in 1847, the Osage were visited at intervals by the Sugar Creek missionaries. Most of the preparations for the Osage Mission previous to 1847 devolved upon Father Verreydt, who may be considered one of its founders, having established a station on the Osage reserve as early as 1844. The diary in the Sugar Creek *Liber Parochialis* (F) furnishes data of Father Verreydt's activity in this connection:

April 23, 1844. Father Verreydt to the Osage to establish a mission-station among them.

September 16, 1844. Father Verreydt, in company with the Indian superintendent, to the Osage village, to select a site for the school buildings.

September 26, 1844. Father Verreydt to St. Louis to confer with the vice-provincial about the Osage Mission.

January, 1845. Father Verreydt confers with Col. E. Chouteau at Fort Scott about the proposed buildings at Osage.

February, 1845. Father Verreydt summoned by the Osage to mark out the grounds and decide on the plans for the new buildings. A joiner was hired by the Indian agent to do the work and finish the structure.

January 11, 1846. Father Verreydt to the Osage mission-station to arrange for the government school to be opened there.

June, 1846. Father de Coen to the Osage reserve to see how far the school-buildings in process of erection are advanced.

August 7, 1846. Father De Coen to the Osage to baptize their infants. *Dial* (St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kans.), 1890.

A number of missions for the Osage had been established by Protestant missionary societies, but were all discontinued before the forties. "Tradition has it that these Indians never took kindly to Calvinistic doctrine." S. W. Brewer in *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9: 19.

Missouri having expressed a willingness to send missionaries and establish a permanent school among us, we, seeing the great advantage derived by our neighbors, the Potawatomi, from the labors and institution of the missionaries of this Society, would be happy to receive them among us and respectfully request you to aid and encourage them in their benevolent designs towards us and that government would apply annually to the aid of the proposed school as large an amount as you may think advisable of the interest accruing on funds reserved for us by Treaty stipulations for purposes of education.

Signed in presence of

George White Hair his X mark.

Clermont.

John Hill Edwards,

Tally, etc.

Ind. Sub-Agt.

[9 names]

and Joseph Swiss, interpreter.³

Colonel Edwards, agent for the Osage, in whose presence the petition was signed, forwarded this document to Major Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis, who in turn transmitted it to Commissioner Crawford.⁴ Harvey's letter to Crawford accompanying the petition was a cordial indorsement of the Indians' wishes. "Instruction of the Indians, to insure success, must be entrusted to missionaries. I have no hope in the success of government teachers who go into the Indian country for the salary. The great object of a large majority of those employed in the Indian country, it seems to me, is to do as little as possible, so that they insure the payment of the salary. From the devotion of the Catholics at Sugar Creek to the improvement of the Indians, I shall be pleased to see them established on a liberal footing. It would be a pleasant duty to me to aid in promoting their views and giving effect to the wishes of the Osages in establishing the proposed school."⁵ A later communication from Harvey to Crawford

³ (H). The Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri was a name assumed by the Jesuit Vice-province of Missouri in its business dealings with the Indian Office.

⁴ For a brief account of the system of superintendencies and agencies in the administration of Indian affairs, cf. *supra*, Chap. XXIII, note 29. Major Thomas Harvey of all government officials did most to promote the establishment of the Catholic Osage Mission. He wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Crawford, Sept. 8, 1845: "I have no doubt that the entire amount that may be received will be conscientiously laid out for the benefit of the Osages." (H). In forwarding the Osage petition to Commissioner Crawford, Harvey sent with it a letter from Colonel Edwards introducing Father Verreydt to President Tyler. It does not appear that Verreydt ever went to Washington.

⁵ Harvey to Crawford, July 11, 1844. (H). As corresponding secretary and agent of the board of managers of the American Indian Missionary Association, the Baptist missionary, Rev. Isaac McCoy, requested government aid for a contemplated school among the Osage. "It appears that the Osages have a considerable amount of money invested to be applied to educational purposes under the direc-

advises the commissioner that a number of Osage half-breeds were to move from their homes just east of the Missouri state-line to the Neosho district and that the proposed school would have to be located wherever they should settle down as they would at once give it their immediate support. Harvey had already assured the half-breeds that the school would be established in their vicinity.

At Washington, however, no eagerness was manifested to accede to the Osage petition. Sometime during the first half of 1846, approximately two years after the date of the petition, Father Van de Velde, the Missouri vice-provincial, while on a visit to the national capital, took up the question of the Osage school with Medill, Crawford's successor as commissioner of Indian affairs. Medill proposed certain terms which the superior engaged to lay before his consultors on his return to St. Louis. Van de Velde did so with the result that the terms were found unsatisfactory as he declares in a letter to Medill written in the summer of 1846: "We have therefore concluded to decline accepting the school among the Osages on the terms proposed unless the department should consent to defray the expenses of this first outlay or should appropriate at least a portion if not the whole of the present year's annual interest of the educational fund of the said Osages and authorize us to use it for this purpose."⁶ In the course of the same summer Father Van de Velde informed Major Harvey that he would be satisfied with one-half of the current year's interest on the Osage educational fund. "As it is, we are of opinion that one-half of [the] sum due for interest on annual investment and which one-half amounts to between \$900 and \$1000 would suffice for putting the school in operation. Should there be any surplus, it would be used for the benefit of the Osages. I will write at once to Father Verreydt to direct him to advise the Osage Agent that we shall take possession of the buildings as soon as they will be ready for the reception of them whom I shall send and direct him to procure everything that will be necessary to commence it."⁷ Harvey on August 31 communicated the vice-provincial's proposition to Medill, with an endorsement of it, adding: "It is extremely important that something should be done promptly for the Osages. Their annuities will soon expire; their subsistence by the buffalo must soon be precarious. It is therefore imperative that their children should be educated to cultivate the soil and in the arts of civilization generally. I presume nearly all of their people that have any idea of the Christian

tion of the Department of Indian Affairs." Letter of February 5, 1845. (H). The request was not granted, the Catholic school during the period it was in the field being the only institution conducted for the education of Osage youth.

⁶ Van de Velde to Medill, July 7, 1846. (H).

⁷ Van de Velde to Harvey, August 31, 1846. (H).

religion are Catholics; they have frequently petitioned for Catholic teachers. I think it would be difficult to change their feeling on the subject. I would with great deference suggest the propriety of furnishing the establishment; any article thus furnished would be the property of the school. The Catholics have succeeded well with the Potawatomes though they have had comparatively nothing from the government.”⁸ The Indian Office accepted the terms offered by Van de Velde and Medill announced to Harvey September 11, 1846, that the sum of \$925.38 would be paid to the proposed school in accordance with its promoter's request.

The reluctance of Van de Velde and his advisers owing to chronic scarcity of men and money to undertake a new establishment in the Indian country appears from the official minute-book of the board. October 24, 1844, the vice-provincial laid the project of an Osage mission before the board, seemingly for the first time. No action was taken on it; but the Indian Office was to be sounded and the Father General written to. Again, on May 6, 1845, the board returned to the same project. The meagre personnel of the vice-province excluded the plan of mission-headquarters with two resident fathers especially as the Indian Office had thus far given no assurance of material aid. As a preliminary step, however, one of the Sugar Creek fathers, Verreydt being named in particular, was to be directed to visit the Osage reserve with a view to ascertain what measure of success could reasonably be hoped for from a mission-house within its limits. Again, in July, 1846, it was resolved to proceed no further with the project of an Osage mission until some word concerning it should have been received from Rome. The next month, August 26, 1846, the board, meeting at the novitiate in Florissant, decided to accept the mission provided government supplied the necessary funds. The question of a mission-staff being mooted, three separate pairs of missionaries were suggested, either Fathers Aelen and Schoenmakers, or Fathers Aelen and Bax, or Fathers Schoenmakers and Bax. But no choice was made, the consultants deciding to give the matter more mature consideration and meanwhile commend it to God in their Masses and prayers. Finally, on November 13, 1846, a decision was reached to enter into contract with the government to open the school in March, 1847, when the necessary buildings should have been completed. The contract was signed February 25, 1847.⁹

The choice of one to take in hand the new missionary venture in the Osage country fell on Father John Schoenmakers, a native of Waspick, province of North Brabant, Holland, then in his fortieth year. Already a priest, he entered the Society in Maryland January 16, 1834,

⁸ Harvey to Medill, August 31, 1846. (H).

⁹ *Liber Consultationum*. (A).

but travelled west that same year, becoming a member of the Missouri Mission. He filled with efficiency various posts involving the administration of affairs, among others that of manager of the property of St. Louis University known as the College Farm, which was located on the northern outskirts of St. Louis. Shrewd, practical-minded, enterprising and with a talent for organization, the young Dutch priest was now to find an ample field in which to utilize his special gifts. If the mission among the Osage, despite its failure to work the conversion of the adult Indians, was to issue in many happy results, the outcome was due under heaven largely to the patience, perseverance, resourcefulness and religious zeal of Father Schoenmakers during the thirty-six years the management of the mission was in his hands. His associate in its foundation, Father John Bax, a Belgian, only thirty years old at the time, was a man all aglow with the charity that quickens the successful shepherd of souls. His span of years among the Osage was to be a brief one, yet long enough to bring out in relief a degree of missionary energy and zeal that deserves to be made of lasting record in the pioneer history of the West.

Early in the autumn of 1846 Father Schoenmakers was sent by Van de Velde to the Osage country where he incurred considerable expense in his efforts to set the mission on foot. Fortunately, he chanced to meet Major Harvey at Pottawatomie Creek, whence the latter, on learning of the priest's immediate need of money, at once forwarded a letter to his clerk in St. Louis, John Haverty, requesting him to pay Van de Velde the subsidy promised by the government. Schoenmakers soon after returned to St. Louis to confer with the vice-provincial, who on October 24, 1846, addressed this note to Haverty:

The Rev. Mr. Schoenmakers of our Society, whom I have selected as Superintendent of the establishment among the Osage Indians, has just returned from the Osage country, whither I had sent him to prepare whatever should be deemed necessary for commencing operations as soon as practical. The list of articles, not including the travelling expenses of himself and his associates, amounts on a moderate calculation to between \$1800 and \$2000. For a number of these he can obtain a four or six month's credit, but nearly one half must be paid with ready money. He had the good fortune to meet Major Harvey at Pottawatomie Creek, who requested him to state to me that on his arrival in St. Louis I might apply to you for the sum allowed by the Indian Department (and at present available) for the purpose of purchasing the necessary articles. I have reason to believe that the Major, who has the welfare of the Indians under his superintendency so much at heart, has given you directions concerning the payment of that sum which, it seems, he supposes to be in your hands.¹⁰

¹⁰ (H).

The money due Father Van de Velde was paid to him in St. Louis and everybody concerned looked forward to the establishment of the mission the following spring.

§ 2. SETTING UP THE MISSION

On April 7, 1847, Father John Schoenmakers with Father John Bax and Brothers John De Bruyn, John Sheehan and Thomas Coghlan started from St. Louis to inaugurate the missionary experiment among the Osage. The first stage of the journey was by steamboat on the Missouri to Kansas, as Kansas City, Missouri, was known at this period. From there the trip over the prairies to the Neosho had its hardships. It lasted two weeks, during which the travellers were without shelter of any sort, even at night, which they passed in the open at the dampest season of the year. For bedding each of the party was provided with a buffalo-hide and a single blanket. Unpleasant experiences of another kind fell to their lot. At Walnut Grove, about a hundred miles from Kansas, they descried one day in the distance a numerous troop of mounted Indians moving rapidly in their direction. The sight filled them with alarm, which grew almost to panic when the Indians, on coming up, suddenly and with great agility alighted from their horses and ran towards the baggage wagons, the contents of which they began eagerly to turn over and examine. Happily, Schoenmakers and his companions recovered their composure sufficiently to deal pleasantly with their visitors, to whom they offered some rolls of tobacco. As was afterwards ascertained, they were a band of Sauk returning from a visit they had just paid to their Osage allies. After a brief stay the Indians shook hands with the travellers in token of friendship and were off, leaving the contents of the baggage-wagons as they found them.¹¹

On April 28, three weeks after their departure from St. Louis, the party reached their destination, which was the Osage Agency, located on the right bank of Flat Rock Creek, at a point about two miles above its junction with the Neosho River. Here in accordance with arrangements made the previous autumn by Father Schoenmakers houses had been built by the government to lodge the missionaries and serve for school purposes. The houses, however, were in an unfinished state when the missionaries arrived and the school-buildings in particular soon proved quite inadequate for the number of children in attendance. Further, a mistake appears to have been made in locating the mission-buildings, which were quite out of the center of the Osage villages, a circumstance that was to add not a little to the future labors of the

¹¹ Letter of Father Bax in De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries*, p. 353.

fathers.¹² Apart, however, from its awkward location with reference to the Indian settlements, the place offered numerous advantages as a

¹² Father Paul M. Ponziglione, S.J., in a manuscript work, *The Osage and Father John Schoenmakers*, S.J., p. 152, indicates the location of the seventeen Osage villages. The passage is reproduced as a contribution to Osage geography:

"The majority of the Osages, after much rambling on the western plains, having shown their preference for special localities in which to form their permanent settlements, George White Hair was very particular in locating their towns and villages not far from another in distance, that his people might without much inconvenience keep up their time-honored custom of mutual visiting, and in time of need might be able to assist one another in fighting their enemies.

"The Neosho Valley as well as that of the Verdigris, being both rich in plenty of good soil, well irrigated, and having a considerable amount of timber, formed two natural sections dividing the eastern part of their very extensive reservation into two districts. In both of these (together) seventeen towns sprang up in a very short time, each having a chief of its own, but all being subordinate to George White Hair, the Head Chief of the Nation.

"The first town at the north-west end of the Neosho district was called Whape-ka and was situated on Owl Creek, some 8 miles from its mouth on the Neosho. About 10 miles below came that of Ugckzecta, just on the spot now occupied by the city of Chanute. Perhaps 5 miles further down, two chiefs, say Nishumani and Numpevale, had their respective villages not far from one another and these were all settled by the so-called Little Osages.

"Descending along the east bank of the river one found the town of Nantzewaspe, which stood almost on the identical place where one sees that of Shaw. Again, further down on the west bank at 10 miles distance, on a range of small hills, stood Pawhuska, which was George White Hair's capital and rose nearly 4 miles west of Osage Mission now called St. Paul. 5 miles east of this, on Flat-rock creek was located Briar's-town; and 8 miles south-east at the head-waters of Hickory, Beaver had built his own village on a high hill. Finally, crossing once more to the west side of the Neosho, one came to a village called Littletown; the chief of this was George White Hair's brother. This village lay on the ground now forming the east end of the city of Oswego. These were the principal towns of the Neosho District, in the limits of the reservation. I say in the limits of the Reservation because the Osages had also another town in the Cherokee lands called Chouteau's town, several miles above the junction of a creek called Grand Saline with the Neosho.

"The Verdigris District had nearly an equal number of towns and villages. Of those the first was at the northwest end of the Reservation some ten miles above the confluence of Fall-river with the Verdigris and was named by its chief Little Bear's town. The next was that of Chetopa, which stood at the head waters of a creek of the same name running west to the Verdigris. On Elk, another tributary of the river, was to be seen a nice village by the name of Elk-town. Below this and a few miles northwest of the mouth of Big Hill creek, on the beautiful location now occupied by the city of Independence, was situated a large town called by the white people Big Hill Town and by the Osage Indians Pawnee-no-pah-tze from their chief, and this was considered the principal town of this District. Finally, following down the right bank of the river, at a certain point between its junction with the Cana [?], there were three more villages a few miles apart from one another and these were called after their respective chiefs, namely, Tally, Clearmor [Clermont,

missionary center. Here were the shops of the mechanics allowed to the Osage by treaty stipulations and here, too, the merchant-traders had their stores filled with the goods, mostly from St. Louis, which they sold to the Indians for cash or exchanged for peltries. The name, Catholic Osage Mission, was bestowed upon the place, the term Catholic being meant to distinguish the new establishment from the Protestant missions which had been opened among the Osage before the arrival of the Jesuits and later discontinued. Merchants and traders, as also employees of the American Fur Company, which maintained a number of posts in the Osage country, were to prove themselves on the whole sympathetic friends of the mission, the wholesome influence of which over the Indians helped to facilitate business dealings between them and the whites. Among the latter who had business relations with the tribe under government license were Michel Giraud, whose trading-post was near the site of the present Erie; Edouard Chouteau, son of Auguste Pierre Chouteau and grandson of Auguste Chouteau, Laclede's associate in the founding of St. Louis, who resided at the mouth of Flat Rock Creek about two miles from the mission (his wife, Rosalie Capitaine, was a well-educated Osage mixed-blood); Henri Chardon, a native of Louisiana, whose trading-post lay on the left bank of Big Creek, about two miles above its confluence with the Neosho; Chardon's business partner, William Godfroy of Detroit; Pierre M. Papin on Canville

Claymore] and Black Dog. These were settled by a clan of nice looking Osages, all stalwart fellows, considered to be the bravest of the nation.

"As to what concerns the Half-breeds, they had no special towns, but were living on their farms all along the Neosho valley exclusively. The reason of this choice was that the Neosho in those days was looked upon as the end of all white-people settlements west, and very few would then dare to venture much farther, because bands of wild Indians from New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado were frequently infesting the plains, committing depredations on travellers and occasionally murdering some of them. As the Osage were most of the time at war with those Indians, neither they nor their Half-breeds would have been safe on those lands. There were also two other reasons why the Half-breeds preferred the Neosho District. The first was because, as they all belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, they wished to have the convenience of attending to their Christian duties and having their children educated at the Mission schools. The second reason was that the Mission was their place for business." (A).

The principal villages of the Osage are also detailed by Bax (De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries*, p. 355). "The population of the tribes (comprised under the name of Great Osages and Little Osages) is (1850) nearly 5000 souls of whom 3500 reside on the banks of the Neosho; and the others on the Verdigris, a little river smaller than the former, although the valleys and the prairies that it waters are more favorable to culture." According to Agent Morrow's report for 1850 the number of Great and Little Osage for that year, the figure being based on the payroll, was 4,561.

Creek, six miles west of the Missouri; and Germain Holloway, trader among the Little Osage.¹³

The Osage at the period the mission was established had taken practically no steps at all out of the state of crude savagery in which they were found by the early French explorers. Father Bax confessed to a pang of pained surprise when he witnessed the extreme material discomfort in which they lived. The adults wore little more than a loin-cloth, the children were destitute of clothing altogether. Yet for all their gross ignorance of the ways of civilized life the Osage were at heart a kindly and peace-loving people, making every effort to live on terms of amity with other Indian tribes and with the whites. Bax was at pains to refute the estimate of the tribe current among the whites, which made them out to be little better than thieves and murderers. Such charges he branded as calumnies. Numerous instances of robbery and murder, especially along the Santa Fe trail, had indeed been blamed on the Osage; but these crimes were shown on investigation to have been perpetrated by other Indian tribes, notably the Pawnee, standing enemies of the Osage, whose lands they often raided, committing thereon outrages of various kinds. As to drunkenness, Father Bax avers that the vice, though widespread in the tribe at the opening of the mission, was in the sequel largely rooted out.¹⁴ One thing he especially deplored, and this was the proximity of the whites. In the Osage country as elsewhere the Indian as a rule derived no advantage from association with the so-called civilized element; on the contrary, he learned only the vices of the latter and, not having any blasphemous terms in his own language, learned to curse God in the language of the whites.¹⁵

A boys' school was opened May 10, 1847, and exactly five months later, October 10, a girls' school, the latter being conducted by the Kentucky Sisters of Loretto. In August of the same year Father Schoenmakers addressed to the General what appears to have been his first report on the mission. The government had made a grant of seven hundred and twenty-five dollars; but fifteen hundred dollars had been

¹³ "It is right here to acknowledge the kindness of the American Fur Company toward the Osages. As a body they always showed great respect for Catholic Missions. To their influence in great part was it due that Osage Mission was established and they were its constant protectors. I feel happy as a Catholic clergyman, although not a member of the Society of Jesus, to acknowledge thus publicly our gratitude to the houses of Sarpi, Chouteau and Papin of St. Louis. The good Fathers, we often heard them say, will never forget before God Messrs. Chouteau, Papin and Giraud for the comfort they received when they first came to the Osages, when nothing but the most terrible poverty was their lot." Rev. James H. Defouri in the *Western Transcript* (Osage Mission), May 17, 1872.

¹⁴ De Smet, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

¹⁵ *Idem*, p. 357.

spent on the undertaking. The Osage, four thousand and more in number, spent nine months in hunting and only three at home. At the time he wrote only thirteen boys had registered in the school, but these were all that could be taken care of. White Hair, a one-time pupil of the Indian school in Florissant, "a man gifted with great natural talents," had promised his cooperation. The school-boys were "as little trees" in the hands of their teachers and the report of their progress had spread throughout the tribe. One grave difficulty in evangelizing the Osage had presented itself. Like other tribes of the neighborhood they had no words for expressing the "mysteries" of faith, and this deficiency could not be supplied by an interpreter.

I know that God has a care for the least of his creatures; but for all that temporal prudence is not to be rejected nor will the mere words of Reverend Father Provincial, "*Deus providebit*," suffice to pay the debts that must be incurred. We have already gathered in some fruit. We have not indeed administered many sacraments, but we have made preparations to do so; we have baptized thirty, the majority of them adults. We hurried their baptism on account of imminent danger of death or necessity of administering other sacraments; from the young we require more instruction; the children we could not baptize in greater numbers on account of the long summer hunt. Father Bax in his zeal for the salvation of souls seeks every occasion and strains every nerve to learn the Osage language; a few months ago he was preaching to the Indians without an interpreter.

§ 3. MISSIONARY FRUITS

Overriding as best they might the obstacles placed in the way of their ministry by the bad example of the whites, Fathers Schoenmakers and Bax put forth every effort to effect the conversion of the Osage. The work progressed slowly though the tribe as a whole was being sensibly drawn into sympathy with the Church. By the June of 1850 approximately five hundred baptisms had been administered, one hundred of them to adults and children at the point of death.¹⁶ One incident in particular brought home vividly to Father Bax the Catholic

¹⁶ The first entry in the *Osage Baptismal Register* (*Liber Baptismalis necnon Matrimonialis Nationis Osagiae*, Archives of the Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas) is by Father Bax,—May 2, 1847, Sara Shoenka, four years old, god-father Auguste Captin (Capitaine). The father's last baptism is dated June 23, 1852, John Woipaningpashi, below Little Town, Alex[i]us (Alexander?) Biet, god-father. On a single trip, September 13-25, he baptized seventy-four, Alex[i]us Biet accompanying him and standing as sponsor in all the baptisms, which were distributed as follows: Feully's (?) Town in the Verdigris District, 13; Claymour's (Clermont's?) band or Shonkeonhe, 5; Wolf's Town (Black Dog's Band), 15; Big Hill (or Passu Ougrin), 13; Little Town, 3; Woipoka Town or Big Creek (Little Osage), 4; Tatsessakie's Town (Little Osage), 5; Big Chief Town (Little Osage), 16. In a later missionary excursion, April 22-29, 1851, Father Bax baptized fifty-seven, as

theological axiom, as he expressed it, that "the Lord offers to all nations, to every family and to each individual the means of being saved." On April 28, 1847, the very day on which the Jesuit party arrived at their journey's end, word was brought to them that an Indian was dying in a village some four miles away. In the hope of baptizing him Bax set out immediately for the Indian's lodge, but found his way barred by the Neosho, which was running high and could not possibly be forded. Four days later, which was a Sunday, a half-breed, who had crossed the river on the trunk of a tree to hear Mass, informed Father Bax that the sick man was all the while in a critical condition but still cherished the hope of receiving a visit from the black gown before he died. The priest would delay no longer, but mounting his horse crossed the river at considerable risk and made his way to the Indian's lodge. The latter was overjoyed at the missionary's arrival and begged at once for baptism. This, after some brief hurried instruction, for the Indian was fast losing strength, Father Bax conferred on him, having no doubt all the while employed the services of an interpreter. A few minutes passed and the happy recipient of the sacrament of regeneration expired. Bax could not but regard the combination of circumstances as singularly providential.¹⁷ Other instances of baptism administered under striking circumstances are recorded by the same father.¹⁸

Among the conversions effected by Father Bax was that of Pahuska or George White Hair, principal chief of the Big and Little Osage. He was a man of more than average native ability, in Agent Morrow's words, "the most sensible and managing man of the whole tribe." In the fall of 1849, while on a visit to Washington, he was presented to President Taylor, who was impressed by his intelligence and force of character. White Hair's first wife, baptized by Bax in the winter of 1848, died in the fall of 1850 after a short but dutiful career in the bosom of the Church, in which also she had her two young children baptized. The chief was inconsolable over the loss of his wife, fasting

follows: Little Town, 6; Black Dog Town, 24; Big Hill (Tall chief), 10; Big Hill (Tsihonkie chief), 4; Cally's (Tally's?) Town, 13. Other baptisms by the same missionary were, January 30, 1850, Big Hill Town, 15, god-father in all Anthony Penn; May 21, 1850, Big Hill Town, about 30, Alexander Biet god-father in all; January 31, 1851, Big Hill Town, 25, god-father in all Anthony Penn; August 26, 1851, Nantzewaspe (Papin's Town), 9, Alexander Biet god-father in all.

¹⁷ The first recorded burial after the coming of the missionaries is that of Whep-sinka, about forty-five years of age, baptized by Bax May 4, 1847, in White Hair's village and buried by the father on the same day. Probably the Indian figuring in the above-mentioned incident; the dates in Bax's account and in the record are at variance.

¹⁸ De Smet, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

through many months according to Indian custom. But to insure his children the care they needed he married anew, taking for partner a woman of mixed-blood, who had been educated at the mission by the Sisters of Loretto. Having asked and received the necessary instructions, he was baptized on May 29, 1851, Etienne Brond and Mother Concordia, superior of the Sisters of Loretto resident at the mission, standing as sponsors. He received his first holy communion together with the sacrament of confirmation July 15. Some months after, on January 22, 1852, he died a highly edifying death. When Father Bax, after anointing him, told him that on the morrow he would give him holy communion, the chief received the news with evident satisfaction, directing his wife to clothe him in the splendid uniform which President Taylor had given him in Washington. "This caused the warmest emotions in my soul," Father Bax is moved to write.

"How great a respect the wild Indian, when instructed, has for this most august sacrament! He received Holy Communion with great feelings of piety and expressed to all present his joy for having complied with that holy duty. Before he lost the use of reason, he directed me to write down on paper that his son was to be sent to the Mission and kept there with us until he should have received a good education; that his little daughter, only five years of age should, in the event of his death, be sent to the Sisters of Loretto to stay with them until of age. The relations have acquiesced in it. Both his children are under our care. Thus did the most talented man this nation perhaps ever had, certainly he has no equal now, leave this world to enjoy the happy one above."¹⁹

At George White Hair's death his cousin Gratamantze succeeded him as head-chief of the Great and Little Osage. There were two other candidates for the honor, both of them brothers of the deceased chief, one, Little White Hair, chief of Littletown, the other Tci-cio-anca, chief of Elk-town, at the junction of the Elk with the Verdigris. Both of these were rejected by the tribe, the first by reason of his chronic poor health, the other because he was too wild and untamed a character. Gratamantze had been a pupil in Van Quickenborne's Indian school at Florissant.²⁰

¹⁹ Bax to De Smet, February 27, 1852. (A).

²⁰ The *Osage Baptismal Register* states that Gratamantze and his brother Clermont were sons of the Osage chief, White Hair, and were baptized at Florissant by Van Quickenborne. No entry of such baptisms is to be found in the *Registre des Baptêmes* of St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, which records the baptism of only four pupils of the Indian school, two Sauk and two Iowa. It is likely that Van Quickenborne baptized some of the Indian boys in the school-chapel and not in the village church, in which case no record of the baptisms would presumably have been made in the parish register. Data contained in the account of Gratamantze by Pon-

As head-chief of the nation Gratomantze acquitted himself with credit, but his Catholic faith sat on him lightly. For a while his position as chief was threatened. Anthony Nivala, nephew of the dead George White Hair, by whom he was brought as a boy to Father Schoenmakers to be educated, was the center around whom gathered the hopes of Gratomantze's enemies among the Osage. Having left the mission school, Nivala quickly shed whatever Christian culture his teachers had succeeded in engrafting on his savage nature. The wild, untrammelled life of the blanket Indian claimed him utterly and he gave himself up with zest to its excesses. Falling in love with Tawagla, an Osage beauty, he married her without the blessing of the priest. He was in the full tide of his reckless career when consumption, the Indian's inveterate foe, struck him down. At first he made pathetic attempts to continue in the life of which he was so passionately fond, going forth with his companions to the buffalo hunt, but soon returning scarcely able from weakness to hold himself in the saddle. When he realized at last the certain approach of death, his one wish was to die in the kindly embrace of the mission. So Tawagla, with whom his marriage had been validated according to the canons, set up his wigwam not many paces away from the old log church and here Nivala, truly penitent and consoled with the sacraments, died at the age of twenty-eight, November 18, 1857.²¹ Gratomantze soon followed him. The head-chief of the Big and Little Osage was stricken by the scurvy, which was epidemic among the Osage in the spring of 1861. His end was similar to Nivala's. He had always shown great deference to Father Schoenmakers and in matters of importance was accustomed to seek counsel of the latter and act in accordance with it. Being aware, too, that Schoenmakers was a most skillful nurse and had successfully treated many Indians in their sickness, he had himself carried from his village of Nanze-waspe to the mission, where his wigwam was raised within a few steps of the missionaries' house. Here Schoenmakers tenderly nursed him day and night though without effecting a cure of the disease, which was past healing. But the cure of the soul was complete. Gratomantze deplored the scandal he had given, received the sacraments with sentiments of great piety and resignation to the divine will and calmly expired on March 12, 1861, at the age of about forty-eight. He was succeeded as head-chief of the Big and Little Osage by Little White Hair, so called on account of his low stature. He was sickly and half blind, handicaps which had prevented him from succeeding to the chieftaincy at the

ziglione (*The Osages and Father John Schoenmakers*, S.J.) are at variance with the statement in the *Osage Register*, the former source stating Gratomantze to have been a son of Clermont.

²¹ Ponziglione, *Osages etc.* (A).

death of his brother, George White Hair, and which were now to prevent him from exercising any great degree of influence over the tribe.²²

The first church to be erected at the Osage Mission was a log structure, thirty by thirty feet in dimensions and twelve feet high, built in 1848. It has been called the cradle of Catholicism in southeastern Kansas and with good reason for it was the first church dedicated to Catholic worship in that part of the West. The congregation, a mere handful at first, grew with the accession of Indian converts and the gradual settlement around the mission site of traders and government employees on the Osage reserve, whose children were thus enabled to enjoy the advantages of an education as day-scholars at the mission school. To accommodate the growing congregation an addition, also of logs, was made to the original building in the summer of 1858, the church now measuring sixty by thirty-three feet. This addition was made under the supervision of Brother De Bruyn, a skilful carpenter, who had seen service as a *pontanier* in the Belgian army. Three years later, in 1861, the church was still further extended by an addition of frame. The pioneer mission church, thus enlarged at intervals, continued to serve the needs of the congregation down to 1882 when the imposing stone structure begun ten years before was dedicated to divine service by Bishop Fink of Leavenworth.²³

The year 1851 saw a welcome accession to the mission-staff in the person of Father Paul Mary Ponziglione. To this Italian Jesuit the mission was to become greatly indebted, not only for his zealous and long-continued ministerial labors on behalf of Indian and white alike, but also for the unfailing industry with which he devoted himself to the task of putting on record the mission's engaging history. Father Ponziglione wielded a facile and vigorous pen. Latin he wrote with neatness and even elegance. His English, on the other hand, was not free from solecisms, but its occasional lapses from idiomatic purity were

²² *Idem.* (A).

²³ *Litterae Annuae Missionis Osagiae.* (A). Among the pious associations organized on behalf of the congregation of St. Francis Hieronymo, was the Archconfraternity of the Most Holy and Immaculate Heart of Mary, established August 15, 1850. The register of members from this date to April 22, 1855, contains eighty-two names, among them those of the following whites and mixed-bloods: Rev. Theodore Heimann (secular priest teaching at the mission school), Etienne Brandt, Theodore Smedding, Louis Chouteau, George Tinker, Antoine Penn (died April 19, 1853), Elizabeth Etienne Brandt, Susanna Lambert, Ursula Blanchett, Mary Trudell, Charlotte Jalo, Mary Louise Chouteau, Henrietta Sittens(?), Sister Lucille, Mary De Loiva, Louis Brugier, Charles Mongrain, Louis Basil. Sarah White Hair and Anthony White Hair, whose names also occur in the register, were probably full-blooded Osage.

compensated for by an inherent literary quality which makes his accounts of mission happenings readable to a degree. Brisk, lively narrative and vivid descriptive touches abound in his writings, these being concerned almost exclusively with the history of the Osage Mission, which found in him its official historiographer.²⁴

Ponziiglione had become a Jesuit in Italy. Here, while attached to the college which the Society of Jesus conducted in Genoa, he made the acquaintance of Father Elet on the occasion of a visit to that city made by the latter while on his way to Rome to attend a congregation of Jesuit procurators. When Elet proposed to Ponziiglione that he attach himself to the vice-province of Missouri, the young Italian priest immediately declared his willingness to take the step if the matter could be arranged with the Father General. This was promptly done through the offices of Elet and Ponziiglione, after coming safe through a series of thrilling adventures in the Italian revolution of 1848, arrived in Missouri the following year. In March, 1851, Father John Baptist Miége, a Savoyard, and one of the Jesuit exiles who had found a home in Missouri in 1848, was consecrated in St. Louis Vicar-apostolic of the Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains. Having selected for his residence St. Mary's Mission on the Kaw River ninety miles west of the Missouri line, he invited Father Ponziiglione, whom he had known in Europe, to accompany him thither.²⁵ Father Elet gave his consent and the Bishop, with Ponziiglione and two Jesuit coadjutor-brothers in his company, left St. Louis at the end of May for his episcopal headquarters in the West. St. Mary's Mission was reached towards the end

²⁴ Father Ponziiglione's ms. papers (A) cover the entire range of Osage Mission history. Apart from a few letters which appeared in the Jesuit domestic publications *Letters and Notices* (Rochampton, England) and *Woodstock Letters* (Woodstock, Md.), this first-hand material for the civil and ecclesiastical history of southeastern Kansas is unpublished. The bulk of it may be listed under five heads: (1) the *Annual Letters* (*Litterae Annuae*) and *House History* (*Historia Domus*) of the Osage Mission compiled yearly in Latin according to the Jesuit rule. The duty of compiling these annual reports was faithfully discharged by Ponziiglione during his connection with the mission. (2) *The Osages and Father John Schoenmakers, S.J. Interesting Memoirs collected from Legends, Traditions and Historical Documents by Father Paul Mary Ponziiglione, S.J., Missionary among the Osages for over Thirty Years*, 1897. (3) *Missionary Chronicle*. Largely autobiographical, 1894. (4) *Journal of the Western Missions established and attended by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus presiding at the Osage Mission, Neosho County, Kansas, beginning August 11, 1867*. Ten small unbound volumes. Diary and contemporary letters of Ponziiglione recording the details of his numerous missionary excursions in southern Kansas and later activities. Historically the most valuable of his Osage papers. (5) *Annales Missionis*. Latin narrative account of the Osage Mission.

²⁵ For Bishop Miége and his connection with St. Mary's Mission, Kansas, see *infra*, Chaps. XXVIII, § 7, XXIX, § 2, 3.

of the same month. Here the Bishop stopped only long enough to introduce himself to his Indian flock and obtain some needed rest. A week after his arrival at St. Mary's he was on his way to the Osage Mission, still accompanied by Ponziglione, who in later years put on record some of the incidents of the journey:

By and by the ground having sufficiently dried up and the many creeks we had to cross being now fordable, we were ready to start for the Osage Mission, which lay at some 160 miles south of St. Mary's. None of us knowing the road, and no Indian being willing to offer himself as a guide for fear of meeting the Osage, Father Duerinck, the Superior of the Mission [St. Mary's] offered himself to become our guide, though he did not know more about the road than we did! However, his good will and Indian experience were acceptable to us.

As the Bishop had given to St. Mary's one of the two Brothers who had come with us from St. Louis, so now with the addition of Father Duerinck, our party was again made up of 4 persons. We were all travelling on horseback, each one carrying rations to last him for 5 days. The weather fortunately kept clear and bright; as it was very warm, we had no trouble in crossing creeks and rivers; on the 4th of July we were reaching Osage Mission.

Father John Schoenmakers, the Superior of the Osage Mission, was some time since on the lookout for us and was determined that we should not take him by surprise. Not knowing by which way we might be coming, he had his vedette to watch every path, to find out our approaching, and with such skillfulness had he prepared his plan that at 9 A.M. of the 4th of July he heard that we were at Canville's Creek, about 10 miles northwest and by noon we might be at the Mission. The program for the reception of his Lordship could not be better arranged.

And lo! some boys who were on guard discovered the Bishop's party appearing on the hills about 3 miles northwest of the Mission. At once a joyful tocsin is sounded from the church bell. As this is heard all make themselves ready and report to their special meeting place, from which, as the second peal of the same bell is given, all form into a long line and march out in procession to meet the Bishop. On the advance were marching the school-boys two and two with their teachers; next came the school-girls in the same order with the Sisters; after all Father Schoenmakers and Father John Bax were closing the procession.²⁶

After this manner did the Osage Mission welcome Bishop Miége as he visited the place for the first time. A few days after his arrival George White Hair, head chief of the Osage, with his retinue of braves, all of them rigged out in their finest Indian attire, paid his official visit to the Bishop. Seven beeves were provided by Father

²⁶ Ponziglione, *Missionary Chronicle*. (A).

Schoenmakers for the feast which it was customary to prepare for the Indians on the arrival among them of a distinguished guest. Bishop Miége spent two weeks at the mission, discussing its affairs with the superior and visiting some of the neighboring tribes, as the Quapaw. Having appointed Ponziglione assistant to Schoenmakers, he left the mission for the military post of Fort Scott, some forty miles to the northeast, Bax accompanying him on the way.

§ 4. A SEASON OF GLOOM

The spring of 1852 saw the Osage villages ravaged by one epidemic after another.²⁷ The black measles followed by typhoid fever, whooping cough and finally by scurvy, a periodical visitant among the Indians, broke out with heart-rending results. Within a few weeks hundreds of the Osage had perished. Spring had come early and south winds prevailed all through February. The month had almost run its course when a Quapaw Indian arrived at the mission to visit some of the school-children. He was kindly received, as were all visiting Indians, and allowed to lodge overnight in the boys' department. The next morning he was unwell. Father Schoenmakers, on examining him, found that his body showed marks of some disorder of the skin. Without losing a moment of time, he ordered one of the lay brothers to hitch up a team and take the sick Quapaw back to his village. But, as a preventive measure, it was too late. The Quapaw had brought in the black measles, of which the Indians stood in dread as much as they did of the small-pox. Within a few days nearly all the school-children, boys and girls, were stricken with the disease. When the Osage parents learned that the black measles had broken out in the schools, they were seized with an anxiety that grew to panic over the menace that now threatened the lives of their children and they came hurrying in great numbers to the mission. Here they made their way into the school-houses, running distractedly from bed to bed in an effort to find their children. In many instances, the sick children were snatched by their frenzied parents from the beds and carried half clothed down to the creek for a bath, the Indian's sovereign remedy for all distempers. That several of the children died as a consequence of this drastic treatment is not surprising. Presently the story was circulated that the fathers were to blame for the presence of the pest, having introduced it in the act of baptizing. Moreover, the letters they received were carriers of germs. Had not Bishop Miége sent Father Schoenmakers some

²⁷ Ponziglione's narrative, *The Osages, etc.* details graphically the successive Osage epidemics of this period.

vaccine in a letter? ²⁸ The Indians were finally so wrought on by their fears and imaginations that an attempt was made to burn down the mission. Only the vigilance of the fathers and brothers, who stood guard for three or four days, and their uninterrupted prayers to St. Joseph, protector of the mission, prevented the catastrophe. Having taken its toll of lives among the school-children, the black measles gradually loosened its grip on the mission and by May the schools were again in operation. Father Bax narrated the unpleasant episode with vividness in the last letter he was to write for publication.²⁹

Back in St. Louis the sympathetic De Smet could not but be distressed at the sad news that reached him from the Osage Mission. He wrote characteristically to Father Schoenmakers:

We are truly afflicted at the news of the sad trials which surround you—the Lord permits it and we must bow in humble submission to His holy will—how consoling must it be after all for you and your brethren to witness so much piety in the youths you have reared with so much care in the school of our Divine Redeemer. We have read with the greatest edification the description good Father Bax gives of the deaths of your young neophytes. "God," says he, "*appears gathering in, on every side, the little we have planted.*" The same idea Father Joset expressed to me in a letter written last November,—these are his words: "*We have remarked that all the most fervent among the Indians have followed one another to the grave—they are attacked almost every year by some epidemic disease.*" ³⁰ In my trip among the various tribes last summer sickness spread on both shores of the Upper Missouri, which carried off a great number of children—

²⁸ "Some asserted that the death of so many little children was attributable to their having been baptized; others to the circumstance that Father Bax had entered their names in a register; others again to the fact of their being fed like the whites, made to wear their hair long and to the new method of clothing them. All these conjectures having been exhausted, the report was circulated that the disease had been transmitted to Father Bax in a letter, that he might communicate it to the Indians. This idea arose from the circumstance of my having sent him in a letter some vaccine matter, with a view to preserve the Osages from the ravages committed by the small-pox on the Pottawatomies, Delawares and Kickapoos." Letter of Bishop Miège in *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* (English series, London), 14: 281. Cf. also Gaillard à De Smet, Nov. 9, 1853: "The prejudice this woman labored under, namely, that one is condemned to death by the mere fact of receiving baptism, is very common among the Indians. The Bishop [Miège] told us that on his going one day to visit the Osage in one of their villages, when he spoke in eulogistic terms of Father Bax, the chief replied in a very serious tone: 'Yes, Father Bax was good Father; he came to visit us, he brought us medicines, but he rendered us a very bad service this year. He killed all our children. After pouring water on their heads, while muttering some words, he wrote their names down in a book; all who were inscribed in it died.' Father Bax was a strange sort of murderer." (A).

²⁹ De Smet, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

³⁰ Father Joseph Joset, S.J., superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission.

happily all were baptized and death freed them from the dangerous contagions of this world to which they might have fallen victims. "*Our Father, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven,*" is our daily prayer. The Lord knows best what is good for us—He is certainly gathering in his elect from every tribe and nation.⁸¹

In June the Osage saw another scourge fall upon them in the shape of scurvy. Father Bax was indefatigable in visiting the sick and dying. Having some slight knowledge of medicine, he did all he possibly could to help the Indians fight the contagion; but in most cases it was the soul and not the body which was the successful recipient of his charitable attentions. Finally, the Indians, though the epidemic had not abated, deserted their villages for the annual summer hunt. Before the missionary there was now the prospect of a period of rest. But the situation was to issue otherwise. Worn down physically with constant attendance on the sick and dying, Father Bax himself fell critically ill. In his halting English he wrote from Fort Scott to Father Druyts, president of St. Louis University, a fellow-townsmen of his, both having been born at Merxplas in Belgium:

I am here at the Fort to give the Catholic soldiers an opportunity to make their Easter as also to see the Doctor about the swelling at my neck. . . . The measles, typhus fever and scurvy have made a dreadful havoc among our Indians. Everyone thinks that there died at least one-thousand since last January and there is not yet a stop. They went all at once in a kind of despair on their summer hunt without planting any corn, pumpkins, etc. and news has returned that every town loses 7 or 8 every day. Besides, the buffalo has all been dispersed on the plains and can find no food, this will cause awful hard times among them. Their wazkontaki or witches have pretty well established the notion that baptism kills their children. They can point out hundreds that have died. It is true, some few others not baptized died, but the fact is the generality of children were baptized. The devil is a cunning rascal.

Half-breeds and full-blood Indians are not on good terms; the latter destroy very rapidly their stock and will be worse when returning from the hunt. No agent is residing among them. All this looks very dark. We hope the government will take some measure in their regard.

We commenced gathering our scattered flock of 56 [school-children]. We have with great trouble been able to gather 22.

The only means we have left to keep up courage is full confidence in Divine Providence. Under trying circumstances missions and colleges have been abandoned and when prospects brightened up, they were out of our reach. Pray hard for us and, if convenient, let some others help you.

Many thanks for your two kind letters and other favors which I have

⁸¹ De Smet to Schoenmakers, St. Louis, 1852. (A).

received from you. Both the feelings I entertain for you as a Brother in religion and a Merxplas man make any communication highly agreeable to me. I hope I may be often favored with them. Some good news from other quarters stirs up courage in one that is in trials and miseries.³²

Father Bax returned from Fort Scott to the mission, but as the disease gained on him, he was again under the necessity of seeking the services of Dr. Barnes, the physician at the fort, who some months before had brought Schoenmakers through a critical illness. The father had on this occasion lodged for a spell at the fort, where an orderly was assigned him by the commandant and every service made available to enable him to recover his health. But Bax's malady resisted all medical treatment and he was soon brought to the last extremity. Schoenmakers was constantly at his side. Realizing that the end was near, the patient made an offering to God of his life for the Osage. On St. Ignatius day, July 31, Father Ponziglione administered the viaticum, which the dying priest received with remarkable devotion. His last words to Ponziglione, who had to return to the mission were, "Father, take care of my children." The following day Bishop Miége arrived at Fort Scott on his way to the mission and, on learning of Bax's condition, determined to remain with him to the end. On August 3 he anointed the dying priest, who, with the Bishop, Father Schoenmakers and Father Theodore Heimann, a secular priest, at his bedside, passed away two days later, August 5, 1852, being but thirty-five years of age. He was buried the next day at the mission to the poignant accompaniment of the moans and wails of his Indian neophytes.

At the Catholic Osage Mission the passing of so extraordinarily efficient a missionary at the very outset of his promising career seemed nothing short of a calamity. "This school, as well as the whole Osage people," reported Osage Agent Morrow, "have sustained an irreparable loss by the death of the Rev. Father Bax, which took place last August. The weather was never too inclement for him to visit the most remote part of the nation to administer medicine to a sick Osage or to officiate in his priestly office."³³

Bishop Miége communicated news of the event to the Father General:

Our good and zealous Father Bax has just left us to receive in Paradise the recompense of the troubles and toils which filled up to the brim the 5 years of his apostolate among the Indians. On August 5, an hour and a half after midnight, Father Schoenmakers and myself received his last sigh at

³² Bax to Druyts, Fort Scott, June 14, 1852. (A).

³³ *RCIA*, 1852, no. 38.

Fort Scott, 40 miles from our house, where we had brought him to put him under the care of the Fort physician. It was exhaustion following upon hardships and privations, together with an inflammation of the intestines, that carried off from our poor Mission one of its founders and its firmest support. The only words I could hear him speak was the full and entire sacrifice of his life, which he offered to God for the conversion and salvation of his dear Osage. I hope that this good and generous prayer will be heard and that the Lord by His grace will extricate us from the fix into which we have just been thrown by this very unexpected loss. If it had only pleased God to be satisfied with a dead member like myself. I begged Him very sincerely to take me in place of the best of our missionaries, but the prayer was not heard and so here are our poor Osage Indians, of whom we were beginning to hope something, again without a missionary who speaks their language and can as a result obtain their complete confidence.

Father Bax's death was preceded by that of Brother Toelle, our carpenter, who for some time had been giving positive signs of insanity. He imagined that everybody around him was his enemy. He was found drowned in a creek a short distance from the Mission. It is not known whether he meant to drown himself or was drowned when crossing this river. Since then we were obliged to have a carpenter come from the States at very moderate wages for this locality, namely, a dollar a day.

Small-pox visited the Osage towards the end of winter and carried off 12 of our school children and 1200 at least of our Osage, who were attacked at the same time by the scurvy and yellow fever. . . . All that remains to us, Very Reverend Father, is the courage of Father Schoenmakers, the good will of Father Ponziglione, and above all things else, the firm hope that God, for whom, so it seems to me, we are working here, will aid his toilers and have pity on our poor Indians.⁸⁴

On October 29, 1852, Father Adrian Van Hulst, a Hollander, who but a short time before had been filling the post of rector of St. Aloysius College, Louisville, Kentucky, arrived at the mission to fill the vacancy on the mission-staff created by the death of Father Bax. Eager and energetic, but not robust physically, he began his missionary career by starting out at once to visit the Osage west of the mission, as also the Quapaw and Cherokee, the last-named tribe having their villages around the confluence of the Neosho and the Arkansas. The exposure and privation incident on the life of an Osage missionary proved too severe a tax on his health and strength. To subsist on the slender store of biscuits and dry meat he could find room for in his saddle-bags and sleep at night on the open prairie were not experiences which Father Van Hulst could submit to with impunity. Despite his obvious good will, it was necessary for the superior to recall him from the mission, which

⁸⁴ Miège à Roothaan, 1852. (AA).

he left October 14, 1854, Ponziglione accompanying him as far as Kansas City.⁸⁵

Almost three years were to pass before the gap in the mission staff was filled. On July 5, 1857, came to the Osage Father Joseph Van Leugenhæge, a Belgian, thirty-one years of age. He was brimful of energy and zeal for the strenuous life before him, but, as in the case of his predecessor, his health proved unequal to the strain. In the spring of 1858, while visiting a village near the mission, he was bitten by an Indian dog. It could not be ascertained whether or not the dog was mad, but as a matter of fact, from that time forward Van Leugenhæge was subject to intermittent fever of the brain. He was brought by Schoenmakers to St. Louis for medical treatment, but an attack of the malady suddenly seizing him, he died the day after his arrival in the city.⁸⁶

At the mission the dead priest's place was taken by Father James Van Goch, a Hollander. Arriving in his new field of labor August 25, 1858, Van Goch spent four years of unremitting apostolic labor among the Osage. Father Schoenmakers, temporarily absent from the mission at the beginning of the Civil War, was replaced by Father Adrian Hoecken who spent two years with the Osage, 1861-1863. Van Goch was recalled in 1862 while in 1867 arrived Father Philip Colleton, a native of Ireland, who was indefatigable in his ministry among the whites of the outlying country. With Ponziglione he was a builder of Catholicism in southeastern Kansas, organizing parishes, erecting churches and planting everywhere within his reach the seeds of the Faith.⁸⁷

In a Jesuit Indian mission the coadjutor-brothers lend services that one can only describe as indispensable. If it be true that an army travels on its stomach, it is equally true that the success of a mission on its religious side is often conditioned by the economic arrangements which

⁸⁵ Adrian Van Hulst, b. Velthoven, Holland, December 17, 1817; entered Society December 3, 1839; d. Chicago October 19, 1909. "Among the Osage things go as well as they can. The death of poor Father Bax almost made me believe that God did not want this Mission. Father Van Hulst, who was sent to take his place, is a good religious, full of zeal, but poor in health, it seems to me, and little fitted, I am afraid, to learn a language as horribly difficult as that of the Osage. Good little Father Ponziglione always shows great courage and devotion. But that unfortunate language, will he ever learn it?" Miège à Roothaan, December 17, 1852. (AA).

⁸⁶ Joseph Van Leugenhæge (Logan), b. Tamise, East Flanders, Belgium, October 3, 1826; entered Society September 27, 1848; d. St. Louis, Mo., July 4, 1858.

⁸⁷ James Van Goch, b. s-Hertogenbosch, Holland, October 28, 1831; entered Society, November 10, 1856; d. Osage Mission, Kansas, August 24, 1878. Philip Colleton, b. Donaghmoynne, 17(1?) March, 1821; entered Society July 15, 1854; l. Osage Mission, Kansas, December 1, 1876.

it is the duty of the brothers to provide for. Of the brothers employed among the Osage in the first decade or two that saw the Jesuits at work in this field some find special mention in the mission annals. The three that assisted Fathers Schoenmakers and Bax in the founding of the mission in the spring of 1847, Thomas Coghlan, John Sheehan and John Francis De Bruyn, were all unusually devoted helpers. "If the two Fathers had to encounter much hard labor, the three brothers, perhaps, fared still worse on account of their continual contact with the savages." Thomas O'Donnell was school-master to the young Osage, over whom he acquired a marked ascendancy. John De Bruyn, a native of Belgium, was thirty-three when he arrived among the Osage; he remained with them until his death eighteen years later. He was cook, dispenser, refectorian, gardener, sacristan; in a word, he was, to borrow a term that follows his name in the Jesuit official register, *ad omnia*, which is to say, commissioned for all and sundry kinds of work. Shortly before he died, November 4, 1865, he confided to Father Ponziglione, who had been his confessor for years, that he had been the recipient of several supernatural favors; how one day at Florissant, when he had been ordered to do something that went against the grain, he went out into the garden and there saw lying across his path a crown of thorns, very much like the crown worn by the Savior in His passion; how on another occasion as he was praying in the novitiate chapel he saw the Mother of God gazing at him affectionately from the opened ceiling; finally, how, as he was sweeping a room at the Osage Mission house, he chanced to direct his eyes on a picture of the Virgin Mother and again clearly saw her stand before him. These experiences the brother revealed to Ponziglione about twenty minutes after he had received the last sacraments and the father gave credence to them on account, so he said, of the intimate knowledge he had of the brother's heart and soul and because he believed they verified what St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians (1 Cor., 1:27): "The foolish things of this world has God chosen to confound the wise." The day before he died he said with a smile to Father Schoenmakers: "Life among the Osage is very hard and thorny; but for all that, I have never ceased to love it." Schoenmakers wrote to De Smet shortly after the brother's death:

Brother John has always cherished a peculiar love for the Society; he never spared himself to win heaven by violence; he was always ready to assist the Indians and console them with presents gathered in his garden. He was perfectly present of mind till the moment he expired. Seeing his hour approach he resigned himself to the will of God, desired to undergo acts of humiliation; however, he approved and followed the simple customs of our Society. Wishing to die on the bare floor he suggested that perhaps relieved from his bed he might breathe with more ease. They allowed him

to sit on his chair and resting with his head on his bed he expired. Strangers and neighbors have been edified in him seeing his incessant labors without receiving wages nor praise, being always jolly because he worked for God alone.³⁸

§ 5. THE OSAGE MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL

As in most attempts made by Catholic missionaries to civilize and christianize the Indian tribes of North America, it was felt by Father Schoenmakers and his associates that the chief hope of success lay with the children. Settled habits, gaining force through long years of untrammelled savagery, made the adult Indians recalcitrant to the discipline of a Christian life though even among these there were numerous cases of sincere and lasting conversion. As the children were the leaven that was to quicken the whole Osage mass with a new life based on the usages of civilized life and the morality of the Gospel, the best efforts of the missionaries were expended on the school. At first an experiment, it very quickly outran the experimental stage and became, in the opinion of all disinterested onlookers, a genuine success.

As far back as April 25, 1845, Major Harvey, the Osage agent, was authorized at his own request to erect at the agency two houses to be used for school purposes, one for boys and one for girls, each of the houses to accommodate twenty pupils and the teachers employed. According to the contract entered into between Harvey and Father Van de Velde, not more than thirty-three boys could be admitted the first six months, though the agent was empowered to allow at his discretion an increase of registration beyond this number, funds being at hand to cover the additional expense. On January 1, 1848, the sum of \$5306.77 was to be available for Osage educational purposes, in view of which circumstance Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill at the instance of the agent suggested the establishment of a few schools in the neighborhood of the mission. The suggestion was never acted on, Major Harvey having advised against it, very probably reflecting the attitude of the missionaries toward neighborhood schools, which, as they expressed it, would involve "the downfall of our prospects."³⁹

³⁸ *WL*, 14: 237; 4: 113. Schoenmakers to De Smet, November 28, 1865. (A). In his youth De Bruyn had been a soldier in the Belgian army, leading as such a careless life. The story of his conversion, admission into the Society by Father Van de Velde on a visit of the latter to Belgium in 1842, and pathetic leavetaking of his family is told by De Smet in *Précis Historiques* (Brussels), 15: 226.

³⁹ "I would remark from my observation and the experience of those who have long been connected with Indian instruction that it is impracticable to keep up a neighborhood school among Indians, especially wild Indians. The children will not bear restraint when in the neighborhood of their parents, who are invariably indulgent; for the least restraint, even when they can be got to school, they leave and

The school opened on May 10, 1847, with fourteen boys, Peter Blond (Brond?) a half-breed, being the first of the number to register. To Mr. Devereux, government agent-extraordinary to the Osage, Father Bax delivered a memorandum on the school and its prospects:

We opened the school on the 10th of May and began with 13 [14] boys and continued till August [July] when three more came; about 10 of October 2 more [came] and before they will go on the summer-hunt about six or eight will come in; number of the boys is 16, which will be continually increased before they go on the fall hunting. Many have given notice of sending in their boys at that period and there is no doubt but before winter approaches [as many more] will present themselves as we are able to take according to the contract. The présent boys surpass in every respect by far all our expectations. No one has left since we began the school. The sum allowed for their education will not bear the expenses, as we can raise very little, the Indians coming to us for everything. The buildings are too small to accommodate the children, so that it is of the utmost necessity to have adjoining buildings erected.⁴⁰

As Van Quickenborne had established at Florissant in connection with his school for Indian boys a school for Indian girls also on the can seldom be got back. Even if they could be kept at school, they [the Osage] would lose the best part of the instruction that they would obtain at a Manual Labor school, namely to labor and the common arts of civilization, etc." Harvey to Medill, Dec. 9, 1846. (H).

⁴⁰ Archives of Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas. The names of the boys admitted May 10 were, in the order of their registration, Peter Blond, Louis Brugier, Stephen Blond, Joseph Mogrey, Wasingta, William Biet, Thomas Jopa, Michael Watchka, John Watzchiaka, Bohaimidzey, Peter Chouteau, Joseph Stephen. On July 10 entered Hankahapi, Nonpatan and Oukanton, and on October 10 Louis Chouteau and Edward Zhesinka. A two-story log school-house twenty by fifty feet and twenty feet high for the boys was built by Schoenmakers in 1850, the Indian Office allowing a thousand dollars for the construction. An additional two-story log house, forty-two by sixteen, was built by him in the winter of 1859-1860. His first report on the school, which was addressed to Major Harvey, is dated July 10, 1847: "We commenced only with 13 children, all of whom seem to promise perseverance; several times have I heard it said both by the full and half-blooded Indians that now they see the good will of the government towards their nation; the Indians, previously to their departure for the summer hunt assembled several councils in which it was unanimously concluded to send all their children to our school, namely when they shall have returned, which will be towards the end of this month." The boys' school-house had been built for twenty; the government had offered to pay for thirty-three. "How shall we accommodate a larger, perhaps a very large number? I would not hesitate to use the building destined for the education of girls, but this might cause a false suspicion among the Indians, particularly among the half-breeds, who wish most ardently the education of their female children. I have allowed Antony Penn, my interpreter, to live in one of the rooms till I shall have the means of building for him and family a small log-house." (H).

principle that it was futile to educate the boys unless on growing to adolescence they could find Catholic wives with whom to persevere in the practice of their religion, so Schoenmakers realized from the beginning that a school for native girls had to be an indispensable feature of his program for the material and spiritual uplift of the Osage. He accordingly left the mission in the September of 1847 to secure sisters for this important work. Having sought them in vain in certain convents in St. Louis, he made appeal to the Rev. David A. Deparcq, spiritual director of the Sisters of Loretto of Kentucky. Here his appeal was successful. The education of Indian children was a field of apostolic effort to which Father Nerinckx's fervent sisterhood of the Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross had been drawn for years back and only unfavorable circumstances had prevented them from hitherto engaging in it. Only a few days before his unexpected death that venerable missionary had arranged with Governor Clark in St. Louis for the reception at the Loretto Convent of Bethlehem in Missouri of some Indian girls with whom the sisters were to begin the experiment of a school.⁴¹ The death of Nerinckx frustrated the plan and the girls were not received. But now the dream of years seemed about to be realized as Father Schoenmakers's appeal was brought to the notice of the sisters. Four of their number, Mother Concordia Henning and Sisters Bridget Hayden, Mary Petronilla van Prater and Vincentia Gale were immediately commissioned to take in hand a school among the Osage.⁴² They set out from the mother-house of the sisterhood in Kentucky under the conduct of Father Schoenmakers himself on September 9, 1847. On the 20th they left St. Louis for Westport Landing, now Kansas City, Missouri, on the steamer *J. J. Harden*. Here, at the mouth of the Kaw, they were the guests of Madame Thérèse Chouteau, the "Mother of Kansas City," whose husband, François Guesseau Chouteau, started the trading-post out of which the future metropolis was to grow. On October 2 Schoenmakers and the sisters left Kansas, having as conductor of their party Joseph Jarboe, a Kentucky Catholic settled since 1834 at the mouth of the Kaw, where as merchant-trader he had met with much success. Two canvas-covered wagons were the vehicles in which the journey was made over the prairies to the Osage Mission, one hundred and sixty miles to the southwest. On October

⁴¹ Anna C. Minogue, *Loretto: Annals of a Century*, p. 72. Also *supra*, Chap. V, § 1.

⁴² *Idem*, p. 130. Mother Concordia died August 5, 1899, wanting but a few months of being a hundred years old. The notable educational service rendered the Osage by the Sisters of Loretto is chronicled in Sister Mary Lillian Owens, S.L., *The History of the Sisters of Loretto in the Trans-Mississippi West* (doctoral dissertation, St. Louis University, 1935).

10, eight days out from Kansas, the party reached Osage Mission. Father Bax had been anxiously awaiting the superior and his band of devoted nuns and had posted Indian boys at intervals who were to scan the northern horizon so as to catch an early glimpse of the travellers and communicate at once the news of their approach. "On the morning of the 10th of October," runs the Ponziglione chronicle, "the boys noticed some smoke way yonder on the hills about 5 miles northeast of the Mission, where the Kansas City road used to cross Flat Rock. After looking at it carefully, they concluded that surely the long expected party was coming. In fact in less than an hour they were confirmed in their opinion, when they discovered at a great distance the white tops of the two covered wagons, both slowly advancing towards the Mission." ⁴³ Father Bax at once had his Indian boys out in their best attire to give a welcome to Father Schoenmakers and the nuns. Hardly two hours had passed since the arrival of the latter when Bax brought them four little girls, three of them half-breeds and one a full-blood Osage, to be the first boarders. With these the girls' boarding-school was opened that very day, October 10, 1847, the convent of the Sisters of Loretto becoming thenceforth an unfailing fountain-head of sweetness and light to the Indian youth of both sexes up and down the valley of the Neosho.⁴⁴

The first year of the boys' school had not yet run its course when the Osage sub-agent, John M. Richardson, wrote of the "unparalleled progress making by the Osage youths." In September, 1848, the same agent reported in detail on conditions in the school:

An attempt has been made heretofore at educating the Osage youth, but from some cause it did not prove successful, and the enterprise, after considerable expenditure, was abandoned. The present establishment was put in operation by the government as an experiment, with the intention of improving on the foundation if peradventure it should be found advantageous—equal to the undertaking of improving the mental capacities of the children of the nation. The Osages exercised their own partialities in the choice of missionaries to whom they should entrust the educating of their children, by making known their preferences in council to be for the black-robcs (as they call them), the Catholics, which denomination was accordingly contracted for (through their principal) to take charge of the school.

The establishment is divided into a male and female department, the former being conducted by three teachers, two of whom are teachers of the Catholic persuasion. The female department is conducted by four highly accomplished Sisters, the principal of whom having been formerly engaged

⁴³ Ponziglione, *The Osages etc.* (A).

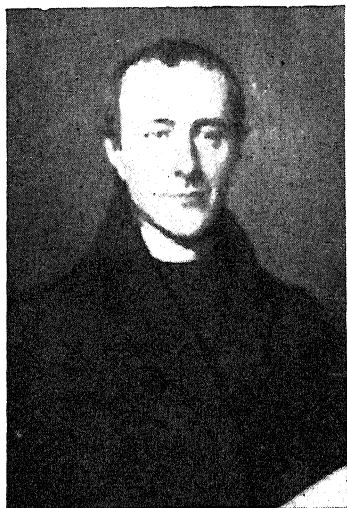
⁴⁴ A statement by Bax gives the number of girls received October 10 as five, "20 waiting for the commencement October 25, when it is expected that our goods purchased for their accommodation shall have arrived from Kansas."

in the same capacity in the very justly celebrated female school at St. Genevieve, Missouri. The school for boys was opened on the 10 May, 1847. It commenced with a limited number of scholars, but they have gradually increased in number until they now amount to forty. The female school was commenced on the 10th of October of the same year, and now has in attendance twenty-five girls. The object of these missionaries appears to be to give these children a common English education. The boys are taught spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic, having certain hours set apart for manual labor; or, as I might more appropriately say, for agricultural instruction. The girls are also taught reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic; and, in addition, sewing and knitting and drawing for an amusement; they are also exercised in gardening at the proper time. The general system of education is such as is well adapted to prepare the pupils each to adorn their respective and appropriate spheres in common life. The pupils are about equally divided in each school, near half being full-blooded Osages, indicating the very important fact that the Osages appreciate the importance and advantage of educating their children, and that the school is not only popular, but that it has the confidence of the Indian. The children appear happy and contented and learn with greater facility than could be expected; they acquire a knowledge of penmanship more readily than the generality of white children and are fully equal to them in some other branches. No doubt can be entertained of their capacity to receive instruction. The unmixed Osages, however, appear to learn with more readiness and to progress faster than the half-breeds. . . . I can justly say, without depreciating the children of other tribes, that none equal those of the Osages in their capacity to receive an education. The buildings for their school are, and were not at first, such as the missionaries had reason to expect. They were intended to accommodate only twenty boys and the same number of girls, and for an experiment at educating the Osage children. From the progress made by the pupils in learning, together with the popularity of the school among the Indians, we may reasonably and confidently infer that to enlarge the establishment would be to increase the benefits to the nation in a corresponding ratio. I have not the slightest doubt but the present worthy missionaries are fully competent and well calculated to confer on the Osage children the blessings of an education.⁴⁵

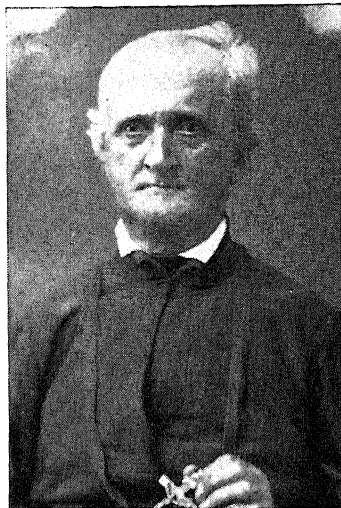
Marginal comments in the school-register afford glimpses of the types of Indian youth the managers of the institution were called upon to educate:

John or Xerxes Jaco. Towards the beginning of 1851 John fell sick with consumption, visited the Mission and was received as into an asylum: and having prepared himself for his approaching end with all the patience of a good Christian, in his last visit to a *doctor medicinae*, he expressed these remarkable words, "that if he should die on the road, it would be in attempting to reach the Mission." The nearer he approached to death, the more

⁴⁵ RCIA, 1848, no. 16.



Portrait of John Schoenmakers, S.J. (1807-1883), made in Antwerp in 1833 when he was twenty-six. Founder of the Jesuit Osage Mission.



Paul Mary Ponziglione, S.J. (1818-1900), for nearly four decades pioneer travelling missionary and builder of Catholicism in southern Kansas.



The original church of logs, Osage Mission. Oldest Catholic house of worship in southern Kansas. ^{indexed.}

St. Louis University, 27 July, 1847.
Hon. W. Medill.

Hon. Dear Sir,

I have just received letters from the Rev. Messrs. Schweinhuths & Bump, who have at present the direction of the School & among the Osage Indians. They went out last April. The outfit, for which the sum of \$225⁰⁰ had been allowed by the Department, has cost between \$1500 & \$1600. - Hitherto but few of the Indian boys have attended at school, most of the children having been taken out by their Parents on their hunting expeditions from which they were expected to return at the end of the present month. Almost all the Parents have promised to send their children to school immediately after their return, & the building it is feared, will be much too small to admit all that will be presented. The children attending at present give the greatest satisfaction, & appear perfectly content & happy. This account is confirmed by the teachers now in St. Louis.

It is however the surest prospect of advancing the works of civilization among the Indians chiefly depends on the education of the female children, we had formed the resolution to send out five or six Religious Ladies, (alias Nuns), who by vow & profession devote themselves to the education of girls. Six Sisters of Loretto, (Ky.) have been asked & promised for that purpose, five of them arrived here yesterday; the others are daily expected. We depended on the allowances promised for the first of this month to send them to the West with the necessary outfit. On making application at the Office of the Superintendent, I was informed that the Osage Sub-agency had been transferred to the Southern Superintendence, & that no money had been received for the purpose. This unforeseen circumstance involves me in the greatest difficulties & I know not how to proceed. I therefore have recourse to you Dear Sir, to beg of you the favor of having the payments for the Osage Schools &c made regularly in St. Louis, where I reside, & where the entire collection for the Institutions among the Osages are paid, &c. Major Harvey, whom I am informed is gone to Washington knowing the propriety, not to say the necessity of the measure which I propose & holding the greatest interest in all that relates to the welfare of these poor Indians, will, I feel confident, have no objection

he valued the comforts of religion. Nothing could induce him to exchange place. Having received all the sacraments of the dying, he expired on the 17th of April, 1851, being about 22 years of age, and was buried on the 18th.

Thomas Joupá received in his baptism the name of Aloysius for his meek and amiable behaviour, was loved by all his companions at school, contracted the consumption in the beginning of 1850 and after a lingering sickness and hoping piously, received all the sacraments of the dying. He expired on the 18th of December, 1850, leaving to his companions the hope of his future bliss.

John Baptist Mongrey [Mongrain]. Having to overcome many of his natural failings, he was steadfast in his aim after virtue and improvement.

Peter Mongrey [Mongrain] stayed at school upwards of three years, spoke seldom, improved slowly; corrected but few of his Indian habits, knowing just enough of his religion to make his first Communion, and returned to the Osage life in the beginning of 1851.

Ignatius Hankchapi left school in April, 1853, and soon returned to the blanket.

Kahikey Fownmakers [?] went on the buffalo hunt after the measles of April, 1852, being almost alone [in] having escaped the disease. Returned from the hunt and reentered the school. Lost his father about August 1852. Soon after the death of his father school was abandoned and with it civilization and religion. Being called upon by his relatives to be their horse-hunter, the blanket and Indian life were the necessary consequences. Where are the fruits of his first Communion? How could he preserve innocence among his wild companions?

Peter Nicastoue, having received with the usual sentiments of devotion, the sacraments of the dying, was interred on the 2nd of April. At the request of his mother, being painted, rolled in a blanket, laid in a coffin and buried in the usual manner in the Mission graveyard.⁴⁶

Even the most inconsequential of written records often rise with the lapse of time to the dignity of historical documents. One may perhaps not so qualify the document which follows; but significance it has, with its mute testimony to the efforts made by Father Schoenmakers and his associates to impart to the young Osage something of the white man's culture. This letter, which Joseph Steben (Stephen?), Osage half-breed fourteen years of age, addressed to Secretary of the Interior McClelland, has been buried for eighty years in the files of the Indian Office, Washington.

Osage Manual Labor School

3, Feb. 1856

Honorable Secretary.

To become useful to ourselves and nation our teachers have taught us to compose letters. We are at it five months and as the boys love that kind

⁴⁶ Archives of the Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas.

of composition we are all improving fast and our parents and friends are glad that we are able to write to them and therefore we write often to them; some two days ago we wrote many letters to our good agent who always comes to see us when he is at the mission; I think some were written for you for the fathers told us that the agent would perhaps go to Washington and see you, but the winter is so very cold that we think he cannot go; we therefore send our letters by the Post-Office which we have at the mission, but the mail could not come last week on account of deep snow: for, Sir, it has frozen so hard that the ice is two feet thick in the river and the snow lays [*sic*] from one to four feet deep so that our Indians cannot come home. Some children are frozen to death and the old people suffer much. Many horses are already dead and the people tell us many more will die. What will then our Indians do when they have no horses to go to the buffalo hunt.

I now send you our respects of all the boys at school. I think we are fifty boys. Two boys were called out by the traders, Father Schoenmakers having permitted them to go, they get twenty dollars a month for writing letters and keep [ing] books, when trade is over they will come back to the Mission. I will also tell you something of the girls' school, their house is not far from ours, there are about forty girls at school, they make and mend our clothes and milk the cows, they send us sometimes pies and cakes and we cut wood for them. The fathers don't let us go in their yard, but the big boys go in the bottom to cut wood. Then Henry the German hauls it in their yard. But we are much better off than the girls, because we have a large school-house made of large cotton logs, our two class rooms 25 x 25 feet large and upstairs is our dormitory 50 x 25 feet large and above the dormitory is the clothes room; but the nine sisters and girls live all in the same house not much larger than that of the fathers.⁴⁷

The success of the mission school in educating the young generation of Osage had the result of making many Indian parents belonging to tribes other than the Osage eager to see their children also share in the benefits of the school. But Father Schoenmakers could not admit many children of this class, the government appropriation covering, with one exception, the education of Osage pupils only. Yet representatives of other tribes, especially the Miami, Wea, Piankashaw and Peoria, were occasionally found in the school. As to Quapaw children, these were admitted and paid for by the government on the same terms as the Osage. In 1853 some form of incorporation of the Quapaw with the Osage tribe appears to have taken place. At the request of the Quapaw chiefs, Schoenmakers admitted ten children of that tribe into the school on February 28, 1853, "being myself witness," as he wrote to the commissioner of Indian affairs, "that the Quapaw chiefs have obtained in council through the medium of the Agent the unanimous consent and

⁴⁷ (H). A post-office was established at the Osage Mission in 1851, Schoenmakers being appointed post-master.

approval of the Osage chiefs.”⁴⁸ In May of the same year twenty-four Quapaw children, seventeen being boys and seven girls, were attending the school. The Quapaw or Arkansas Indians were met by Marquette on the lower Mississippi in 1673. And now, nearly two centuries later, Jesuit successors of his were educating the children of this same tribe in the valley of the Neosho. Meantime, the success attending Schoenmakers’s school was among the interesting things emigrants of the fifties heard of as they arrived in Kansas. Thus Miriam Davis Colt, a pioneer of 1856, in her book, *Went to Kansas*: “We passed the Catholic Mission this afternoon. It is said to be the most flourishing school in the Territory. It was founded in 1847. Rev. John Schoenmakers has discharged the duties of Superintendent in an efficient manner since the commencement assisted by ten Jesuit clergymen and lay-brothers. The little Indians were out as we passed, in high glee.”⁴⁹

All through its career, however, the school suffered from lack of due financial support. The annual grant of fifty-five dollars made by the government for each pupil in attendance was found from the very first to be inadequate to meet the running expenses of the institution. In October, 1855, Father Schoenmakers appealed to Commissioner Manypenny for an increase over this allowance. “Since the commencement of the Osage school in 1847 little has been paid out to hired hands—however, it has been necessary to supply a yearly deficit of \$800; I own it would have been much more encouraging to us if we had been able to use the \$6400 in assisting our young people after leaving school and making our own domestic life more comfortable.” The appeal was successful to the extent that for the fiscal year ending June 3, 1855, an increased allowance of \$18.75 for each pupil was granted by the Indian Office. But in 1856 Schoenmakers was put to the necessity of asking that the increased allowance be continued. “Having again last summer met with a total failure of our crops caused by grasshoppers, I have continued to charge the same increased allowance, hoping that my reasons which I have laid before Commissioner Manypenny will be approved. . . . I doubt not but a true knowledge would convince you that the \$55 per annum for each child, has, in no year whatsoever, sufficed or will suffice hereafter, to keep up the school in that regularity after which we have always aimed and without which we shall find no satisfaction for ourselves because comfort and improvement of our school is our immediate end. With it we are daily growing upon our Indians’ hearts to make a sacrifice of that natural affection for children

⁴⁸ Schoenmakers to commissioner of Indian affairs, May 20, 1853. (H).

⁴⁹ Miriam Davis Colt, *Went to Kansas: being a thrilling account of an ill-fated expedition to that faery land and its sad results together with a sketch of a life of the author and how the world goes with her* (Watertown [N. Y.], 1862), p. 147.

to which they have hitherto so tenaciously adhered." Father Schoenmakers's appeal met with a favorable hearing, the rate being fixed at \$73.75 for each pupil and so continuing until the close of the school.⁵⁰

Osage Indian sub-agents from 1847 to 1861 were J. M. Richardson, Henry Harvey, W. J. Morrow, A. J. Dorn and P. P. Elder. Without exception they commended the work of the mission schools in their annual reports to Washington:

This is no doubt the best school in the Indian country, particularly the female department. (J. M. Richardson, October 25, 1849).⁵¹

The manual labor school for the instruction of the Osage youth is within a few rods of the agency. I have noticed the progress of this interesting school since my arrival in this country, as well as the conduct of the children when out of school; and I think it is not out of place for me to remark here that when I consider the adults comprising the tribe from which these children were taken—bold, selfish, unconquered, entirely uncultivated, and most of them determined to carry with them to the end of their days their wild, romantic and savage habits—and then observe the friendly, courteous, respectful, and genteel deportment of these children, I have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion that the managers of this school have done their duty faithfully. (H. Harvey, October 23, 1850).⁵²

I have had the pleasure of attending an examination of the pupils both in the male and female department of the manual labor school now in successful operation in the Osage country, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Schoenmaker. It gives me great pleasure to give my humble testimony in favor of the manner in which this institution is conducted and I doubt if any school is exercising a more benign influence over the Indians than this one. The pupils are making rapid progress in their studies, are

⁵⁰ Schoenmakers to Manypenny, October 1, 1855; Schoenmakers to McClelland, February 3, 1856. (H). Father Bax wrote to De Smet, February 27, 1852: "From this \$55.00 the child must be nourished, clothed, and all things necessary for its education [provided] which sum experience has taught us does scarcely suffice for that purpose. Besides, the Mission has to support 3 Fathers and 7 lay-brothers of the Society, one secular priest [Heimann], who presides over the school [and] to whom is paid \$150 per annum." Other items of expenses were: subsistence for eight Sisters of Loretto; wages for their servant, \$120; for the servant in the fathers' house, \$80; for interpreter, \$150; for washing, \$200. "To this must be added necessary repairs of the houses, furniture, farmers implements—travelling expenses to the different missionary stations. An addition to the church is absolutely necessary, which will cost \$250." (A). Reverend Theodore Heimann, ordained in Kentucky by Bishop Flaget, became a Carmelite in 1864; said to have been the first to enter that order in the United States. As a Carmelite he held for years the pastorate of St. Joseph's Church, Leavenworth, Kansas, and died at the Carmelite novitiate, New Baltimore, Penn., September 3, 1893. Kinsella, *History of Our Cradle Land*, p. 50.

⁵¹ Exec. Doc., 1st Sess., 31st Cong., p. 1139.

⁵² RCIA, 1850, no. 9.

well-fed and clothed and appear to be happy and well satisfied. (W. J. Morrow, September 11, 1851).⁵³

Enclosed you will find the report of Rev. Father Schoenmaker, superintendent Osage manual labor school; this institution has been so well conducted that it has gained good commendation from all persons who have visited it and been eye witnesses of the manner in which it is conducted by the superintendent and his associates, both in the male and female departments.

I would not be doing myself justice in permitting this report to close did I not commend this school to the most kind and fostering care of our government. I have never witnessed more devotion to the accomplishment of an object than is manifested by the conductors of this school. The small sum they have been receiving for the education of each child I am satisfied is not sufficient to defray their necessary expenses, after the observance of the most rigid economy. (Andrew J. Dorn, August 23, 1855).

This institution is worthy of the most kind and fostering care of the Government; it has had much to contend with, notwithstanding it has gradually improved and grown in popularity with the Indians from year to year. The school buildings have been added to almost yearly and still they are not adequate for the accommodation of the increased number of pupils. (Andrew J. Dorn, September 9, 1858).⁵⁴

Knowing as much as I do of the constant progress in usefulness of the Osage Manual Labor School among the Osage tribe of Indians under the wise and judicious management of the Rev. J. Schoenmakers, its Superintendent, and his able and zealous assistants in both the male and female department, I cannot forbear writing the Department in its behalf entirely unsolicited by any one connected with the school.

My acquaintance with said school is now about ten years and I must say that it has grown much in popularity and usefulness during that time. At my first acquaintance with the establishment it might be very properly said to be but an experiment; but now that is not the case, for it has established itself beyond any cavil or doubt permanently.

I know full well that your Honor can but acquiesce in what I said and I have now to solicit at the hands of the Department any aid that may be consistent for the enlargement and erection of additional buildings for the comfortable accommodation of the scholars in attendance. The present buildings are quite inadequate for the present scholars in attendance and I have heard that there are constant applications by parents for the reception of their children into the schools which the Superintendent is compelled to refuse on account of the want of ample accommodations. (Andrew J. Dorn to A. B. Greenwood, commissioner of Indian affairs, January 18, 1860).⁵⁵

⁵³ *RCIA*, 1851, no. 38.

⁵⁴ *RCIA*, 1855, no. 89, 1858, no. 41. Dorn was in charge of the Osage agency about ten years (1850-1860).

⁵⁵ (H).

I should do an injustice to the very generous and laudable efforts of those fathers under whose supervision the Osage Manual labor school is if I failed to mention it in this report. From a personal and thorough examination of this institution in both of its departments, I am satisfied that the influence and superior exertions made by them in behalf of these Indians will be seen and felt when this generation shall have passed away. It is truly deserving the fostering care of the government and will, if properly supported with funds, be the means of ultimately civilizing that now benighted tribe. (P. P. Elder to W. G. Coffin, superintendent of Indian affairs, southern superintendency, September 30, 1861).⁵⁶

To the above testimonies of the Osage Indian agents may be added that of Elias Rector, superintendent of Indian affairs, southern superintendency, September 24, 1860:

The school in the Neosho agency, under Catholic auspices, has done more for the Indian youth than any other school within my superintendency; and such has been the case, I believe, ever since the discovery of the continent, with the Catholic school among the Indians. That creed, for some reason or other, better suits the capacity and intellect of the Indians than any other, and controls them better, and, it may be added that the Catholic missionaries possess the great and rare merit of attending exclusively to their proper business.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ *RCIA*, 1861, no. 3.

⁵⁷ *Idem*, 1860, no. 45. The following additional testimonies may be cited:

"My observations for the few years I have been connected with the Indian character and tendencies convince me that the true and surest road to civilization through which the benighted red man of the west can pass is that made by the Catholic Church. Their humane effort and exemplary intercourse and faithful teaching have made an observable impression and are more favorably received than that of any other religious denomination. That form of worship is peculiarly adapted to the nature of the Indians and the habits of civilization have been and will continue to be more thoroughly disseminated among the Indians through this channel than by any other agency. The total number of scholars [in the Osage manual labor school] is one hundred and forty-one, in constant attendance, and would be much larger if the buildings and other facilities would admit. The whole institution is a model of industrious habits, cleanliness, order and system and reflects credit on its worthy superintendent and all connected with its management." (P. P. Elder, Neosho Agency, September 20, 1863, to Superintendent W. G. Coffin). *RCIA*, 1863, no. 88.

"It is but a simple act of justice to say that Father Shoemaker and those associated with him in conducting the Osage Mission have for the past sixteen years labored for the education, civilization and christianization of the Indians with the Neosho agency with such zeal and devotion as I have rarely seen equalled . . . I regard the knowledge of agricultural pursuits and habits of industry thus inculcated of vastly more advantage to the Indians than book-learning. So sensible were the Osages of the benefits they have been and are now receiving from that institution that there was not the least difficulty in getting them to provide in the late

§ 6. CIVILIZING THE OSAGE

The civilizing of the Osage, especially by bringing them to practice farming, was an aim of the mission second only in importance in the mind of its managers to their spiritual regeneration. In fact, the attempt to civilize the Indians had to come first, for there was little hope of effecting any moral or religious transformation of the natives unless they were weaned from their nomadic manner of life and taught to settle down to the pursuit of honest industry and labor. In a memorandum drawn up for a government official in the first year of the mission Father Bax discloses the views he had formed on the subject of Osage farming: "We desire very much the Government would encourage their beginning to cultivate the soil; for unless they, the Osages, change their manner of living, we can expect but little fruit from the education we endeavor to impart to their children; several of the Indians begin to see this as the buffalo becomes more scarce every year; still the traders encourage them very much for hunting, so that we fear some will never change so long as they continue to find any game." The best plan to follow in Father Bax's opinion was to have the government appoint a farmer for every Indian village to superintend the cultivation of the common-field in which every Indian would have his allotted plot of ground. "The farmer breaks the ground and keeps the fence in order. As they [the Indians] are now, they can never begin, not having the necessary instruments."⁵⁸

Early attempts to induce the Osage to live in houses ended in dismal failure. They preferred the wigwam to the white man's style of shelter. According to treaty stipulations the government built for the Osage chiefs a number of comfortable log houses equipped with all necessary furniture. The chiefs occupied them for a while, but finding them anything but pleasant quarters according to Indian notions of comfort soon moved out, selling the furniture to white settlers along the Missouri border. In the fall the fires which the Indians were accustomed to start at that time to burn out the prairie grass entirely consumed the log houses. To Father Schoenmakers's remonstrances with the Indian chiefs for refusing to live in these civilized abodes, they answered that they were infested with goblins, who every evening moaned piteously around the corners of the log houses; but their real aversion to these dwellings arose from the circumstance that while living in them they had to forego many of the social advantages and

treaty liberally for the continuation of the present and the erection of another similar institution on their diminished reservation." (W. G. Coffin, Leavenworth, September 24, 1863). *RCIA*, 1863, no. 81½.

⁵⁸ Archives of Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas.

pleasures of village life. The Indians had strong social instincts and loved to pitch their wigwams as closely together as possible. The Osage villages were laid out on the same general plan, the wigwams, in number from fifty to a hundred, being distributed in long rows forming regular streets. The best site in the village was always assigned to the wigwam of the local chief, after which came in order those of the counsellors, medicine-men, town-criers, kettle-tenders and others. The wigwam continued to be the favorite shelter of the Osage up to the time the reservation was broken up.⁵⁹

Not any more successful than the attempt to get the Osage to dwell in houses was the attempt to have them patronize the grist-mill which the government erected for their use about three miles southwest of the mission near the house of Chief George White Hair. The Osage had no grain to grind and the mill, a building of considerable size, shared the fate of the log houses, being swept away by prairie-fires.

To make a farmer out of the Indian never ceased to be the ambition of Father Schoenmakers. He did not realize this ambition in any large way, though before the Osage withdrew from the vicinity of the mission in the sixties enough of success had attended his efforts to indicate what could be accomplished with a greater measure of time to enter into the process. After all, as Ponziglione somewhere pointed out, the nations of Europe were centuries in making the transition from barbarism to culture. One could not expect a people like the Osage with an aversion to labor bred in the bone to be made over night into industrious and enterprising farmers. Schoenmakers's first attempt in this direction met with absolute failure. In particular, a very carefully planned campaign devised by himself and Brother Thomas O'Donnell in the early days of the mission to induce the Osage to go to work went ridiculously wide of the mark. O'Donnell had arrived among the Osage in August, 1848, to fill the position of teacher to the Indian boys.⁶⁰ He was highly successful in his dealings with them and as a

⁵⁹ Ponziglione, *The Osages etc.* (A).

⁶⁰ "After two days delay in Kansas we started for Sugar Creek in a wagon or carriage such as that of Florissant, Rev. Fathers Verheydt [Verreydt] and Gallard [Gaillard], myself and some luggage for which we had to pay \$15. We reached Westport about 12 o'clock it being about 4 miles south of Kansas. About six miles from that [place] we came on the military road, which runs strait south dividing the State of Missouri and the Indian country. This road leads to Fort Scott, about 100[?] miles from Kansas. On this road we had to travel to Mr. Jerues [Giroux's] trading-house fifty miles from Kansas and then turn west to Sugar Creek about 20 miles, which we reached in about 2 days. As to the things you might observe on the way they are first a boundless prairie on the west and from time to time some farmers' places to the east. Sometime nothing was to be seen but sky and prairie." O'Donnell to Reiselman, November 30, 1848. (A). Brother

result acquired an ascendancy over the adult Indians as well. "His natural eloquence," according to Father Ponziglione, "had a persuasive power and his conversation was not only instructive, but also most agreeable. So rich was he in anecdotes and witticisms that people could listen to him for hours without ever getting tired. Feeling that he had gained great influence over them, he never let pass an opportunity of lecturing them on the advantages of a civilized life over their nomadic customs. He would describe to them the happiness enjoyed by farmers on their homesteads with such lively colors that at last some few made up their minds to follow his advice."⁶¹

When Father Schoenmakers learned that some of the Indians were ready to turn to agriculture, he lost no time in calling them together to encourage them in their praiseworthy design. He directed them to make as many rails as would be needed to fence a forty-acre field, offering to pay for the rails at the rate of five dollars a thousand, the Indians to keep the rails as a present. It was a good bargain as the Indians saw it and they set to work with a will. Schoenmakers lent them his teams and wagons to haul the rails while he himself with some of the larger school-boys fenced in the forty-acre field. Then Brother O'Donnell, as surveyor, staked off the lots, which were to be assigned in equal dimensions to the individual Indians, while the squaws followed after him, dexterously shifting the stakes so as to obtain a larger share of land. The Indians showed great zest for the initial processes of raising a crop such as ploughing, harrowing, and planting the seeds furnished them by Schoenmakers. But here their labor ceased; the protests neither of the father nor of the brother could induce them to go further in cultivating the field. If the seeds would not spring up into crops without further attention, they were plainly of no account. The Indians pointed with a sense of triumphant logic to the grass which year by year came forth from the bosom of Mother Earth with no human toil to coax it into being. If crops of corn and wheat and barley could not be got except by laborious cultivation of the soil, there was evidently here some perversion of Nature's processes in which the Indians preferred to have no hand. After all, Nature had intended them to be hunters, not farmers, and while buffalo remained plentiful, it was the height of folly to go to work. And so this first agricultural experiment of good Father Schoenmakers issued in downright failure. By the end of July weeds, brambles and sun-flowers covered the entire field and when these disappeared in the fires the Indians were accustomed to start in October to consume the prairie grass, the very site of the forty-

O'Donnell dates his Osage letter from "the Residence of St. Francis Regis," indicating that this was an earlier name for the mission than St. Francis Hieronymo.

⁶¹ Ponziglione, *The Osages etc.* (A).

acre field became obliterated. The conclusion reached by Father Schoenmakers and Brother O'Donnell was that Indian grown-ups were proof against the seductions of farming and that success in teaching the Osage to farm, if it came at all, was to come through the rising generation.⁶²

And indeed the young generation of the tribe became in the end the occasion of at least a qualified success in Osage farming of which Father Schoenmakers felt that he could legitimately be proud. Having formed a class in agriculture among the larger boys, the father was accustomed to take them out to the fields for the necessary instruction in this vitally important part of their education. On those occasions he could not but notice the keen interest displayed by many of the older Osage in the agricultural training through which the boys were being put. Standing by and watching the latter as they worked in the fields, the Osage adults finally threw off their blankets, took a spade or other implement in hand and went to work with surprising earnestness. Here was Father Schoenmakers's opportunity. If these Indians showed so much readiness to work with the boys, they might be induced to do a little farming on their own account. And so it turned out to be. A number of Indians staked out small plots of land on which they began to raise grain and vegetables. This was in 1858. The example of these farmer-Indians was contagious. The following spring a still larger number of Indians were engaged in farming and soon formed a regular settlement of some fifty families. Without quarrelling of any kind as to the limits of their respective fields, they had picked up their claims along the fertile valley of the Neosho, the settlement starting at the point some three miles south of the mission and extending over an area of about twenty-five miles, as far down as Little White Hair's town. By disposing of some of their horses, the Osage farmers were able to procure for themselves agricultural implements and farming stock while Schoenmakers supplied them with seeds. The Osage had their reward. Their little gar-

⁶² *Idem.* Osage Indian sub-agent J. M. Richardson estimated the value of the Indian trade in 1848 (probably the result of a single hunt) at twenty-eight thousand dollars, including nearly six thousand buffalo robes, at three dollars each, ten thousand deer-skins averaging seventy-five cents each, and other peltries worth about two thousand dollars. "While on the hunt [they are] capable and willing to endure the greatest hardship." He reckoned the value of the Osage trade for the preceding thirty years at twelve hundred thousand dollars, this value in peltries going to the traders in return for goods costing the latter about five hundred thousand. The capital employed in the Indian trade on the Osage reserve for the year 1848, Richardson estimated did not exceed twenty thousand dollars. (*RCIA*, 1848, no. 16). The Indians often traded their peltries to the white farmers of the Missouri border for farm produce. "When a bushel of corn could be procured for a coonskin, it was a more reasonable procedure, so the Osage mind reasoned, to go out and kill the coon than submit to the toilsome drudgery of raising the corn."

dens were blessed in early spring with an abundant output of vegetables and in June their wigwams were quite surrounded by a rich crop of corn. Father Ponziglione comments:

This indeed, was a great result, of which Father Schoenmakers had every reason to be proud. For though this agricultural settlement was small, it opened the eyes of the Osage to see how they could enjoy the advantages of civilization. Nay, it made them touch with their hands some of the fruits of it. What was most remarkable in all this transaction was that, whatsoever work was done on these farms was done without the help of any assistant-farmer appointed by the Indian Department to be, as it were, their teacher in agriculture. All the improvements that were made by these farming Osages did not cost the Indian Treasury a single cent; for they never called on the Government to allow them an appropriation for this purpose. All their dependence was on good Father Schoenmakers; for not only was he ready to give them good advice, but as far as it was in his power, he would let them have whatever they needed free of charge; and when they had raised plenty of either vegetables or grain, he would purchase from them whatever they could spare, paying them regular market prices.⁶³

Reviewing the results obtained by the mission in its efforts to civilize the Osage, one may recall that the tribe had not emerged from the state of primitive savagery at the time it was opened in 1847. Twenty years later, when they withdrew into a diminished reserve, they were still for the most part an uncivilized people. Agent Dorn described them in 1857 as literally "a wild, hunting, roving band of people, subsisting most entirely from the chase."⁶⁴ Father Schoenmakers declared in 1855, "our Osages advance but very little towards civilization," and in 1856, "the full-blooded Osage has not even taken the first step towards civilization." In 1847, on his arrival among the Osage, he counted five farms operated by Indians; in 1855 the number had grown to twenty-five.⁶⁵ In 1858 he recorded: "Some few families have already fenced in fields, gathered a crop and have been very successful in raising hogs and cattle, in spite of the great discouragement with which they meet from lazy Indians, perhaps relations." Finally, in 1861, at the outbreak of the Civil War, the Neosho Indian agent, P. P. Elder, reported: "Some of the bands of this tribe show strong symptoms of exchanging the practice of hunting for that of agricultural pursuits, and in many instances have built houses and fences, cultivated small patches of land, raised corn, etc., of which they are proud to speak. These impressions have been imbibed by the generous efforts and kind

⁶³ Ponziglione, *The Osages etc.* (A).

⁶⁴ RCIA, 1857, no. 83.

⁶⁵ RCIA, 1855, no. 90.

advices of those worthy fathers connected with the Catholic Mission establishment conducted in their midst for the last fourteen years.”⁶⁶

The outcome of the Jesuit missionary experiment with the Osage was therefore briefly this: only a modicum of good was accomplished among the adult Osage; on the other hand there was notable success in educating the children, who, however, on going back to their families seem to have lost what they learned at school. Finally, as a diversion from the missionaries' original program a large measure of devoted ministerial aid was lent to the white settlers who gradually displaced the Indians. As to the failure to make any substantial impression on the grown-up Osage, it was admitted by all connected with the mission. Bishop Miége advised Father Roothaan in October, 1852, that the missionaries had never been able to get the Osage to work and he would gladly have closed the mission. In April, 1853, the General himself wrote to Schoenmakers: “Results among the Indians are admitted by all to be meagre. But one must not for that despair or give over the salutary work. St. Francis Xavier used to advise missionaries to invoke for the salvation of the people the souls of infants who died after receiving baptism.”⁶⁷ Four years later, Father Druyts, Missouri vice-provincial, after an official visitation of the mission, reported to Father Beckx:

The Osage Indians are vicious and lazy, having no desire to be made Christians or to become good. They do not cultivate their land and yet they have just received for the last time what are called Government annuities, consisting principally of woolen blankets and a small sum of money a head. The money is spent in a few days. The blankets will soon be worn out and they will be forced to have recourse to the buffalo for clothing and food; but, as it happens, to hunt the buffalo they have to go very far and absent themselves from the reserve for three months regularly every year; with all that, there will follow the necessity of selling their lands and settling elsewhere or of perishing where they are. As to the schools, they were never so flourishing as now; 80 boys and 80 girls and more available if there were room for them. No doubt the schools do good for the time the children are in them, but what becomes of them afterwards? Once they are back in their homes, the same old manner of life; everything they learned at the Mission is soon forgotten. . . . What our Fathers do in this mission apart from the schools amounts to very little and even this little costs them much toil and demands from them privations of every kind. Still, the Fathers as well as the coadjutor-brothers with the exception of only one live there contented and happy and make up a very regular community. All, I believe,

⁶⁶ *RCIA*, 1858, 1861.

⁶⁷ Miége à Roothaan, October 28, 1852; Roothaan ad Schoenmakers, April 21, 1853. (AA).

are animated by an excellent spirit of charity and are ready to do there all the good they can and for as long a time as obedience will require.

Finally, there is the testimony of Father Ponziglione, always more sanguine in his hopes for the Osage than his co-laborers. "While I write these words," he says in a letter to Father Beckx of January 6, 1862, "the Indians are returning from the hunt. God in His goodness has supplied them with food this time also; but while they exult over the gift received they made no account of the Giver and imitating the ways of the old pagans they congregate in the woods to offer sacrifice to the devil. We have often tried to bring the Osage to a better frame of mind but in vain. They readily admit that the ways of the Christians are the best, but in practice they prefer to follow those of the pagans." In the same year, May, 1862, the General, after congratulating Ponziglione on the success he was having in the schools, added: "Would that you had been permitted to report the same about the adults; but I see, as your Reverence writes, that little fruit is gathered among them, that in dealing with them there is more occasion for patience than for joy, that they have not yet left their superstitions and idolatry, but return over and over to their devilish vomit and festivities." Two years later, May, 1864, Bishop Miége recorded for the Father General his final judgment on the results achieved by the Osage Mission. "Father Schoenmakers is the man for the place and the circumstances. . . . The old Osage are dispersed and lived partly on pillage. The thought sometimes comes to me that it would be better to abandon this ground and offer the bread of the Gospel to other tribes, who would accept it with more eagerness. Good has been done during the seventeen years that our Fathers have lived among them, but not a good which corresponds to the sufferings and sacrifices of the missionaries."⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Ponziglione ad Beckx, January 6, 1862; Miége à Beckx, May 11, 1864. (AA). Still, even the adult Osage, despite their meagre susceptibility to religious teaching, had no doubt derived some profit in a moral way from their contact with the missionaries. The advantages of an education had at least been impressed upon them. After their removal to the Indian Territory, they were still petitioning for Jesuit instructors for their children. The children, too, though much if not most of their religious education was undone by subsequent unfavorable environment, often retained in a practical way the lessons of earlier days. Thus, when the Osage chief Little White Hair lay dying in 1869, he requested Louis Chouteau, son of the Osage trader, Edouard Chouteau and a one-time student of the school, to baptize him, as no priest was at hand. Chouteau complied with the request. "It was his [Little White Hair's] request to be baptized before he died and he said he never was baptized. Finding himself on the point of death, he requested that I should baptize him and I did so to save his poor soul." L. P. Chouteau to Ponziglione, December 26, 1869. (A). See note 73 for Schoenmaker's opinion as to the benefit derived by the adult Osage from the mission.

§ 7. THE MISSION DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND AFTER

Lying as it did in the border region of southeastern Kansas, the Osage Mission found itself during the period of the Civil War perilously close to the range of actual hostilities. Troops of both North and South passed by its doors and even camped on its premises, but without inflicting any material harm. Both sides in the great struggle were eager to enlist the military services of the Osage. The latter, on the advice of the fathers, at first escaped the importunities of the military authorities by going off on their annual buffalo hunt. But returning to their villages at the conclusion of the hunt, they were no longer able to avoid the alternative of declaring for one side or the other in the momentous struggle. They declared for the North and numbers of them subsequently joined the Union forces, though many also, as the war lasted on, were found in the Confederate armies.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ "The war deprived the Osages of all their labor and prospects. The youths of our school above the age of fifteen joined the Union army; 500 Osages had gone south, and of the remaining 3000, four companies also joined the army." Address of Father Schoenmakers at opening of the mill on Flat Rock Creek, September 24, 1870, *Kansas Historical Collection*, 9: 21. Col. Olin Thurston, Civil War officer, who at the beginning of the war raised a regiment of soldiers from Allen and Woodson Counties, Kansas, and saw much service in southern Kansas, made this statement: "The Fathers at Osage Mission from the very first used their long experience and great influence with the Indians to keep them loyal to the government and to the efforts of these good Fathers we are indebted for the loyalty of these Indians during the war, more than [to] any other cause." Numerous contemporary testimonies from Indian agents and other government officials corroborate this statement. At first, however, the mission authorities would seem to have taken up an attitude of neutrality. Thus W. G. Coffin, superintendent of Indian affairs, southern superintendency, to W. P. Dole, commissioner of Indian affairs, October 15, 1862: "The Osage Catholic Mission and manual labor school, notwithstanding its location on what has been a kind of dividing line between loyal and rebellious districts, has thus far escaped destruction and maintained its usefulness. This is partly attributed to the fact that it has avoided taking part in questions of political character and followed strictly the purpose of its establishment." Neutrality, however, if it meant favoring neither side could scarcely have been maintained by the mission. As a matter of fact, already in the first year of the war it was active on the side of the Union. "Ours being a Government institution," says Father Ponziglione, "it was to be expected that our Superior should be in favor of the Union and this was enough to make him appear as a declared enemy of the Confederacy." Agent P. P. Elder, in transmitting Father Schoenmaker's report for 1862, commented: "The Osages are still our firm friends and are living in their country in their usual quiet way having furnished about 400 stalwart warriors for the second Indian regiment. . . . That school [Catholic Manual Labor School] continues to be the pride of the nation. The efforts and zeal of those connected therewith continue unabated. Through the patriotic efforts of those 'worthy' Fathers, twenty-five well educated Indians, mostly full-bloods, from that school have enlisted in the white regiment and as far as I can learn make good soldiers." The following year, September 24,

Father Schoenmakers's well-known Union sympathies brought him into trouble shortly after the beginning of the war with the trader, John Mathews, who was married to an Osage woman and conducted a trading-post near the site of Oswego, Kansas. According to the account of the incident to be found in the Ponziglione memoirs, which, however, does not connect Mathews with it in any way, a special federal commissioner, accompanied by his secretary, had been sent out in the summer of 1861 by President Lincoln to conciliate the Indians on the Kansas border and provide for their wants. Afraid to venture alone from the Osage Mission to the Quapaw Agency, some fifty miles to the southeast, they requested Father Schoenmakers to accompany them, which he did, returning thence to the mission. When the Indians and white settlers of the locality, Confederate sympathizers it would appear, learned that the two visitors at the Quapaw Agency were federal agents, they became enraged and burned down the agency, not however before the visitors had escaped. The mob then planned to proceed to the mission with the design of burning it and taking the life of Schoenmakers, who they said had betrayed them into the hands of their enemies by introducing northern emissaries into their midst. Fortunately a storm of great violence occurring on the night of June 21 flooded the whole region around the mission, rendering the roads impassable and making it necessary for the Confederate party to give up their plan of attacking the mission. Meantime, a young Osage mixed-blood, a one-time pupil

1863, Superintendent W. G. Coffin reported from Leavenworth: "The Osage Indians are remaining loyal to the government with the exception of Black Dog's Band and some of the Half-breeds and restless spirits of other bands, who were influenced to join the rebels by misrepresentation made to them by their former agent, Major Dorn, and other emissaries sent amongst them by the rebels. In view of the very important geographical position occupied by these Indians, between the white settlements in southern Kansas and those within the rebel states, no effort on my part has been spared to counteract the machinations of the enemy and to hold them in loyalty to the United States Government, in which I have been ably assisted by Father Schoenmakers and his associates at the Osage Catholic Mission." C. C. Showalter, a Union soldier belonging to a detachment of troops under General Brannan which engaged the Confederates only about a half mile from the Osage Mission, April 22, 1863, said in an oral account: "While here I was detailed by General Brannan to call at the Mission and get what information I could. I called on Father Schoenmakers and found him strongly loyal to the Union." The foregoing data are mostly cited from W. W. Graves, *Life and Letters of Rev. John Schoenmakers, S.J., Apostle to the Osage* (Parsons, Kansas, 1916), pp. 60, 69, 80, 86, 104, 112. The same author has another contribution to the history of the Osage Mission, *Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers, and other early Jesuits at Osage Mission, Sketch of St. Francis Church, Life of Mother Bridget* (St. Paul, Kansas, 1916). The Civil War chapter in Ponziglione's ms., *The Osages etc.*, is reproduced in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, 4: 219 *et seq.*

of the mission school and, according to one account, a son of John Mathews, had appeared at the mission at seven o'clock on the evening of June 21 with a letter warning Schoenmakers of the plot against him. Says Father Ponziglione:

Without showing the least excitement on his countenance, he handed the letter to Father James C. Van Goch and next to me, requesting us to tell him what he should do. The matter was a very serious one. He would not decide for himself. We felt that a heavy responsibility was laying [*sic*] on us and for a while we could not speak a word! But there was no time to lose in vain speculations, something was to be done and we agreed that he should try to save his life by leaving the Mission at once. The Father reflected for a few minutes and without any agitation replied that he thought it would be better for him to follow our advice.

A most heavy rain-storm, which had begun about sun-down, was now raging in all its fury; but no attention was paid to it. The best racer we had in our stables is soon saddled and exactly at 8 o'clock P.M. the Father is off, bound for Humboldt, some 30 miles northwest of our Mission. Spite of the great darkness prevailing and the rain which kept pouring down in torrents the Father succeeds in making his way safely during that terrible night and about 7:30 of the next morning he finds himself in the midst of his friends in Humboldt. Having taken a much needed rest on the next day, he resumes his journey and by the end of the month he reaches St. Mary's Mission among the Pottawatomie.⁷⁰

The departure of Father Schoenmakers was followed by something like panic among the Catholic Indians and friends of the missionaries.

⁷⁰ Ponziglione, *The Osages etc.* Schoenmakers has this reference to his difference with John Matthews: "New trials were now upon us. Major Whitney, a special agent, had brought provisions for the destitute Osages, while John Matthews, my old friend, whose five children I had raised in school, raised an alarm, entreating the Indians to regard the provisions as poisonous. This occurrence alienated me from my old friend Matthews and I was obliged to spend eight months at St. Mary's Mission, Pottawatomie County." *Kans. Hist. Coll.* 9: 22. Matthews denied to Ponziglione that he ever put a price on the head of Schoenmakers, as had been reported. On September 8 a body of about 200 Confederates under command of Col. Stanwais(?), a Cherokee half-breed, with two white men as captains, Livingstone and John Matthews, passed by the Osage Mission on their way to raid Humboldt. On their return they stopped for a while at the mission, where an attempt on the part of some of them to enter the sisters' convent was frustrated by the vigorous action of Matthews. "If Captain John Matthews ever was accountable for the threats which in a moment of party excitement he made against the life of Father Schoenmakers, the noble and really gallant part he acted on this occasion, to defend the Sisters' convent and prevent it from being dishonored, deserves him our warmest thanks and impels us to look on him as our great benefactor." Matthews was trapped in a house near Chetopa a few miles below the Osage Mission by a detachment of Union volunteers under Col. Blunt and shot, September, 1861.

Many were of opinion that the fathers should close the schools, dismiss the children to their homes and abandon the mission until such time as they could resume their labors in more peaceful circumstances. But Ponziglione, to whom the management of affairs had been committed during the absence of the superior, was resolved that the Jesuit missionaries among the Osage, having been innocent of any wrongdoing that would compromise them in the eyes either of the Indians or of the civil authorities, should stand their ground and accept whatever issue Providence might see fit to give to the crisis. "Having placed our whole trust in Him, Who has in His keeping the birds of the air, we commend ourselves and all that is ours to the Immaculate Virgin, to St. Joseph and to the Angels to whom the care of this Mission is especially committed, and go about our accustomed duties quite without fear."⁷¹ The confidence of the missionaries was not deceived. On August 24, 1861, a band of robbers, seven in number, demanded admittance into the mission on the ground that fire-arms were concealed within the precincts. Ponziglione's life was threatened, but the intruders after a stay of a few hours went their way without doing any harm. On September 8 and again on October 14 parties of secessionist soldiers and civilians, while on their way to attack the town of Humboldt, made a brief stay at the mission. Here the warlike visitors showed themselves not unfriendly and no damage of any kind was inflicted on the mission-property. In December of the same year, 1861, Father Van Goch, then resident among the Osage, found himself in a serious predicament from which he happily escaped. While on a ministerial visit in the neighborhood of Fort Scott, he was taken into custody by a batch of Union soldiers, much the worse for liquor, who were about to deal violently with him, when an officer to whom they had brought him intervened and sent him home in safety.⁷²

The anxiety caused by the absence of the strong hand of Father Schoenmakers was at length relieved by his return on February 20, 1862.

On my return to the Osage Mission in March [February] 1862 the Osages were divided. Frequent intercourse with their Southern relatives increased our dangers. The Southern Osages, accompanied by the Cherokees, invaded our Mission three times to sack and burn it, but being associated with old pupils of our school and parents whose children were still at the Mission, their counsel prevailed in sparing us, and thereby, their own interests.

But our dangers now enlarged on account of the avarice and bigotry of pretended friends of the Union, and if General Charles W. Blair had

⁷¹ *Litterae Annuae*, 1861. (A).

⁷² *Idem*. Cf. *supra*, Chap. XXII, § 3.

not been a true friend of the Mission, it could not have escaped destruction. Our friends, Colonels Thurston of Humboldt and Brown of Iola, checked the malice of some ill-designing leaders; but General Blair had the will and power to have Southern Kansas. The Osages, during these hard times, visited me day and night. Should my advice to them be withdrawn, I have reason to believe that Osage City, Humboldt, Iola, Le Roy, Burlington and Ottawa would have been laid in ashes by the united Osages and Cherokees.⁷³

⁷³ *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9: 22. A critical situation at the mission during the Civil War arose out of the failure of the government to remit the quarterly allowances for the support of the schools. Father Schoenmakers appealed to the commissioner of Indian affairs in June, 1861: "The four last quarters allowances for Quapaw pupils and nearly three quarters for Osages are now due. Already I begin to feel alarmed when from my accounts I feel myself entangled and to extricate myself from the dunns of my creditors will be a task both harassing and I fear difficult. . . . When commenced in 1847 it [the school] was deemed a mere experiment of Government and I rejoice to say that it succeeded admirably well as may easily be proved from the improvement in the manners and customs of the Indians since that time, for the parents are in no small degree influenced by the advantages they see accruing to their children after they have been a year or two with us. By our attention and care to these children both male and female to whom we devote all our labor and our whole lives we have succeeded in gaining the good will and affection of every Indian of both nations, so much so, that they can scarcely hear with patience of its downfall and, should it come to that point, I may hear remark that I fear its dismemberment will not take place without some exhibitions of revolt and great dissatisfaction. Indeed many of them are filled with heartfelt sorrow when we tell them that such may be the case; and what may we [not] expect from their savage natures when the realities come upon them [?]." Osage Agent Elder indorsed this appeal as follows: "From a personal examination of the cistematic arrangement and management of the school referred to in the foregoing I can [not] but hope that the earnest solicitations herein contained will receive the early attention of the department." (H). On December 26, 1861, Ponziglione, acting superintendent of the school in Schoenmakers's absence, wrote to Commissioner Dole: "The U. S. Government has so far been very liberal with the Osages and especially with this Manual Labor School and this makes me hope that it will continue to be so and by this means will more and more gain the affection of a nation wild indeed but so far loyal." (H). It required Father De Smet's personal intervention in February, 1862, with the authorities in Washington, including President Lincoln, to secure the payment of the arrears, amounting to some eighteen thousand dollars due to the Osage and Potawatomi mission-schools. De Smet represented that failure on the part of the government, admittedly hard up with the Civil War on its hands, to meet its engagements with the Indians in regard to their education funds would have a bad effect on them and might incline them to disloyalty. (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1507). Later the government again fell into arrears in the payment of school-funds. "It is unnecessary," Schoenmakers wrote to Dole, September 10, 1863, "to remind you of my present painful position caused by the non-payment of two quarters and a half for board, tuition and clothing of Osage children." (H). Later, October 12 of the same year, he wrote again to Dole: "You cannot but be fully convinced that these are trying times to one who have lived upward of 16 years among these Osages as Superior of this institution. I am now left without means to continue the schools." (H). Cf. *supra*, Chap. XXII, § 1.

The outbreak of the Civil War found the Osage Mission school at the topmost level of its prosperity. Agent Dorn witnessed in 1858 that the school "was surpassing the most sanguine expectations of its friends," and Father Schoenmakers, chafing under the pitifully inadequate quarters in which the school was compelled to carry on its work, wrote in 1859: "This amount [a thousand dollars] we have sacrificed with pleasure, encouraged by the prosperity of our schools; but it exceeds our means to erect the buildings now necessary for the education of all the Osage and Quapaw youths. Being, during the last ten years, at the head of this institution, I know that this is the very time of harvest, in which all the children can be gathered in and many saved; but who will build the barns?"⁷⁴ The school at this period was educating seventy-two Osage and nine Quapaw boys, and sixty Osage and thirteen Quapaw girls. Within the next decade the mission as a center of religious and cultural influence among the Osage had practically ceased to be. Before the end of 1867 the Osage had withdrawn from the neighborhood of the mission to their diminished reserve and before the end of 1870 had withdrawn altogether from Kansas to the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. With the departure of the Indians, the attendance of their children at the mission school gradually dwindled.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ *RCIA*, 1859, no. 48.

⁷⁵ In 1860 the school counted 136 boys and 100 girls, evidently the high-water mark of attendance. *RCIA*, 1868, p. 274. As late as 1868 the schools were still filled with Indian pupils and continued to be in high favor with the Osage and neighboring tribes. They were, however, being run at a financial loss. Schoenmakers wrote May 23, 1868, to Thomas Murphy, superintendent of Indian affairs, Atchison, Kansas: "The Miami, Peoria and Wea Indians are moving to their new reservation lately bought from the quapaw Indians; as they passed by the mission situated 40 miles northwest from their present homes, the widow of James Jeboe left two of her children in our male school upon the ground of a right they claim to send their children to any school they may reasonably select; others are in like manner desirous of having the benefits of education for their children at our male and female schools. Before I accept their children into school I place the request before you and respectfully suggest that the annual amount for board, tuition and clothing should not be less than \$125.00 per capita and that such quarterly accounts be regularly paid in the same manner as I have received payment during twenty years for the Osage and quapaw pupils, namely not through the hands of an Agent who may be, but directly from Washington through the treasury Bank at St. Louis, Mo. The usual allowance for Osage and quapaw pupils at \$73.75 per annum has not been sufficient to meet our expenses during the seven years past, which will explain my reason why I have never received into our schools only a comparative small number of Osage and quapaw pupils during all that time. Heretofore I have had the use of all the land necessary to raise cattle and grain for the support of our schools whereas I now will be taxed without mercy by the County and State. I trust you will take these remarks into consideration and secure for our schools a reasonable allowance." (H). Murphy recommended Schoenmakers's petition to the

In 1870, the majority of the pupils being white, the Osage Manual Labor School was transformed into St. Francis Institute for Boys under a charter issued by the state of Kansas, March 13, 1870, the girls' department being subsequently chartered September 19, 1870, under the name, St. Ann's Academy.

The work of the Sisters of Loretto among the Osage was noteworthy in its results. To their devoted and untiring zeal for the education of the young girls of the tribe must be attributed in large measure whatever success the Catholic Osage Mission met with in its career. While the girls alone were the direct object of their attentions, they exercised a distinct influence on the tribe at large. The Osage mothers in particular derived profit from the presence of the nuns on the reservation. Impressed by the care lavished on their daughters by these devoted women of the cloister, they were led, as Father Schoenmakers declared in his school report of 1853, "to revere them as their own teachers and advisers."

In 1859 Mother Bridget Hayden succeeded Mother Concordia Henning as head of the Loretto convent and school among the Osage. She was a woman of parts, and was singularly well equipped for the

Indian department, but without result. Later, September 9, 1868, Schoenmakers addressed Major Snow, the Osage agent: "I have just returned from an excursion among a few Indian tribes. After you and Agent Mitchell on the 24th of August had finished a brief Council in the Quapaw nation I started thence to the Shawnee Nation where I passed a pleasant night at the Agency of our friend, Major Mitchell. The following night I stopped with Speyer, Seneca chief. I also visited some Wyandottes. I must own that my heart grieved when I saw the children of these little tribes grow up to ignorance; I would have willingly consented to take some of these children into our Osage school, but being aware that I am sinking annually \$1000 on the education of Osage and Quapaw Indians I could only promise them that I would report their desire. Next I passed into the Cherokee Nation; here I found that education was duly valued, for I met with many intelligent and industrious gentlemen who look with anxiety for the time that schools shall be reestablished among them. For the present they would gladly send their children to the Osage schools, if means to educate them could be provided. On my return I saw the Peoria Indians; they are delighted with their new home of fertile soil and good wood lands. Having no schools they trust that the government will make immediate provisions which will enable them to send their children for the time being to the Osage manual labor school. While yet living at their old home in Miami county they sent their children to St. Mary's Mission in the Pottowatomic Nation. Two Miami children are being educated in our school, it being understood that this little tribe has a right by treaty to send children to any school which parents might select, upon reasonable terms." (H). Schoenmakers declared in this letter that while it had been possible for him to educate, board and clothe one hundred and thirty-six boys and one hundred girls in 1860 at the rate allowed [\$73.75], such a thing was out of the question now, prices having been doubled since the war. Moreover, he had to pay county and state taxes. A monthly allowance of ten dollars a month for each child was now required to meet expenses.

trying administrative and educational duties that fell to her lot during a long period of years. Mother Bridget has her place in early Kansas history as one of the most influential of the pioneering figures of the Neosho country. Under her the school for the Osage girls reached its high-water mark of prosperity, having a year or two before the Civil War a registration of one hundred and three. The girls were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and Christian doctrine. Agent Dorn, after a visit to the school in 1853, reported that the specimens shown him of the pupils' sewing, drawing and painting, would compare favorably with similar work in "high schools in our cities." Father Schoenmakers corroborated the agent's encomium. "They sew exceedingly well," he witnesses in his report of 1853. "They work in wool and all kinds of embroidery; they paint in water and oil colors—in brief, in all kinds of work of imitation they succeed as well as any young American lady." If much of the worth-while training which the young Osage women thus received at the hands of the sisters was later robbed of its effects, the results must be attributed to the demoralizing Indian environment to which after their school days they had necessarily to return.

By sheer force of circumstances and not in consequence of conscious design on the part of the Missouri Jesuits had the transformation of the Osage establishment from an Indian mission into a center of ministerial and educational influence among the whites been brought about. Already in March, 1864, Father Coosemans, the Missouri provincial, and his consultors discussing in St. Louis the future status of the Osage Mission expressed the opinion that the province was not called upon to look after the whites of Kansas though as a matter of fact the Jesuit missionaries resident among the Potawatomi and Osage had been doing so, and that, effectively. The same opinion was again expressed at a later meeting of the province board, January 31, 1866. "The whites in Kansas and the little towns they are founding do not belong to us. Our Fathers and Brothers were sent there for the Indians; with the Indians let them depart, especially since we may expect to receive from the Government a request to take spiritual care of them in their new homes." Schoenmakers was to inform the Catholic settlers who were gathering around the mission and wished to establish a town there that no assurance whatever could be given them that the fathers would continue to reside on the Neosho or keep up the school after the withdrawal of the Indians. Later, Father Coosemans showed himself disposed to accede to a petition that the Jesuits follow the Indians to their new reserve in the Indian Territory, provided that a central mission for both Osage and Potawatomi to supplant St. Mary's and St. Francis de Hieronymo's be established and that the school be sub-

sized at the rate of one hundred and fifty dollars per pupil. In the event this plan was not realized. The missionary work carried on by the Society of Jesus since 1836 among the Indian tribes settled within the limits of what is now Kansas came to an end with the definite withdrawal of the mass of the Potawatomi and Osage from the state into the Indian Territory at the opening of the seventies.

The end of the Civil War sealed the doom of the Osage Indians in Kansas. Hundreds of ex-Union soldiers were to be compensated for the services they had rendered to the northern cause while a host of other prospective white settlers looked with covetous eyes on the fertile acres that lay uncultivated in the hands of the thriftless Osage. Public opinion therefore ran strong in favor of dispossessing the Osage of their lands notwithstanding the solemn assurance said to have been given them on occasion of the treaty of 1825 that they should remain in unmolested possession of their new reserve "as long as the grass grew on the plains and water continued to flow down the Missouri." By February, 1865, a United States commission was in the Osage country to negotiate with the tribe for the surrender of its lands. At a council held in the open near the town of Le Roy in Coffey County, Father Schoenmakers, whose opinion they eagerly sought at this critical juncture, advised the assembled chiefs and braves, as the most prudent course under the circumstances, to cede at least a part of their surplus lands. To this the Indians agreed as they also did to the proposed limits of the ceded portion, which was to be the reserve of the New York Indians on the north, the western line of the Neutral Lands on the east, the line of the Indian Territory on the south and the Verdigris (approximately) on the west. This comprised a tract fifty by thirty miles, represented roughly on the map by the present Neosho and Labette Counties. The original Osage reserve measured some two hundred and fifty by fifty miles. In recognition of the labors which Schoenmakers and his associates had unselfishly carried on during a period of eighteen years for the welfare of the Osage and as some compensation for the pecuniary sacrifices they had been obliged to make in this connection, the Indian chiefs proposed to donate to the Jesuit superior in fee simple a section of land containing the mission improvements with the privilege of purchasing two adjoining sections at a dollar and a quarter an acre. These provisions in favor of the mission, embodied in article three of the treaty subsequently signed, appear to have met with stiff opposition in certain quarters. As there was at the moment no disposition on the part of the government to sanction them, the Indians refused to negotiate further in the matter and the council was dissolved. Later the article in question was acquiesced in and a treaty signed by the Osage chiefs September 29, 1865, at a council held at the Canville trading-post near

the site where the town of Shaw subsequently arose, ten miles to the west of the Osage Mission. The Indians agreed to move to their diminished reserve within six months from the ratification of the treaty. Father Schoenmakers was present at the council and did much to bring it to a successful issue.⁷⁶

The Osage had thus ceded almost a million acres, for which they were to receive three hundred thousand dollars, while they also made over to the government another tract about two hundred and thirty miles by twenty, or two million, nine hundred and forty-four acres, which was to be sold at not less than a dollar and a quarter an acre, the fund thereby created to be kept for them in trust. Article eight of the treaty assigned to Schoenmakers at the request of the Indians a section of land in the diminished reserve in which to establish a new school for the Osage.⁷⁷ This treaty of 1865 was ratified by the United

⁷⁶ *Litterae Annuae*, Osage Mission, 1865. (A). *RCIA*, 1866, p. 41. The Canville trading post, established by A. B. Canville in 1844, was on or adjoining the site of the old Osage village of Nantze-Waspe. A letter of Schoenmakers, Nov. 27, 1866, to Father De Smet is accompanied by sketch-map indicating the three sections acquired by the mission. Schoenmakers had expected all along to receive a share of the Osage land in case the Indians sold the reserve. "In case a treaty be made with the Osages I trust a title in fee-simple will be given to me or one of the three Fathers now residing at the Mission, nothing less can remunerate our sacrifices and make these schools permanently prosper." Schoenmakers to Greenwood, January 1, 1859. (H).

⁷⁷ Ponziglione, *The Osages etc.* The text of the treaty of 1865 is in Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 2: 878. Article 3. "The Osage Indians, being sensible of the great benefits they had received from the Catholic Mission, situate in that portion of their reservation herein granted and sold to the United States, do hereby stipulate that one section of said land, to be selected by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs so as to include the improvements of said mission, shall be granted in fee simple to John Schoenmaker[s], in trust, for the use and benefit of the society sustaining said mission, with the privilege to said Schoenmaker, on the payment of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, of selecting and purchasing two sections of land adjoining the section above granted; the said selection to be held in trust for said society and to be selected in legal subdivisions of survey and subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior." Article 8. "The Osage Indians being anxious that a school should be established in their new home, at their request it is agreed and provided that John Schoenmaker may select one section of land within their diminished reservation and upon the approval of such selection by the Secretary of the Interior, such section of land shall be set apart to the said Schoenmaker and his successors, upon condition that the same shall be used, improved and occupied for the support and education of the children of said Indians, during the occupancy of said reservation by said tribe: *Provided*, that said lands shall not be patented and upon the discontinuance of said school shall revert to said tribe and to the United States as other Indian lands." In the rejected Drum Creek or Sturgis Treaty of May 27, 1868, provision was also made for a Catholic School. "The Osage Indians being sensible of the great benefits they have received from the Catholic Mission and being desirous to have said mission go with them to their new

States Senate June 26, 1866, and proclaimed January 21, 1867. The limits of a new Osage reserve lying entirely within the Indian Territory now Oklahoma were later established in pursuance of an act of Congress and to this reserve the tribe accordingly withdrew after having sold to the United States all their remaining lands in Kansas.

The Osage at the time they ceded to the United States in 1865 the eastern section of their reservation, comprising the future Labette and Neosho Counties and later known as the Osage Ceded Lands, were an indigent people. Indeed it was, partly at least, with a view to obtaining some badly needed funds that they made this cession. At the present day their per capita wealth is said to be the largest of any people or nation in the world. In the circumstances that brought about the transformation Father Schoenmakers appears to have had an active part. On May 27, 1868, the Osage chiefs and headmen with the approval of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Nathaniel G. Taylor, agreed by a treaty signed on Drum Creek, some twenty-five miles southwest of the mission, to cede to William Sturgis, president of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad, their remaining lands in Kansas, eight million acres in extent. For this tract, known as the Osage Diminished Reserve, they were to be compensated at the rate of twenty cents an acre.

It was not long before the one-sided and inequitable nature of the terms in which the Indians had been led to acquiesce began to dawn upon their friends and sympathizers. A movement to prevent the ratification of the treaty by Congress was therefore set on foot and in this movement Father Schoenmakers took an active part. He made clear to the Indians the fraudulent character of the treaty they had unwittingly signed and urged them to petition Congress for its defeat. Further, he interested the white settlers in the rejection of the treaty, which would bring with it the fastening of a railroad land-monopoly on a vast section of southern Kansas. The reaction to Schoenmakers's

homes; it is freely stipulated that two sections of land to be selected by said Society at or near the agency shall be granted in fee simple to John Schoenmakers in trust for the use and benefit of the Society sustaining [?] such timber and firewood as may be necessary for the use of said Mission and school on condition that said Society shall establish and maintain a mission and school for the education and civilization of the Osages." The text of the Drum Creek Treaty with original signatures is in the Indian Office, Neosho File, 1868. "We should be much relieved of our fears should the treaty signed by the Osages 29 September 1865 be ratified and the white settlers kept from the Osage Reservation on the Verdigris River. To remove the whites from the 30 by 50 miles ceded to Government September 29 under your influence has become an impossibility, the[re] being no less than 2000 white settlers on it and there are still more on the Cherokee neutral land whilst the influx daily increases." Schoenmakers to Sells, April 11, 1866. (H).

intervention was gratifying. Chiefs White Hair, No-po-wa-lee, Chetopa, Beaver, Hard Rope, Shin-ka-wa-sa, Strike Axe and other Osage headmen signed a protest against the ratification of the treaty. Petitions and protests in great numbers were, besides, forwarded by the whites to Sidney Clark, congressman from the southeast Kansas district. Clark promptly took up the cause of the Indians and settlers and spoke with such effect in Congress against the treaty as to bring about its decisive repudiation. Congress thereupon passed a measure enjoining the Indians of whatsoever tribe from selling their lands by treaty or otherwise to anybody except to the Government. Furthermore, by an act approved July 15, 1870, it authorized the sale by the Osage of their diminished reserve to the United States at a dollar and a quarter an acre. This land was to be sold to actual settlers at the same price, the proceeds to be applied to the purchase of a new reservation for the Osage in the Indian Territory, while all money above the cost of such purchase, which was made at the rate of fifty cents an acre, was to be placed in the United States Treasury to the credit of the Osage Indians.

The road to wealth was now opened to the once poverty-stricken tribe. In 1928 the Osage fund accumulated in the United States Treasury totalled \$8,536,000, annuities from the interest on this sum being annually distributed among the members of the tribe regardless of age. Further, the million and more acres owned by the Indians in Oklahoma net them a handsome yearly income through the medium of farm, cattle and oil leases, the last named especially proving in recent years an unexpected source of wealth. "Thus it will be seen that through the efforts of this one man, [Schoenmakers]" comments a pioneer lawyer at Osage Mission, T. F. Rager, "thousands of people obtained cheap homes and the fund for the Osages, instead of being one and a half million dollars, as it would have been had the Sturgis treaty been ratified, was made some ten million dollars so that the Indian and white man were both blest in the result."⁷⁸

⁷⁸ It would be unhistorical, however, to credit this outcome to Father Schoenmakers alone. The account in the text of his activities in connection with the killing of the Drum Creek Treaty follows Graves, *Life and Letters of Father John Schoenmakers, S.J.*, 117-120. Ponziglione's version of the episode (*The Osages*, Chap. XXXIX), differs in important details from Graves's. Cf. also Samuel J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago, 1911), pp. 299-307; Sidney Clarke, *Remonstrance against the Treaty with the Great and Little Osage Indians—Gross Injustice Done the Settler—The School Fund Despoiled and Land Monopoly Created* (Washington, 1868). The *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 2nd Sess., especially p. 3256 *et seq.* (June 18, 1868), has the details of the debate provoked by the treaty. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Nathaniel G. Taylor, who headed the commission that negotiated the Drum Creek Treaty, protested that no unfair

White settlers occupied the Osage lands even before the ratification of the treaty of 1865 and while the original proprietors were still in actual legitimate possession. Numbers of them, too, did not scruple to squat within the limits of the diminished reserve before the laws afforded them the slightest ground for such procedure. The protests means had been used to induce the Indians to sign and demanded a congressional investigation.

In 1873 the Osage from their new reserve in the Indian Territory petitioned President Grant that Father Schoenmakers be allowed to resume his educational work in their behalf. As previous appeals had gone unanswered, this particular petition was carried by a special delegation to Washington. The delegation returned with charges against the Indian Department of "bad faith and rank bigotry." It was only, in 1884 that a Catholic priest was allowed to settle among the Osage. Cf. Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 115, citing Dr. Urban de Hasque, *Early Catholic History of Oklahoma*. The petition of 1873, cited by Graves from de Hasque, follows:

"In the name of our people we, therefore, beg leave to renew our said petition and to ask that our former Catholic missionary, Father Schoenmakers and those connected with him in his missionary and educational labor previous to the late war, be permitted to locate again amongst us. We think this request is reasonable and just.

"Catholic missionaries have been among our people for several generations. Our people are familiar with their religion. The great majority of them are of the Catholic faith and believe it is right. Our children have grown up in this faith. Many of our people have been educated by the Catholic missionaries and our people are indebted to them for all the blessings of Christianity that they enjoy and they have for them a grateful remembrance.

"Since the missionaries have been taken away from us we have done but little good and have made poor advancement in education and civilization. Our whole nation has grieved ever since these missionaries have been taken away from us and we have prayed continuously God might move upon the heart of our Great Father, the president, and cause him to return these missionaries to us. We trust that he will do so because in 1865, when we signed the treaty of that date, the commissioners who made it promised if we would sign it we would have our missionaries; and we have sought every opportunity to remind our Great Father of his promise and we hope that he will have it carried out in good faith. Your government is our protector. It asks us to become civilized and we are endeavoring to take your advice. We are adopting your habits and customs as fast as we can. Your government asked us to embrace your religion and we have done so; and in doing so, we have chosen the Catholic religion. In doing this, we have only followed your example and exercised those privileges that a good God has given us and that no earthly power has any right to take away.

"Religion among the whites is a matter of conscience and voluntary choice; it is [so] among our neighboring tribes, and nations of the Indian Territory; it is so throughout all Christendom and why should it not be so among the Osages?

"Give us, we beseech you, our own choice in this matter. The same God that made the white man also made the red one, and we pray you to remember that He has made us all alike with the same natural aspirations and desires for happiness in this world as well as in the world to come."

For the status of the Osage in Oklahoma, cf. G. E. E. Lindquist, *The Red Man in the United States* (New York, 1923), 173 *et seq.*

of the Osage Indian agents were of no avail, nothing short of a military force, which the agents could not command, being equal to the task of checking the white settlers in their continued encroachments on the rights of the Indians.⁷⁹ Moreover, crude anti-Catholic prejudices, which did not hesitate at times to translate themselves into action, were as liable as not to be found among these adventurous pioneers on Kansas soil; and of this circumstance Schoenmakers was to have personal experience in the attempt made in 1867 to wrest from him the three sections of land he had acquired under the Osage treaty. The incident is related by him in the letter of protest which he addressed on the occasion to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Louis Boggy:

As the land around the Mission began to be settled, I selected, before a dispute could arise, the two sections adjoining the one in fee simple. It was only in February, 1866, that a certain John Valleley jumped the S. W. quarter of section 24, township 29, range 20. I informed him several repeated times before witnesses that I had claimed said quarter; he built thereon notwithstanding my remonstrance and some three or four months ago our Agent G. A. Snow authorized me by letter to order said John Valleley from the land claimed either by the Mission or, should the case be, by an Osage half-breed. Notwithstanding [this] he kept on improving.

⁷⁹ Typical instances are recorded by the Osage Indian agent, G. A. Shaw. "It has not been two years since these Indians relinquished near 2,000,000 acres of their lands to the white settlers. Still they are not satisfied. Immigration rolls on, like the tornado which meets nothing to check it. They have overrun all the trust lands and are now settling on the diminished reservation. I visited 40 or 50 of these intruders about two weeks ago. I notified them to leave. They were not the least surprised and all agreed that they would go when I got sufficient force to drive them off. They all seem to be well disposed men. They say that laws always have been made to protect the squatter, and they think they will not be left out in the cold when the Governor of the State is 'determined to protect them at all hazards.'" *RCIA*, 1867, p. 325. "When the late treaty was made there were about 65 families squatted on these lands, with very little improvements. When they came there they knew they were trespassers, and had no right whatever to settle where they did; but they were men who wished to 'fight for their rights.' They became very much displeased that the government did not give them each at least a quarter section of this best land for the *great hardships* they had endured among those savages and as a reward for their services in driving the Indians from their homes and the graves of their fathers and occupying their best lands which they [the settlers] had no shadow of title to." *RCIA*, 1868, p. 271. In general, the administration of Indian affairs was anything but satisfactory. "Not only did the border settlers encroach on the Indians, but the government also neglected to observe the treaties and the agents robbed the Indians of their annuity money and goods. Appointments in the Indian field service were made for political reasons and with little regard to fitness. Undoubtedly there were some men who labored earnestly for the welfare of the Indian, but the service as a whole was regarded as inefficient and corrupt." Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs: its history, activity and organization* (Baltimore, 1927), p. 47.

To avoid lawsuit, I endured his trespass patiently. However, in November last he set up his full pretended claim, hired hands to cut down the best timber, which obliged me to tell the laboring-men that they were cutting on the Mission-claim, who desisted from further damage. I was not aware that a plot had been made up between Valleley himself and the Justice of Peace and as [a] party to injure the Mission. If I had known it, I would still have foreborne it patiently. In January, 1867, I was cited to appear before the Justice of the Peace charged with \$100 damages and cost of the suit. On the day appointed, 10th of January, [I appeared] at one o'clock, with my two friends, Col. Oliver Thurston, of Humboldt, and Gov. George A. Crawford, of Fort Scott.⁸⁰ The court brought against me that the treaty was changed and amended and that I had no right to said land and that John Valleley held the quarter on [a] pre-emption title. My two friends perceiving that the court aimed to bring my title into dispute and so give occasion to ill-disposed persons of jumping the Mission claim, appealed to a higher court by virtue of law ch. 121, Sec. 8 and 9 [?]: "If in any action commenced before a justice it appears to the satisfaction of the justice that the title or boundary of land is in dispute in such action, it shall be dismissed without prejudice to a future action." I myself and my friend, George A. Crawford, have tried our best with John Valleley to come to an amicable settlement; but being engaged in the party, he demanded the trial. We have used all our energy during the last 4 years to keep up our male and female Osage manual labor school. We hoped that the last Osage treaty would partly remunerate us for our many losses and instead thereof we are unwillingly dragged into a very costly law-suit. Our only hope rests in the justice of the Indian Department. An early decision [as] to our title is our only remedy to meet said party. If nothing better can be done, please send me the third article of the amended treaty relative to the Mission title. Please also to inform Rev. P. J. De Smet of St. Louis University what steps we ought to take to avoid future embarrassment. I hope you will excuse my long letter, because I feel very much perplexed how to proceed. P.S. Since I have finished this letter another claim is jumped on the land set aside for mission by treaty stipulation; ill-minded people rely on the feeling of our justice and his friends.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Col. Orlin Thurston, a non-Catholic, offered his house to Father Ponziglione for the first Catholic service in Humboldt and was chairman of the committee that gathered funds for the erection of the first Catholic church in the town.

⁸¹ (H). A letter of Valleley's (March 4, 1867) in support of his claim is also in the Indian Office files. Five days after the trial the Osage half-breeds signed a memorial in favor of the mission-claim. "Catholic Mission, 15 January, 1867. We Osage half-breeds desirous to protect our missionaries against a plot of white settlers who aim to annul the third article of our late treaty signed by us September 29, 1865, do consider said article to be a substantial part of said treaty, we are fully convinced that our Osage chiefs and headmen now on the buffalo hunt, will make the same protestation for the protection of Rev. John Schoenmakers, trustee for said Mission. Alexander Beyett [Beit], Dot Barnely, Jos. Mongeon, Augustus Captain, John Beunerd, Cyprian Teyrien, Louis P. Revard, W. H. Tinker, Gesso

The outcome of the trial was the vindication of Father Schoenmakers. When it became evident that the affair was simply an attempt of unscrupulous men to ruin the mission, public opinion ran strong in favor of the Jesuit. As the prosecution appealed from the decision to a higher court which was not to sit until after three months, the mission authorities determined to employ the interval in securing a patent to their property from Washington. The above cited letter of Father Schoenmakers to Commissioner Bogy was forwarded by Mr. Crawford to Senator Ross in Washington with a request that every effort be made to complete the title of the mission to the property in dispute. This was eventually done, the Jesuit author of the *Annual Letters* recording with grateful appreciation the circumstance that the communication from Washington bearing the good news was received at the mission on March 19, festival of St. Joseph, to whom the fathers had all along devoutly commended the happy issue of the litigation. Finally, in October, 1867, the mission received from Washington a government patent signed by President Andrew Johnson, which confirmed beyond controversy its title to the three sections of land. John Valleley, who had started all the trouble by jumping the mission-claim, acquiesced in this final settlement. He tore down and carried off the materials of the house he had unlawfully put up beyond his legal building line, the ever patient Schoenmakers, though in no manner obliged to do so, compensating him for the improvements he had made.⁸²

The issue over the mission-claim was now definitely closed, but an aftermath of resentment in certain quarters over the outcome had still to be reckoned with. As many Catholics were settling around the mission, Father Schoenmakers conceived the idea of founding a town. For this purpose he donated to a stock-company the southwest quarter of section thirteen immediately adjoining on the west the quarter section occupied by the mission improvements. The town was laid out in 1867 on a site about a half-mile to the northwest of the mission buildings and was called Osage Mission. It began well and a mill was soon set up by Samuel Williams and Benjamin McDonald. "Mission town being started and prosperous," said Father Schoenmakers in a public address on the occasion of the opening of the mill, "I withdrew from partnership for conscience sake, fearing that questions might

Chouteau." Archives of the Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas. John Valleley died in the summer of 1874 near Peru, Howard County, to which place he had moved from the mission. On the approach of death he sent for Father Ponziglione. "The poor man publicly apologized for the scandal given in prosecuting our Superior without any reason, received the last sacraments with great devotion and two days after died most piously." *Western Missions Journal*, 5: 8. (A).

⁸² *Litterae Annuae*, 1867; Ponziglione, *The Osages etc.* (A).

arise not in conformity with God's law and which might blast all my past labors." But the rise and progress of the new town did not pass unnoticed by the bigoted element that had been put to discomfiture in the suit over the mission-claim. As an offset, another town called Erie was started some four or five miles northwest of the mission. Rivalry between the two settlements became acute, especially when both entered the field as contestants for the honor of being the seat of the recently organized Neosho County, an honor which went to Erie. Thus did the Osage Mission develop in the end into a settlement of whites, which in later years was to take the name St. Paul. Meant in the intention of its founders to promote the welfare of the Osage Indians, the mission was destined to render to the white settlers of southern Kansas services more substantial perhaps than those it rendered to the Indians, as shall presently be seen.⁸³

As ministerial service for the whites was to be particularly identified with the personality of Father Paul Ponziglione, so the record of Jesuit endeavor on behalf of the Osage gathers in the main around the striking figure of Father John Schoenmakers, who guided the destinies of the mission for the entire period of its career. "He was," affirms W. W. Graves, who had personal acquaintance with him, "a man of medium

⁸³ *Litterae Annuae*, 1867. (A). "In September, 1865, whilst the Osages sold and transferred part of their land, they have made thousands of homes for white families. As the whites settled first around our Mission, the idea struck me [Schoenmakers] of a mission town. Gen. Blair was to be remunerated if possible and Governor Crawford wrote me a letter congenial to my plan. The town took a start while Sam Williams and Ben McDonald brought us a mill. . . . I have been much blamed by our new citizens of Osage Mission town because I have given the ruling influence to the leading members of Ft. Scott; but may I not trust that they will pardon me if they should know what great gratitude is due Gen. Blair. I have also been blamed for refusing other parties [permission] to erect a mill on Flat Rock, but any personal acquaintance with the present mill company demanded a preference. I knew their capital and energy. They have been faithful to their promises and built the best mill in Kansas. Our friends in Fort Scott have labored hard for our railroad interests and today, whilst we celebrate the event, our city is being surveyed for the opening of a promised railroad. The briars and shrubs are cleared and the field is ready for abundant harvests. A library, hall and female academy built partly of cut stone adorn our new city. Ten churches have been erected in this part of Kansas within one year and others are under construction, whilst settlers from every state in the Union make homes around them." Cf. Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 121. The town company consisted of Gen. C. W. Blair, George A. Crawford, Benjamin McDonald, John Naudier, the Mill Company and Father Schoenmakers. Osage Mission changed its name in the early nineties to St. Paul. "Said to contain more than 1500 inhabitants, with all the elements of progress common to Kansas towns of this size." C. C. Hutchinson, *Resources of Kansas* (Kansas City, 1871), p. 232. Its present population is considerably below this figure, the growth of the neighboring Parsons having reacted unfavorably on St. Paul.

height and build and rather quiet in his ways. He was a man of remarkable piety and goodness of heart and far above the ordinary in intelligence." Over the simple and confiding Osage, whom he strove to lift out of the depths of barbarism to something like ordered and civilized life, his ascendancy seemed complete. They appealed to him as arbiter in their disputes and his word was law. No one understood better the Osage mentality or could advise more wisely how to deal with these wayward children of the soil. As a result special agents and others often took counsel with him on Indian affairs. Major General W. B. Hazen and Colonel Richard Hinton, "fighter, writer, and orator," sought information and advice at the mission, where also Colonel Sheridan, brother to General Phil Sheridan, when discharging a special mission for the government shortly after the Civil War, spent an entire week with Schoenmakers. Colonel Blunt, whose party had tracked and killed the Confederate leader John Matthews, frequently conferred with the Jesuit during the dark days of the Civil War. Finally, General Charles Ewing and C. W. Blair, sent in 1875 by President Grant to visit the various Indian tribes and investigate complaints, took Father Schoenmakers along with them to the Osage lands in the Indian Territory, where his influence was successfully exercised in quieting the discontent occasioned by the indiscretions of the Indian agent, Isaac T. Gibson.⁸⁴

Father Schoenmakers died at Osage Mission, the scene of thirty-six years of uninterrupted and devoted labor, July 28, 1883. Father Ponziglione, his faithful colleague for almost this entire period, recorded the particulars of his death and burial:

"The good father seeing the whole community kneeling around his bed rallied his dying spirit and with clear, distinct words begged pardon for all the scandals he might by chance have given. After this he received the holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction with most edifying devotion, himself

⁸⁴ Graves, *Life and Letters of Father John Schoenmakers, S.J.*, p. 106, and *passim*. Rev. W. E. Youngman, an English clergyman, who visited the Osage Mission in the early seventies, later making the acquaintance of Father De Smet in St. Louis, wrote up his impressions in *Gleanings from Western Prairies* (Cambridge, 1882), p. 33. "...irregular constructions of no architectural pretensions yet with their angularities softened by the light and forming no unpleasant picture. There was the long low church with its dark walnut-wood fittings and three blocks of houses. In the middle block in a long, low room sat the aged Superior of the Mission [Father Schoenmakers]. His features were irregular yet that life of strange self-denial lent to him that calm expression one sees on faces when self has been utterly conquered. He was dressed in an ordinary black suit and was smoking his pipe. In this tiny room the furniture consisted of a bed, two chairs, a rough stove, a writing table, a book case and some strange construction that did duty as a ward-robe."

answering to the prayers. This happened on the 24th of July. For four days he did not seem to be any worse—but on the 28th every one saw that his last day had come. At 4 p.m. the whole community gathered again around his bed to recite the prayers for the dying. The Father being steadily conscious answered also to these prayers and, having thanked us all for having come to pray for him at such a solemn moment, requested us to remember him after he would be dead. He spoke no more and while we were praying at his bedside, his soul took its flight to heaven. He expired on the 28th of July [1883] at 4:30 p.m. being 76 years old. Of these he had passed 49 in our Society.

As the Father died on Saturday, a day on which our time generally is taken up with people from the neighborhood, before night the news of his death was carried all over the country by the people returning to their homes. Hence no wonder if on the next morning large crowds of people came from every direction anxious to see once more the countenance of their dear Father, who, dressed in his sacerdotal vestments, was lying in a rich casket before the main altar with such a calm and sweet appearance as to resemble a sleeping and not a dead man.

The early Masses as well as the High Mass were well attended by a large congregation. At noon all went home, but they all soon returned and at 2 p.m. they began to fill up our church. In an hour fully 700 people were packed in. Meanwhile no less than 4 times as many were surrounding the church waiting for the funeral to come out. At 4:30 p.m. the last absolution was sung and, an eulogy having been delivered on the many virtues and holy death of the good Father, the casket was closed.

Here six most respectable members of our congregation, representing its different nationalities, advanced to act as pallbearers. They raised the casket upon their shoulders, as is customary in old Catholic countries, and following the clergy marched out to the cemetery. Immediately after the casket followed the different sodalities of our Church and after these came a crowd of people estimated [at] over 3500. The funeral procession covered $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile in length and was heralded by two brass bands, who volunteered to give honor with a solemn dirge to one whom they considered as the Father of their country.

So passed, as we feel most confident, to a better life a most zealous missionary who never looked for personal glory or a big name. He was most humble, pious and devout and as he delighted in dealing with the simple and poor rather than with the high standing and rich, so God gave him the love and esteem of both. His name shall be for us a household name for ever.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Ponziglione, *Western Missions Journal*, 7:45. Hereinafter cited as *Journal*. By joint contributions from the citizens of St. Paul and the Osage Indians (then living in the Indian Territory) a church bell was cast in St. Louis in memory of Father Schoenmakers. It was made of the best bell material, weighed about twenty-one hundred pounds, was tuned to C sharp (according to Father Ponziglione) and was set in place on the tower of the new church of St. Francis de Hieronymo, St. Paul, Kansas, December 8, 1883, some twenty-five hundred persons being

§ 8. MISSIONARY EXCURSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS

Though circumstances were to prevent the reestablishment of the Jesuit mission among the Osage after the tribe had withdrawn, first to its diminished reserve in Montgomery County, Kansas, and later to the Indian Territory, the missionaries, generally Ponziglione, but on occasion Schoenmakers, Setters, Colleton, or some other of the group, continued to make periodical visits to their former charges. In 1869 Father Schoenmakers was planning a church for the half-breeds and full-blood Osage Indians of the diminished reserve. The church was to be built at Elk City in Montgomery County. "It will be convenient, too, for the white Catholics, who begin to form very large settlements all along the Verdigris."⁸⁶ Ponziglione describes briefly an excursion of his to the Verdigris district in October, 1869: "I spent on this river one week going around through the different settlements of Half-breeds as well as of White people established in Montgomery County [Kansas], giving them an opportunity of hearing Mass and coming to the sacraments, and here baptising children, there preparing them for death. I also visited a small party of Osage Indians who did not go on the usual buffalo hunt. I tried to give them good advice, but I found them as indifferent as ever in matters of religion."⁸⁷ By the end of 1870 the Osage, both half-breeds and full-bloods, had left Kansas for their new reserve in the Indian Territory. Here Father Ponziglione often visited them.

On the 11th of October [1872] I started on another long missionary excursion southwest in the Indian Territory to visit the Osages. This excursion has been a rather rough one though the Osages treated me as kindly as ever. Their present Reserve covers about 50 square miles. It lies south of this State of Kansas and west of the 96 [th] meridian. The country is most beautiful, well timbered and abundantly irrigated and excellent for farming, a quality, however, for which the Osages care but little, for the

present at the blessing. It bore a Latin inscription commemorating Schoenmakers's founding of the Osage Mission. In the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, is a crayon sketch of Father Schoenmakers showing him in standing posture alongside a tombstone, on which are recorded the dates of his birth and death.

⁸⁶ *Letters and Notices* (Jesuit domestic periodical, Rochampton, England), 7: 18. "From the time the Osages had left this Mission we have now and then visited the Osages and their neighboring tribes in the Indian Territory not ex officio but ex caritate [out of charity], the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Little Rock allowing us all the necessary faculties in the Indian Territory, which is under his jurisdiction. By so doing we keep alive among the Osages the faith which they have received." *Journal*, 4: 35.

⁸⁷ *Journal*, 2: 15.

majority of the nation depend on Buffalo hunting for their support. I visited the several settlements the Osages have formed on the following streams: Big Cany, Bird Creek, Homeny Creek and Delaware Creek, offering them the opportunity of attending Mass and approaching the holy Sacraments; they answered tolerably well to my invitations, yet I could not get all to attend to their duty. I convalidated [*sic*] 2 marriages, baptized several children and blessed 2 graves. These poor Indians are very anxious to see our Mission reestablished amongst them; they repeatedly requested their Agent to satisfy them on this subject, but the Agent seems not to understand what they say about it. He has established schools for their children, but they refused to send their children to any such schools.⁸⁸

The Osage, the half-breeds in particular, were eager for the Jesuits to resume the educational work begun on their behalf in Kansas. More than once they petitioned Washington for a Catholic school but without result, being answered by the Indian Office that they must be content with the agency school at Deepford on Bird Creek. The superintendent of this school, a Quaker, was distinctly out of sympathy with the stand taken by the Catholic Osage with the result that Father Ponziglione on his visits to the agency had difficulty at times in getting in touch with the school-children to give them religious instruction and hear their confessions. The attitude of the Osage agent, Major Isaac Gibson, also a Quaker, was likewise one of unfriendliness to the Catholic

⁸⁸ *Idem*, 4: 8. Father Ponziglione's *Status Animarum* [church census] of the *Western Missions*, 1871, lists the names of the Osage Catholic families at that date. These were apparently all or nearly all mixed-bloods. The number of children is indicated in parenthesis. (I). "On the Verdigris Indian settlement," Montgomery County: Alexander Biette and wife (1); Gesse (Gesseau) Chouteau and wife (4); Peter Chouteau, widower (2); Stephen Belier (?), single. (II). Four settlements in the Indian Territory are named: (a) First Settlement. "Cany Fort 8 miles below Kansas Line." Louis Pappin and wife (3) *et al.* (b) Second Settlement. "On Cany 10 miles below Louis Pappin." Thomas Monjeon and wife (3) *et al.* (c) Third Settlement. "On Cany 18 miles below Louis Pappin." Louis Chouteau and wife (2) *et al.* (d) Fourth Settlement. "On the Cherokee line 36 miles below Louis Pappin." August Captain and wife (4) *et al.* The list is evidently incomplete. Total census for the five settlements, 157, of which number 77 were children. In November, 1868, Ponziglione undertook a difficult journey from the mission ninety miles south to a trading-post on the Cany in the Indian Territory where Louis Mongrain, a half-breed and former Osage Mission interpreter, lay critically ill. "At first we thought it was useless to attend this call for the letter had been five days on the road and before we could reach the place the man would in all probability be dead. Still this did not satisfy my heart; I could find no rest thinking of the state of one who had so often helped me to prepare others for death. Hence, though the way was very long and uncertain (I had never been in that place) I decided that I ought to try my best to find him out." Mongrain was living when Ponziglione reached him and after receiving the ministrations of the Church recovered from his illness. *Letters and Notices*, 6: 92 *et seq.* (1869).

Osage and he was not disposed to respect their wishes in the matter of religion. Finally, as a concession to the latter the Indian Office permitted them to send some of their children to the old mission school on the Neosho, which, since the withdrawal of the Osage from its neighborhood had been frequented practically by white children only. On October 29, 1876, forty-three Osage boys and eleven half-breed girls arrived at the school, the girls being taken in charge by the Sisters of Loretto. On the following January 10 twenty-nine more children were received, which made a total of eighty-three Osage children registered at the mission school during the session 1875-1876. A further large contingent was about to be received when word came unexpectedly from the Indian Office that all the Osage children had to be dismissed to their homes, it being alleged in explanation that the Osage funds were exhausted and no means were at hand for keeping the children at school. The Osage pupils were accordingly sent back to their parents at Easter. "This was a fatal blow to us and the sadness which spread among the children when they heard the news evidently proved that they were all pleased and satisfied to be with us."⁸⁹

The Osage half-breeds, some sixty families, though sometimes falling under Father Ponziglione's censure for their nonchalant attitude towards church obligations, appear on the whole in a favorable light in his relations. He often visited them in their new settlements in the Indian Territory a short distance west of the eastern boundary of the Osage Reserve. "I am happy to be allowed to say," he is speaking of a visit made in the spring of 1880, "that quite a number of them did answer to my call and come to the sacraments. . . . Everywhere I found marriages to be blessed, children to baptise, people willing to come to their duties." Coming among them in October, 1879, he found them eager to have a school and church of their own on the new reserve, to which project the Osage agent was apparently making opposition. "And this is the biggest trouble the Osages have, of not being able to give to their children the education they would like. And this most particularly affects the half-breeds, who are naturally quite intelligent and of a very good nature rather inclined to be religious, most all of them having been raised at this our institution. They know the merits and advantages of a good Catholic education and would wish to have

⁸⁹ WL, 5:226. Major Isaac T. Gibson, the Osage agent, was removed from office after a U. S. commission had investigated his management of the agency. In his report of November, 1875, he is severely critical of the Catholic visiting missionary, evidently Father Ponziglione. "If the priest would let the Catholic half-breeds alone they would much prefer sending [their children] to a school where most of the time was not occupied in the study of religious ceremonies [!]." RCIA, 1875, p. 279.

their children raised in the same faith in which they were.”⁹⁰ It was only in 1882 that Catholic schools were at length opened among the Osage, the Benedictines taking this important work in hand.

In the winter of 1875-1876 the Reverend Isidore Robot, of the Order of St. Benedict, resident pastor at Atoka, Indian Territory, visited the Osage Mission to inform the Jesuits of his having been appointed by the Congregation of the Propaganda to take care of all the native red men in the Indian Territory in the capacity of protonotary-apostolic, though this title had not yet been officially conferred upon him. He wished to obtain all the information he could about the Indians, especially the Osage, and requested Ponziglione to introduce him to his new charges “that they might not suspect him as an imposter.” “We gave him all the information we could and as it was impossible for me at that time to go to visit the Osages on account of sickness I promised that as soon as I would recover I would, if he would so allow me, go to visit the Osages and inform them about the mission he had received. To this Father Isidore replied that not only would he not object to my visiting the Osage but he would feel happy if I would do so.” (*Journal*, 5:36). Father Isidore having visited the Osage Mission again in June, 1876, Father Ponziglione agreed to meet him July 23 at the Osage agency in the Indian Territory and on that occasion “introduce him formally to the Osages.”⁹¹ Whether or not the two met at the stipulated time is not on record, but Ponziglione wrote in December, 1876:

⁹⁰ *Journal*, 6:46; 6:44.

⁹¹ On June 14, 1876, Ponziglione wrote to his provincial, Thomas O'Neil, advising him of the proposed meeting with Dom Robot and requesting that he be informed as to whether he was to continue to visit the Indians from time to time in the contingency that the new ecclesiastical superior of the Indian Territory should petition him to do so. “Our Society,” he continues, “has always been proud of them [the Indian Missions]; even the most bigoted Protestant writers can [not] but praise the heroic deeds of our forefathers in civilizing and Christianizing these poor people and if today the North American Indians do so love and cherish the R. C. [Roman Catholic] Church, if they show so great a preference for us, it is because of the hereditary traditions they have about the good our forefathers have done to them, for whose eternal salvation [they] not only left their fatherland, riches and honors, but gave up their very life in the midst of the most cruel torments. I know that several Fathers of this Province have never been in favor of our missions and have considered our work as entirely useless. I do not wonder if they thought so; not being acquainted with what a missionary life among the Indians is, they have not a right idea of it. But, Very Rev. Father, the present condition of the Osages shows to evidence that these good Fathers have been mistaken in their judgment, and that our labors, though under-valued, have, thanks be to God, proved to be of great benefit to the Osages as well as to those other tribes with whom we occasionally have intercourse.”

Visiting [September, 1876] the settlements on the Big Cana, I heard that this vast Indian Territory south of Kansas had been formed into a Prefecture Apostolic and I was officially assured that the Very Reverend Dom Isidore Robot, with whom we are well acquainted, has been appointed by the Congregation of Propaganda as Prefect Apostolic over the Indian Territory; nay more, he had already visited the Osage settlement on Bird-creek. It was natural for me to conclude that my duties with the Osages were now over, so bidding them my farewell I left the Indian Territory. By this arrangement the Province of Missouri loses the Mission she has had among these Indians since June, 1824 [?] and this did not happen through any hostility of the Indians themselves nor through any encroachments of the United States government, or Protestant bigotry but merely because she thought proper to let these missions go. (*Journal*, 5:41).

The new prefect-apostolic, it would appear, undertook at first to look after the Indians himself, but later, finding the task too heavy a one, requested the Jesuits to continue their visits to the tribes under his jurisdiction. This they did, Ponziglione recording missionary excursions of his to the Indian Territory as late as 1881. While the Osage were the chief beneficiaries of the missionary zeal of Schoenmakers and his associates, other tribes were brought on occasion within range of their ministry. It will be of interest to record some of the contacts thus made with various tribes of the West and Southwest by Ponziglione, who of all the members of the mission-staff was enabled to continue his field-work the longest and carry it the farthest. In an excursion of eighteen days made in November-December, 1869, he met various groups of Indians settled north of the mission:

Both myself and my favorite horse stood the long travel without suffering. In this my mission I visited the Catholic Ottaways, Chippewas, Sacs and Foxes and the Kaws. . . . I met with some very good Catholics both among the Indians and white people. The Chippewas as well as the Sacs and the Foxes and the Kaws most earnestly requested me to use all my energy for getting them a Catholic mission for they can no longer keep on with the Protestant Ministers to whom the education of their youth has been entrusted against their will. They told me that they frequently have petitioned the Government Agents to get Catholic Missioners but to no purpose.⁹²

At Wichita June 4, 1871, Father Ponziglione baptized an aged Arapaho woman, to whom he gave the name of Mary Cecilia. Through her as interpreter he was to come into touch with the Arapaho and Cheyenne:

⁹² Ponziglione to Coosemans, December 17, 1867. (A).

Being in the town [Wichita] I heard that this woman's son-in-law, a good friend of mine, was going to leave the next day for the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency on the North Fork to bring back Mary Cecilia and some other [of] her connections, who had been here for sometime on a visit. I thought this was an excellent opportunity I had for going to visit both the Cheyenne and Arapahoe nations, who think [a] good deal of the Black-robe. Moreover, I knew positively that there were in that place several children of Catholic parents who had not yet been baptized and so I conclude[d] to avail myself of the opportunity and go. Having therefore taken with me such provisions as we would need on the road, we started on the 5th and having crossed the Arkansas river just at this town we went on almost always in a southwest course.

We were forming a party of nine persons and were travelling in three light conveyances. We were 6 days in crossing the plains down to the Agency on North Fork and travelled every day an average of 30 miles. These plains are not yet settled. Only at some 40 miles distance one meets what people here call [a] rancho, places where one must try not to stop if he can help it, for the most wicked set of people are there to be found. We camped out every night both goin[g] and coming back and, thank God, had no trouble of any kind. The road through those plains is a very tedious one. Now and then you come to some quite large rivers, such as the Cimarrone [Cimarron], North Fork, Canadian and Washita; we were lucky in finding these rivers rather low, on account of the dry summer we have had, and so we could ford them without difficulty. The country, however, as a general thing, is beautiful, especially south of the Canadian.

The monotony of our long travel was daily interrupted by the large droves of Texan cattle which we met at the rate of some 30,000 per day coming up to the market of North Kansas. Another great distraction which we had were the prairie-dogs through whose town we travelled for some days. These insignificant little animals, they are not larger than a squirrel, are the most playful thing you can see. We had travelled three days under the most scorching sun when about noon of the fourth we came on a rather high ground covered all over with thousands of Texas cattle. They were grazing on a nice piece of prairie, at the end of which you could see a large body of water. We felt happy at the sight and hastened to reach the place to quench our thirst and refresh our horses, but oh, illusion! The nearer we came to the lake, the farther it seemed to go from us. It was but a mirage; when we reached the coveted soil, [we] found nothing but a dry, sandy place.

In the afternoon of the 10[th] of June we reached the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency on the North Fork. Not long after my arrival Mary Cecilia, now my interpreter, introduced me to the chief of her Nation, telling them that I was the Black-robe. This was enough. Both Cheyenne and Arapahoes came in turn to shake hands with me, and having sat down in a large circle they smoked the calumet in my honour and asked me what news I had for them. I answered them by asking whether they recollected the Black-robe they had seen near Omaha [?] some years ago?

"Yes," say they, "we do, the last time we saw the Black-robe was in 1852 [1851], we have seen none since." "Well," said I, "that Black-robe (Father Peter J. De Smet) is living yet, he is well, but he is very old and cannot come to see you here. I came to visit you in his place." Having said this I showed them my crucifix. They took it with their hands with great respect and after examining it, they returned it to me saying that it was the same as that of Father P. J. De Smet. They made me feel at home with them. I remained with them for a while trying to give them good advice. Meanwhile, the boys went around publishing every where that the Black-robe had come to visit them. This was enough for my security. I could go where I pleased and was everywhere received with respect. As it was Saturday and I wished to get a room where [in] to read Mass the next day, I went to see the Agent and he very kindly allowed me the use of an old store house where I fixed an altar the best I could and the next morning we had Mass at 10 o'clock, a large attendance being present. After Mass I baptized some children and an old man. I could have baptized some other adults, but as they were not sufficiently instructed I thought to put it off to some other time.⁹³

A standing grievance among the Arapaho and Cheyenne, the latter especially, was their inability to secure Catholic missionaries. At the time of Ponziglione's visit of 1871 a delegation of Cheyenne chiefs had just returned from Washington where they had made known their wishes in this regard but without result. At the agency the matter had been brought three different times to the attention of the two official interpreters of the tribe, white men both, but these were tools in the hands of unworthy officials and failed to report the wishes of the Indians to the authorities. In numerous tribes which Ponziglione visited in the seventies he found a similar situation, an earnest wish on the part of the Indians to be served by Catholic priests and a refusal on the part of the government to accede to their demands. During the period 1874-1879 Washington authorities took the stand that only one religious denomination was to be allowed to establish itself on a given reserve. These were the days of President Grant's Indian peace policy (1874-1882), which planned to give the agencies over to "such religious denominations as had previously established themselves among the Indians." "[This plan] was fair and practicable and might have proved successful had it been carried out impartially. In 1870 there were seventy-two Indian agencies and in *thirty-eight* Catholic missionaries had been the first to establish themselves. Despite this fact only eight . . . were assigned to the Catholic Church. Eighty thousand Catholic Indians passed from Catholic influence to Protestant control."⁹⁴

⁹³ Ponziglione, *Journal*, 3: 18 *et seq.*

⁹⁴ *Idem*, 3: 24. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, art. "Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions," 7: 46.

The Ponca, a Siouan tribe, removed in 1877 from their Nebraska reservation to the Indian Territory, were first visited by Father Ponziglione in 1878. They were then settled at Baxter Springs, about forty-five miles south of the Osage Mission, but subsequently occupied a tract "southwest of this [Osage] mission on the endless plains that stretch along the Arkansas and its very large tributaries. The Reservation of the Poncas is rather extensive and lays between the Arkansas and the Salt Fork, not being very far from their confluent [confluence]." ⁹⁵ The Ponca numbered seven hundred and eighty. "Of these some one hundred and fifty, most all half-breeds, belong to our Church and were nearly all baptized by good Father Peter De Smet of happy memory. . . . This last winter they sent to the President a petition signed by every man and indorsed by their present agent, Colonel A. G. Boone, asking for a Catholic mission and school, but what the Grand Father at Washington will do with it is more than I can tell. So far they got no answer." ⁹⁶ When in 1879 Ponziglione visited the Ponca in the Indian Territory, he found that schools under the care of Episcopalian clergymen had been established on their reserve. The Ponca protested, declaring that these missionaries the government sent them, were not the ones they had called for. "They told their new Agent that they wanted R [oman] Cath [olic] missionaries and no others but to no purpose. There is no use protesting when might makes right." ⁹⁷

After the Nez Percé war of 1877 Chief Joseph with some four hundred and fifty of his followers were sent to the Indian Territory, where they occupied a small reserve at the junction of the Sharkapha and Salt Ford about fifteen miles west of the Ponca agency. Here Ponziglione visited them on the same excursion of 1879 that brought him to the Ponca. Few among the Nez Percés were Catholic though Ponziglione asserts that the whole band was under Catholic instruction and was about to be baptized at the time they were deported from the mountains. "The few that are Catholic are so timid that they do not dare to show themselves for what they are. If you ask them whether they are Roman Catholics, first they may answer yes, then after a while if you ask them the same question they will answer no. If you ask them in what religion they believe, they will answer 'We believe in Cataldo's teaching and that is the only teaching we wish to have.'" ⁹⁸ Father Joseph Cataldo, S.J., was an Indian missionary of the Pacific Northwest, whose long career of active field service terminated only with his death in 1928 at the advanced age of ninety-three. "Their great Chief

⁹⁵ Ponziglione, *Journal*, 6: 40.

⁹⁶ *Idem*, 6: 14.

⁹⁷ *Idem*, 6: 41.

⁹⁸ *Idem*, 6: 42.

Joseph is a very nice man, yet he too is afraid of the Government Agent and when I asked him whether he was a Roman Catholic he replied that he had no religion of any kind. When I asked him whether he knew Father Cataldo, 'yes,' he replied, 'Cataldo is my friend, he is a good man, all my people love him and I would wish very much to see him once more.'"⁹⁹

The Cherokee were visited by Father Colleton in the early seventies. In the summer of 1878 Father Ponziglione was among them for the first time. "I visited Talequah, Fort Gibson and Veneta, the three principal towns of this nation; read Mass for the few Catholic I found here and there, baptised some children. Wherever I went I was received most kindly and invited to return as soon as possible to give them a chance to know something more about the R[oman] C[atholic] Church."¹⁰⁰ In the spring of 1879 Ponziglione made his first excursion to the Creeks, exercising the ministry in their two principal towns, Muskogee and Eufaula. "These two nations," he writes, "who have from time immemorial always been neighbors, own one of the most beautiful spots of the Indian Territory. Their lands are rich and fertile and are irrigated by beautiful rivers such as the Arkansas, the Canadian, and the Cimaron. Very few Catholics are to be found among these people but the seeds of faith sowed among the Cherokees and Creeks of old by the fervent missionaries sent to them by S. Francis Borgia has not yet perished."¹⁰¹ Fisherstown, Checkota (Checotah), Pawhuska and Okmulgee were also among the Indian Territory settlements visited by Ponziglione.

The Kansa or Kaw Indians had been approached at intervals by Jesuit priests from the Potawatomi and Osage mission centers. Ponziglione records a passing call made them in 1880:

From the settlements on the Cana, which for a good space runs along the northern line of the Osage Reservation, I came on the banks of the Arkansas, which in its bend forms its western as well as southern line. Here in the northwest corner a tract of 10 miles square has been taken away from the Osages by the United States Government and given to the Kansas, or, as generally they are called, the Kaw Indians. These Indians are just like the Osages, of whom they seem to be but a branch, having the same customs, nay even the same language, which however they speak with a different accent. The full blooded Kaws are pagans, their half-breeds are all Catholics

⁹⁹ *Idem*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ *Idem*, 6: 30.

¹⁰¹ *Idem*, 6: 32. Jesuit missions were established in Spanish Florida as early as the latter half of the sixteenth century. It does not seem certain that the Creeks and Cherokees were among the Indians evangelized. Michael Kenny, S.J., *The Romance of the Floridas* (Milwaukee, 1934).

but are very ignorant in matters of religion for having had no Catholic missionaries residing with them for a long time. All the present generation knows about the Catholic Religion is that they were baptised in it. They have a great respect for the ministers of our holy Church, they declare that they do not follow any other Church but this, and are very anxious to have their marriages blessed and their children baptised by the Catholic priest.¹⁰²

From Osage Mission as a center some measure of missionary service had thus been expended on the Indian tribes of Kansas and the Indian Territory, though lack of adequate personnel prevented it from being organized on a permanent basis. Father Ponziglione lists one year among the tribes visited by him when the Osage were absent on their periodical buffalo hunt, the "Miamies, Weas, Peorias, Kaskaskias, Kaws, Quawpaws, Kansas [*sic*], Chippewas, Sacs, and Foxes." To these he adds "the wildest nations of the Plains bordering on Mexico and Texas, such as the Cheyennes, Araphoes, Wichitas, Caddos" and others.¹⁰³ In these for the most part passing visits little solid good could be accomplished; but at least the Catholic missionary tradition was being kept up. On returning from his excursion of 1871 to the Arapaho and Cheyenne Ponziglione wrote: "What will be the result of this my visit to these wild Indian tribes it is more than I can tell, but I am confident that it will keep up the esteem they have for Catholic missionaries and will show them that we neither forget nor despise them." (*Journal*, 3:25). Five years later in a letter of December 13, 1876, Ponziglione recorded his judgment of the net result of the missionary activities centered at Osage Mission:

I have at present nothing more to say in regard to the Indians, but before I conclude these letters I am bound to acknowledge that during the 26 years I have labored amongst them as a socius of Father John Schoenmakers they have always been very kind to me and this I must say not only of the Osages but of all the other tribes with whom I came into contact during this long period of time.

(As) to what concerns the result in Christianizing them, if it has not been as abundant as perhaps expected, it is to be attributed to different causes: first, to the want of laborers in this barren part of the Lord's vineyard, for during our long staying with them we never were more than 3 priests at a time, for a good while we were only 2. One of us having to mind the temporalities of the Mission, and another having to attend to the church and the education of the Indian children who crowded our houses, and at the same time to visit the half-breed settlements, there remained only one free to devote himself to the good of the wild Indian. And as these according

¹⁰² *Idem*, 6: 46. *Infra*, Chap. XXVIII, § 4.

¹⁰³ *Idem*, 6: 25.

to their habit have no permanent residence in any place but always go around moving according to the different seasons of the year, . . . it followed that the poor missionary charged with the duty of visiting them not only had very hard work running after them, but never could do anything permanent amongst them; all he could do was to keep them friendly and induce them to send their children to this school.

Another great difficulty we met with during the many years we lived with the Indians was the want of funds necessary to effect anything amongst them . . . for with the exception of a small allowance yearly given us by the Government for the boarding and tuition of the Indian children we never received any assistance either from the [Association of the] Propagation of the faith or from our R R^y [Right Reverend] Bishop or from our Superiors—or from any Catholic association of the different states of the Union—but (as the proverb says) we were left to paddle our canoe the best we could.

Finally the greatest obstacle has been a systematic opposition of Governments Agents to all that we were doing or would advise to be done for their temporal as well as spiritual advantage.¹⁰⁴

§ 9. BUILDING THE CHURCH IN SOUTHERN KANSAS

The first known-by-name priest to visit the territory which is now Kansas is said (a view still open to dispute) to have been the Franciscan, Fray de Padilla, a member of Coronado's historic expedition, who met a martyr's death (*c.* 1544) in some as yet unidentified locality.¹⁰⁵ Possibly Father Charles De La Croix, pastor of St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, Mo., reached the Neosho in his second missionary excursion

¹⁰⁴ *Idem*, 5:42. The statement regarding the opposition of the Indian agents is puzzling in view of their repeated commendations of the Osage Mission, especially its schools, in their reports to the Indian Office. (*Supra*, Chap. XXVII, § 5). Perhaps Father Ponziglione had in mind the agents among the tribes visited by him in the Indian Territory.

¹⁰⁵ David Donoghue, "The Route of the Coronado Expedition in Kansas," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 33:181-92 (1929); *idem*, "Coronado, Onate and Quivira," in *Mid-America*, 18:88-95 (1936); *Mid-America*, 12:12 *et seq.* (1930); *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 11:385; *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9:568. The most recent critical discussion of the question (Carlos F. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* [Austin, Texas, 1936], 1:114-115) places the scene of Fray Padilla's death in Texas. The statement, apparently based on a misinterpreted passage in O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of New York*, 9:995, is sometimes made that the Jesuits had a mission in Kansas in the first half of the eighteenth century. Thus, *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 17:143: "The first organized missionary endeavor in Kansas was by the Jesuits, who established a mission in the present county of Atchison, at a large Canza Indian village, in the year 1727." The statement is without foundation. No evidence is available that any Jesuit reached Kansas before Father Van Quickenborne. The point is discussed in Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri*, p. 9.

to the Osage Indians, August, 1822.¹⁰⁶ He was followed in 1827 by Father Charles Van Quickenborne, S.J., who in the summer of that year visited the Osage villages on the Neosho, and a year later, in 1828, by Father Joseph Lutz, a diocesan priest of St. Louis, who resided for a few weeks among the Kaw Indians in their village a few miles above the site of Lawrence.¹⁰⁷ Then came the first Catholic establishments in Kansas, the Jesuit Indian missions among the Kickapoo (1836), Potawatomi (1838) and Osage (1847).

Missionary work among the white settlers who later occupied the territory in ever increasing numbers was only incidental to the original purpose of these missions, which were set up primarily for the benefit of the Indian; but in the designs of Providence the missions became the principal agencies for the pioneer organization of the Catholic Church in Kansas. The story of the efforts made over many years by the Jesuit missionaries resident at the Osage and Potawatomi missions to sow the Faith in the great commonwealth which they helped to develop is a fascinating one, the significance of which did not escape Father Ponziglione. In a letter to Father De Smet of February 4, 1870, concerning the document presently to be reproduced, he wrote: "This Mission established in benefit [*sic*] of the Osage nation has in the hands of God been a great instrument for the propagation of the Catholic church through these vast regions of Southern Kansas; for giving to God all the praise due for it, we can say with truth that the Mission has evangelized all the part of Kansas lying South of the old Santa-Fe road; for the labours of our Fathers extended upon a radius of more or less 100 miles all around the mission."¹⁰⁸ The detailed statement of the missionary activities of the Osage Mission Jesuits which he drew up and forwarded to De Smet on this occasion is a documentary source of importance for the history of the Catholic Church in southern Kansas. No one was in a better position than Ponziglione to tell the story with abundant first-hand detail. He had followed and put on record year by year almost from the beginning of the mission every development of note in its field of operations; and he was himself a large part of the missionary activities which he chronicled. The document prepared for Father De Smet follows:

¹⁰⁶ Garraghan, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷ *Idem*, p. 30. According to Ponziglione, Van Quickenborne in the course of his Osage excursion of 1827 was at the Chouteau and Giraud trading-post in Linn County; also at the half-breed settlement at the junction of Four Mile Creek with the Neosho (Neosho County). Van Quickenborne's own baptismal records indicate his presence in 1827 at the Liguette P. Chouteau trading-post on the Neosho. *Supra*, Chap. VI, § 3.

¹⁰⁸ Ponziglione, *Journal*, 2: 19. (A).

Record of Missionary Stations and Churches

Established by the Fathers of this Mission from
the year 1847 to 1870.

1. The object of the establishment of this Mission of St. Francis of Jerome [Hieronymo] being the instruction of the Osage Indians in all that concerns religion and civilization, we tried all the means in our power to succeed in this work; and though we must acknowledge that we did not do much, yet thank God we have not been idle altogether, as the perusal of the following statements will show.

The work in which we have been employed from 1847 to 1867 [1865], the year in which the Osages ceded to the U. S. Government this part of Kansas forming Neosho and Labette Counties, has been a very hard and tedious one; for the Osages in many instances proved themselves very troublesome, yet not as much perhaps as one might have expected.¹⁰⁹ Living as they do in camps and moving them frequently, our life has been that of travellers, always on the road, for some of us had always to be about visiting them either on the Neosho, or on the Verdigris river; a very inconvenient life indeed, for there being at that time no settlers in this country, we were bound to be continually exposed to the inclemency of the weather as well as to privations of all kinds.

2. Our Osages according to their nomadic life being [engaged] about half of the year [in] wandering on the plains in their hunting expeditions and being at that time in the habit of abandoning their towns altogether, men, women and children, to go after the game, so every year at such seasons we used to be left here alone with our school-children and some of the half-breed families, not for some days [only], but sometimes for two, sometimes for four months. To put this time to profit, we concluded to make use of the opportunity then offered by the absence of the Osages to visit the neighboring tribes of Indians and also the several Catholic families scattered here and there both on the Cherokee Neutral Lands and on the Western line of the State of Missouri.

3. The following statement will show how our labors extended over this state of Kansas, which in 1847 when we established this Mission, was only an Indian Territory, in which no white man was allowed to settle. Hence no house could be found with the exception of some few trading-posts erected here and there for the benefit of the Indians. In consequence of this condition of the country our travelling through these lonely prairies was very hard and fatiguing, for we had to have with us provisions for us and our interpreter, who used to ride at our side.¹¹⁰ Many times in reaching the end

¹⁰⁹ The Osage lands comprising Neosho and Labette Counties were ceded to the U. S. Government by the treaty of 1865.

¹¹⁰ The half-breed interpreters employed by the missionaries included Alexander Beit (Beyette), William Penn, John Mitchel (St. Michel), Joseph Mongrain and Louis Mongrain. According to a statement of Father Bax's (Bax to De Smet,

of our journey we would find ourselves disappointed, for the Osages had left or were in such a state of excitement that it would not be prudent for us to stay with them. Hence we were obliged to lie out under the large canopy of heaven, without any shelter against rain or cold weather. Yet, despite all these difficulties, on we went from the very first year trying to do all the good we could; and whenever we found a small number of Catholics, we established among them a Missionary Station, and these stations were and are to this day houses of either half-breeds or white Catholic families, which we used to visit at regular times when practicable, some more, some less frequently according to their distance from the Mission. On such occasions we invite all the neighbors without any distinction of creed to come and assist at divine service. Having put up a temporary chapel, we hear confessions, we catechize, read Mass, administer Holy Communion, baptize children and sometimes adults, perform marriages and after this, if there are sick people in the vicinity, we bring to them the last consolations of our holy religion. So we form small congregations and in progress of time according as the number of Catholics increases, permanent chapels and churches are built in these stations, and by degrees the care of them is transferred to secular priests.

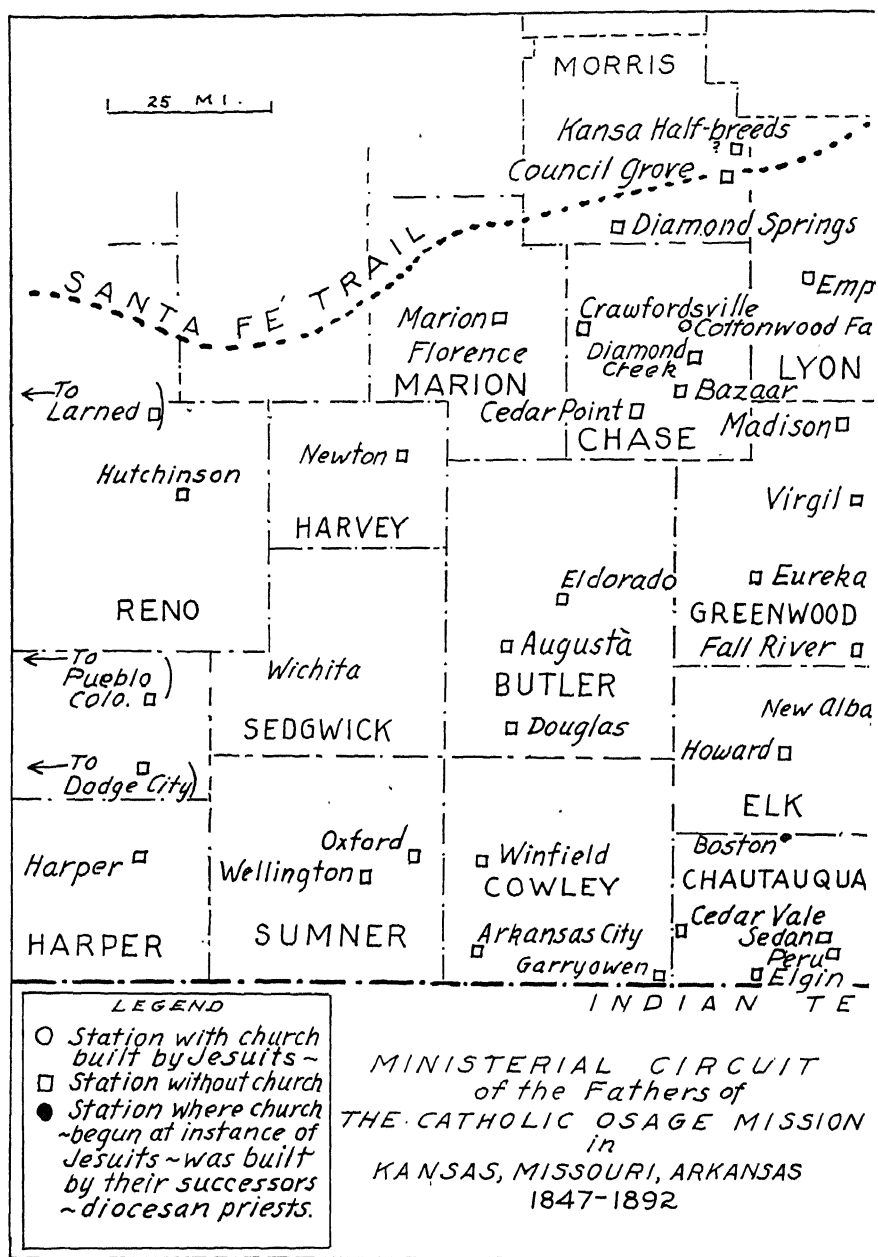
4. In 1848 Father John Baptist Bax established a missionary station on the Cherokee Neutral Lands not far from Spring river in what was then called Charley Mongrain[']s Settlement, and another not far from this among the Quapaw Indians, both ranging at some 50 miles south of the Mission.¹¹¹ In attending these stations, he occasionally visited also the

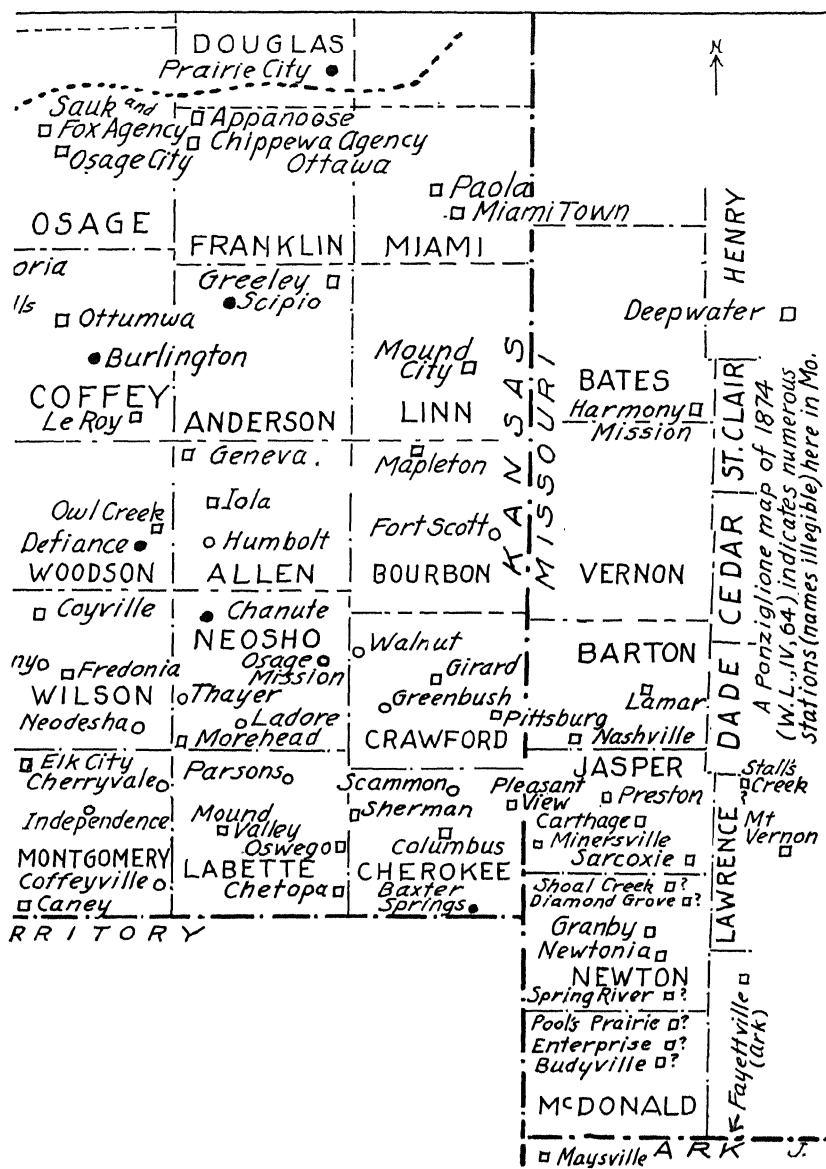
February 27, 1852) an interpreter's salary at this period was \$150 a year. (A). Among the names of god-parents at baptisms the following occur in the records: Mary Ann Papin, Louisa Chouteau, Pelagia Mongrain, Sophy Chouteau, Louis Chouteau, William Nixon, Peter Chouteau, Joseph Bertrand, Alexander Chouteau, Little August Chouteau, Patrick O'Brien, Etienne Brond, Antoine Penn. Later, when the missionaries had made themselves more or less familiar with Osage, they were apparently able to dispense, wholly or in part, with interpreters. Ponziglione wrote in 1876: "The Osage language was not neglected by us. We translated into it part of the New Testament, a catechism of the X. Doctrine and a few most important chapters of ancient History of which we make use in instructing them. Several of us succeeded in gaining a tolerable good knowledge of the Osage language and are able to speak it." *Journal*, 5: 28. The Osage translations, as also some word-lists in the same language, are in the Archives of the Missouri Province, St. Louis University, St. Louis.

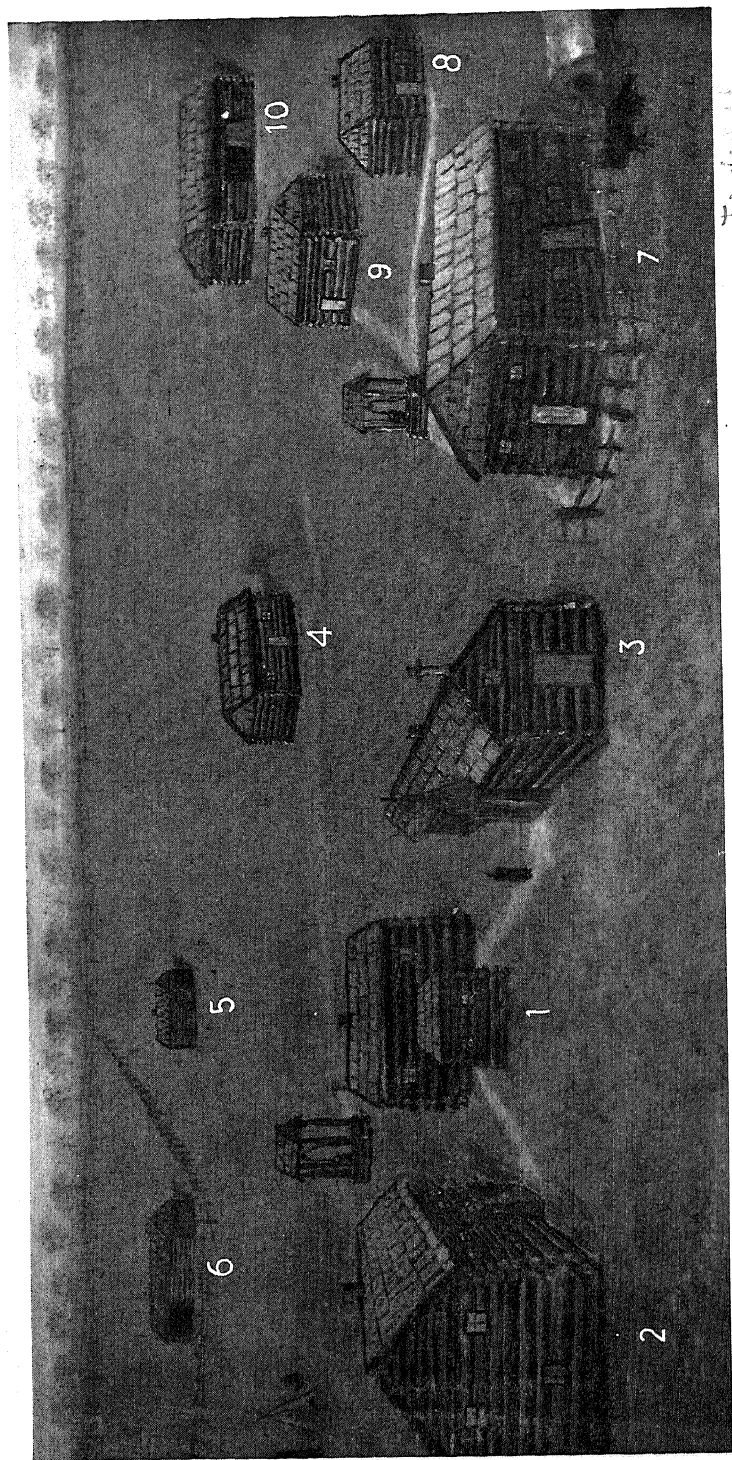
¹¹¹ The so-called Neutral Lands lay between the eastern limit of the Osage reserve and the Missouri line. Father Bax's first baptisms among the Quapaw are dated December 27, 1847, on which day he baptized Baptiste Jalo, Richard Jalo, Bartholomew Bartholomew, Alexis Bartholomew, and Susanna Bartholomew, all of them apparently half-breeds. Sixteen Quapaw were baptized during the period 1847-1853 and fifty-three during 1853. The last Quapaw baptism (Homency [*sic*] Creek, Osage Reservation) is entered in the register, May 23, 1880, by Father Ponziglione, Sophia Chouteau being sponsor. *Baptisms, Burials, Marriages of the Quapaws, Piolas (Peoria) and Cherokee Nations*. Archives of Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas. According to Ponziglione, *Annales Missionis*, Father Ignatius Macs,



Compiled by G. J. Garraghan; drawn by J. V. Jacobsen.







Catholic Osage Mission as it appeared in 1865. Sketch according to data supplied by Charles F. Beechwood, of Joplin, Mo., first white student to register in the mission school. From painting in rooms of the Kansas Catholic Historical Society, St. Benedict's College, Atchison, Kans. (1) Jesuit residence. (2) Boys' school. (3) Church. (4) Workmen's quarters. (5) Blacksmith shop and tool house. (6) Flour mill. (7) Convent of Sisters of Loretto and girls' school. (8) Bakery. (9) Laundry. (10) Barn.

Cherokees as well as the Senecas and Shawnees living in that vicinity. He baptized some few of their children, but never could do much with the adult portion of those nations.

5. In 1850 a regular missionary [station] was erected by Father J. B. Bax amongst the Miamias, Weas, Peorias and Piankeshaws then residing on their old reservation on the Marais des Cygnes, now Miami County, some 80 miles north of this place. Father J. B. Bax having died in 1852 Father Paul Mary Ponziglione took care of this station till 1858 when the care of these small tribes was given to a secular priest [Rev. Ivo Schacht] in charge of that County.¹¹²

6. In 1850 Father J. B. Bax also established another Missionary Station at Fort Scott in Bourbon County some 40 miles northeast of this place. This station was put up especially for the benefit of the Catholic soldiers residing in the garrison of that Post. In 1854 [1853] the Fort having been evacuated by the troops, citizens took hold of it and changed the Fort into a town; and as among the citizens there were several Catholics we kept on visiting that place from time to time. Not only were our Fathers well received in this town, but they were frequently requested to go there to preach. The Fathers went there whenever they could, and it was on one of these occasions that the town was so well pleased with them that they donated to Fathers Paul Mary Ponziglione and James C. Van Goch ten acres of land for the purpose of building a church etc. The donation was received and in the Spring of 1864, just when our Civil War was waging most furiously, Father Paul Mary Ponziglione built there a stone church 30 x 50 feet and dedicated it in the month of August to the Mother of God under the title of Mary Queen of Angels. In the Fall of 1865 the care of the church was transferred to a secular priest [Rev. J. C. Cunningham].¹¹³

7. Another Missionary Station was also opened by Father J. B. Bax in resident for a while at Osage Mission, started in 1849 a station at Spring River, Jasper Co., for the Quapaw living there.

¹¹² For an account of the Jesuit mission opened in 1847 among the Miami of the Marais des Cygnes, Miami County, Kansas, see *supra*, Chap. XXIII, § 8. Bax's first baptism among the Miami is dated Dec. 9, 1849. He urged with the Miami agent, Major Coffey, the reopening of the Catholic Miami mission, as most of the tribe was anxious for this step. A register of Miami baptisms from 1847 to 1861, about 30 in number, is reproduced in Kinsella, *History of Our Cradle Land* (Kansas City, 1921), pp. 240-244. Rev. Ivo Schacht, who took charge of the missions in Miami, Linn and Franklin Counties in 1858, was a Belgian. As ecclesiastical superior of the Sisters of Charity of Nashville, Tennessee, he had accompanied them on their moving to Leavenworth at Bishop Miége's invitation. Father Schacht died pastor of St. Stephen's Church, Owensboro, Ky., April 10, 1874. After Father Theodore Heimann, who taught at Osage Mission, 1852, and subsequently became a Carmelite, he was the first diocesan priest to lend his services to Bishop Miége.

¹¹³ Early in 1865 Col. Blair of Fort Scott petitioned the Jesuits to open a residence and school in that town in the event of the Osage Mission being closed. Rev. J. F. Cunningham, who took over the Fort Scott parish in the fall of 1865, was subsequently first Bishop of Concordia, Kansas.

this same year, 1850, in Henry County, State of Missouri, among several families of pious Germans located on a small stream called Deepwater, some 90 miles east of the Mission. The congregation used to be attended by our Fathers of St. Mary's Mission, when they were living on Sugar Creek, now Linn County, but their Mission having been moved far North on the Kansas River, they were unable to attend it; so it fell under our charge and was taken care of by us up till 1858, in which year a permanent priest was sent to reside there.¹¹⁴

8. In 1854 Father Paul Mary Ponziglione established a Mission Station among the tribes of Chippewas and Ottawas residing on the Marais des Cygnes, in what is now called Franklin County, some 90 miles north. These small parcels of great ancient nations were all Catholic when residing in Canada or Wisconsin, but having been deprived of the assistance of the Catholic Church since they came to this far West, nay, having been surrounded by Protestant ministers, they lost their faith or became quite careless about it, so that all they now believe in is to have their children baptized by the priest. Being given to a very free use of intoxicating liquors, it is very hard to do anything with them. In 1858 the care of these small tribes was transferred to the secular priest who visits Franklin County [Rev. Ivo Schacht].¹¹⁵

9. In 1857 Father Paul Mary Ponziglione established a few new Missionary Stations north and southwest of this place ranging at a distance of 65 to 117 miles. The first was in Anderson County where now stands St. Boniface Church near the town of Scipio. This was given to a secular priest [Rev. Ivo Schacht] in the following year.

The second was near Prairie City in Franklin [Douglas?] County among a French settlement. This also has now a church of stone and is attended by a secular priest.

The third was in Woodson County not far from the place where Dry Creek empties into the Verdigris river.

The fourth was in Howard [Greenwood] County at Patrick Crains' settlement on Fall river.

The fifth in Woodson County at Michael Collins' settlement on Owl Creek not far from Humboldt.

The sixth in Coffee County in the towns of Ottumway, Burlington and Le Roy.

¹¹⁴ Bax was in Missouri in June, 1848, visiting Diamond Grove and Sarcxie, Shoal Creek, Newton Co., and Harmony Mission, Bates Co. The German Catholic settlement called Deepwater, in Henry County, was visited by Verreydt from Sugar Creek until the removal in 1848 of St. Mary's to the new Potawatomi reserve on the Kaw. In 1859 Ponziglione began a station at the lead-mines at Granby, Newton Co., Mo., on behalf of French settlers; also in the same year a station at Minersville, Jasper Co., Mo. *Annales Missionis*, p. 222. (A).

¹¹⁵ The station for the Chippewa and Ottawa also served the Sauk and Foxes whose reserve lay immediately west of Franklin County. In 1854 Ponziglione also opened a station at Appanoose in the future Franklin County for the half-breeds of the locality.

The seventh in Allen County in the towns of Geneva and Humboldt.¹¹⁶

10. In 1859 the same Father opened Missionary Stations in Granby, Newton County, and Minersville in Jasper County, both in the State of Missouri, the first at 90 the second at 50 miles southeast of this Mission. These Stations were seldom attended and at last were broken down during the last war, both towns being destroyed. The few Catholic families forming these stations were very fervent.

11. In 1860[?] temporary stations were opened by Father John Schoenmakers, our Superior, in the different forts and military camps of the Federal troops in our vicinity, especially at Fort Scott and Humboldt. We visited them as regularly as we could and had plenty to do in the hospitals as well as in the prisons.

During the late war our Missionary Stations both west and northwest were for a time given up and in fact there was no use for us to go to visit them, the families of Catholics living in them having almost all left the country to save themselves from the annoyance of guerilla parties, who, knowing that those settlers could have no protection, would rob them and threaten to kill them if they would not let them have what they wanted. But no sooner was peace restored in 1865 than most all those Catholic families returned to their claims, nay, most all brought with them some of their friends, so that when we returned to visit them we found that the number of our little congregations had generally increased.

12. In 1866 Father Paul Mary Ponziglione having gone to visit the Catholic families of Allen County, being in Humboldt was most earnestly requested by Col. Orlin Thurston, (a Protestant), and by a few Catholics to build a church in that town. The Colonel being a very energetic man succeeded in collecting a large subscription; as everything was promising and favorable and the Colonel was a really trusty man, the Father gave him the charge of building the church. He went to work and by the 11th of August, 1867, it was finished. The church is a stone building 30 x 60 feet neatly put up. Father Paul Mary Ponziglione celebrated in it the first Mass and dedicated the church to God under the invocation of St. Joseph. The same Father continued to take charge of that congregation till the 10th of September, 1869, on which day not only the care of this but also of all the stations established on the Neosho river north of Humboldt (and on Owl Creek west) were transferred to the care of a secular priest [Rev. Francis Keller].¹¹⁷

13. In 1866 Missionary Stations were established by Father Schoen-

¹¹⁶ St. Boniface's, a German congregation, Potawatomi Creek, later Scipio, Anderson Co., was attended by Rev. Ivo Schacht from Lawrence in 1860. It had a resident pastor, Rev. Aloysius Mayers, about 1862. In his *Annales Missionis* Ponziglione gives 1858 as date of establishment of the stations at St. Boniface, Prairie City, Owl Creek and Fall River; also 1860 as date for Geneva.

¹¹⁷ Humboldt, Allen County. "August 11, 1867. This day the first Mass was said in St. Joseph's Church at Humboldt. The church was in the morning privately blessed by Father Paul Mary Ponziglione, who could have no other priest to help him in performing the ceremony." Ponziglione, *Journal*.

makers in Carthage and Newtonia, the first in Jasper, the second in Newton County in the state of Missouri ranging on a line from 60 to 90 miles east of this Mission. He also erected new stations at Baxter Springs on the Neutral Lands, at Oswego and Chetopa in Labette County some 45 (miles) south of this place. During the following year he was succeeded in his labors by Father Philip Colleton, who added to these stations several new ones, such as those of Girard, Crawfordsville, Chicko and Limestone, all in Crawford County, so likewise those of Pleasant View, Sherman and Cherry Creek settlement in Cherokee County, all ranging at a distance of 20 to 30 miles east of us.¹¹⁸

14. In 1867 our Osage Indians and Half-breeds having all moved on Verdigris river on their diminished reservation, Father John Schoenmakers established a Missionary Station in the center of their new settlement in Montgomery County. But the instability of the Indian character and their continual moving from place to place renders it very difficult to do any permanent good amongst them. The station built for the Indians turns out to the advantage of the many Catholic families settling in that vicinity.

15. The same year [1867] Father Paul Mary Ponziglione opened new stations both among the Sack and Fox tribes on their reservation on Salt Creek, Osage County, and among the Catholic settlers near the town of Ottawa in Franklin County. These stations were transferred to a secular priest in the following year.¹¹⁹

16. In 1867 Father P. M. Ponziglione visiting the Verdigris found new Catholic settlements and organized regular stations at Madison, Verdigris Fall and Virgil in Greenwood County. He also this year extended his excursions to the Cottonwood river and its tributaries, taking care of the missionary stations formerly established by Father Louis Dumortier of happy memory at Diamond Springs, Baxter and Cedar Point in Chase County some 125 miles northwest of the Mission. The good Father Louis Dumortier having died the year before [July 26, 1867], no one visited these stations till they came under our charge.¹²⁰

17. In 1869 Father Philip Colleton visited the new Catholic settlements established since the war on the western line of the State of Missouri and erected regular stations at La Mara [Lamar] and Nashville in Barton County; at Prestons in Jasper County, at Stalls Creek in Lawrence County; at Sarcaky [Sarcoxie] in Newton County; at Pool's Prairie, Enterprise and Budyville in McDonald County—places ranging on a line between 50 and 120 miles southeast of this Mission. These stations being so far cannot be

¹¹⁸ Father Colleton showed great energy and zeal in organizing and serving new parishes in southeastern Kansas. Extracts from his correspondence are cited *infra*.

¹¹⁹ Rev. J. Perrier.

¹²⁰ Father Louis Dumortier, S.J., died at Ellsworth, Kansas, July 26, 1867. He carried on a remarkable ministry on behalf of the Catholic settlers of central Kansas, organizing parishes and building churches with a success that makes him the outstanding Catholic pioneer missionary of this section of the state. (*Infra*, Chap. XXIX, § 5). Ponziglione visited Dumortier's stations in Chase County for the first time in 1868. The date 1867 in the text is evidently a mistake.

visited but once or twice in the year, and though we are not bound to visit them, yet we so far tried (whenever we could) to give to all the Catholics in our reach the chance of complying with their Christian duties at least once in the year. We hope that the secular priest now attending Springfield [Missouri] will soon be able to take upon himself the care of these small congregations, and this will give us more opportunity for helping the great many others under our care.¹²¹

18. In 1869 Father P. M. Ponziglione from Chase County extended his excursions to Eldorado in Butler and to Wichita in Sedgwick County along the Arkansas River some 150 miles west. Here also he found new Catholic settlements and calling all the Catholics together promised them he would return to see them from time to time and erected Missionary Stations. In the same year he established a station on [the] Cany or Little Verdigris some 90 miles southwest of this Mission 12 miles below the line of Kansas.¹²²

19. Finally, the same Father also organized this year [1869] another station at Forest Hill in Lyon County some 100 miles north on the Neosho among good Catholic Germans. This station was that very year transferred to a secular priest.

20. In 1870 Father P. M. Ponziglione visiting the railroaders working in Morris County established a Missionary Station among the Kaw Indian Half-breeds in their reservation on Rock Creek. The Half-breeds of this nation are all Catholic but unfortunately not very fervent. They used to be under the care of St. Mary's Mission when they lived on the Kansas river some 20 miles below the Mission. But having moved to this new reser-

¹²¹ The places in the border counties of Missouri visited by Father Colleton were all in the archdiocese of St. Louis. Rev. W. Graham was stationed at Springfield, Mo., in 1870.

¹²² "And it was in Meagher's house that on the 10 of August [1869], if I well remember, I celebrated the first Mass ever celebrated in Wichita. On the occasion of this my first visit to Wichita I found but 3 Catholic families and I am proud to say that the Catholics as well as the Protestants, not only on that occasion, but whenever afterwards I visited them, always treated me with the greatest cordiality." Ponziglione to Very Rev. M. J. Casey, Osage Mission, Oct. 22, 1888. (A). See *infra* in this chapter accounts by Ponziglione of his several visits to Wichita.

Cottonwood Falls and Diamond Creek, only eight miles apart, both being in Chase County, were visited by Father Ponziglione in 1868. In Cottonwood Falls, Mr. Samuel Wood, a non-Catholic, gave Father Ponziglione twelve lots and one hundred dollars in cash for a church. Diamond Creek was first visited by Father Dumortier from St. Mary's Mission on the Kaw. "This settlement [Cottonwood Falls] is perhaps the most fervent I have in the West. This last winter some of the Cottonwood Falls Town Company, having given us a few lots for the purpose of building a church, my people went to work and prepared the necessary material and are now ready to build. This church will be located on a very high hill almost in the center of the town. It will be a frame building 20 x 40. I blessed the foundation and dedicated it already to God under the invocation of St. Francis Borgia [May, 1870]. The dimensions of the church are rather small, but this will do for a few years." Ponziglione, *Journal*, 2: 34. (A).

vation it became difficult for the Fathers of St. Mary's to attend them, and they were by degrees left to themselves. Though here a Protestant Mission was erected in the center of their reservation, yet they do not believe in it; and knowing that Father P. M. Ponziglione had come in the neighborhood, they all came to hear Mass and to have their children baptized, declaring to the Father that they were poor Catholics indeed, but they would never be Protestants.¹²³

21. Finally, the year 1870 another Missionary Station was erected at Ladore in this County of Neosho, some 12 miles west where we had a very large number of Catholics. Subscriptions to the amount of over 500 dollars have already been taken up for building a church at this place. So also new stations were opened at Canville and Mud Settlement, the first north, the second east of us some 10 miles. In both places small chapels will soon be raised.¹²⁴

22. This simple statement proves that our Society has planted Catholicity in the State of Kansas, for what this Osage Mission has done south of the Kansas River, St. Mary's Mission has more or less done north of the same. So these two Indian Missions have proved after all that they were not useless. And though the good done in the conversion of Indians, especially the Osage, has not been much, yet this is also certain, that if this State of

¹²³ "Some of the Kaw half-breeds fearing an invasion of Cheyennes and Arapahoes into their country have abandoned their homes. Some have moved to Kaw river near Topeka, others have come into Neosho county." Both the Kaw half-breeds and the Cherokee wished to send their children to the Osage Mission school. Schoenmakers to Thomas Murphy, July 27, 1868. (H).

¹²⁴ According to Ponziglione's *Annales Missionis*, the Ladore station was opened by Colleton in 1868. In May, 1870, Ponziglione opened a missionary station in Emporia in the house of a Mr. Ryan. "Mass being over, I directed my course towards Emporia, which is only some 12 miles above Neosho Rapids, but I reached this town late in the [after]noon and had to stop here, my horse having become unable to go any farther on account of his sore back. Emporia is a beautiful town, the county seat of Lyon County. It lies on a charming prairie not far from the junction of the Cottonwood with the Neosho and commands the trade of the Far West, to which it really offers a very large emporium of all kinds of merchandise. I passed many times through this town in my excursions and never could find a resident Catholic family with whom to pass the night. This winter, however, having been told that some few Catholics had got into town, I concluded I should look after them and so I went around inquiring, but to no purpose. All those I asked about this matter seemed not to understand me, some say there were not such people in their town, some seemed to have a great repugnance in pronouncing the very name of *Catholic*! This was to me a very poor encouragement. Had my horse been able to travel, I would not have stopped five minutes longer in such a place. But I had to stop. So I put up at one of the hotels, and after having taken some dinner I concluded to make another trial, and so I took another tour through town. This time I had better luck. In fact, I heard of a certain James Ryan, and following the description given me, I found the man and in him a very friendly Catholic, who could tell me of some 20 more Catholics who had of late come to that town. I felt very happy over my discovery and passed the night with my new friends." Ponziglione, *Journal*, 2: 33. (A).

Kansas today [1870] numbers over 30,000 Catholics, it is in great part due to the work of these two Missions.¹²⁵

We have done the work of pioneers. We passed through very hard times in this southern part of Kansas; and had it not been for the special assistance of Divine Providence, more than once we would have perished, for the dangers to which we have been exposed in our excursions during these 23 years have been very great. But God helping us, on we went and our labors have not been without some fruit. We taught the poor Indian to fear God and to respect his Church. We baptized a large number of them especially children, and of these the great many who died before reaching baptism are now certainly in heaven praying for the conversion of their nation. We hope God will hear and grant their prayers. We broke the sod of this once barren desert and sowed over it the word of God. Other more zealous ministers of the Gospel will by degrees enter in our field and gather abundant harvests and as monuments of their conquest will build lofty cathedrals where the poor Indian or suffering emigrant saw us hoisting a simple cross. But no matter who plants or gathers, God it is that gives the increase! Great is the honor of being a laborer in the vineyard of the Lord. Here we have done the roughest part of the work and do not complain. We feel proud of seeing this day verified in our Society the motto which was so dear to our forefathers, "*Grandia et magna pati Jesuiticum est.*"¹²⁶

The plan followed by the Osage missionaries in serving the white settlers as indicated in the above account was, first, to establish stations or meeting places at convenient points where the latter could gather at regular intervals to hear Mass and receive the sacraments. Later, chapels or churches were built at many of these centers. The following entries are typical of numerous ones of like tenor occurring in Father Ponziglione's journals:

On the 6th of November [1871] I again took the western trail and came to New Chicago [now Chanute] a Town in the northwest corner of this County [Neosho], where I was repeatedly invited by some few Catholics to go to pay them a visit. So I did and found that there are around that place more Catholic families than I anticipated. Though my visit came unexpected and at a quite unfavorable time, namely in the evening before the annual state election, a time of general excitement, yet I had a good attendance at Mass the next morning. This has been the first Mass read in New Chicago and with this a new missionary station has been established.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ The Catholic population of Kansas is today (1937) approximately two hundred and eighty thousand.

¹²⁶ (A). "It is a Jesuit's lot to endure great trials." Ponziglione's list of churches, all of them in Kansas, erected by the Jesuit fathers of Osage Mission, appears *infra* in this section.

¹²⁷ Ponziglione, *Journal*, 3:30. Occasional solecisms occurring in the Ponziglione manuscript records cited in this chapter have been corrected. Punctuation also has here and there been supplied or modified.

After Mass I started for Winfield, a little town just building on a beautiful prairie which lies along the left bank of the Walnut River twelve miles above its confluence with the Arkansas. It is surrounded by fertile farming land and is at present the seat of Cowley County. The Catholics here are few in number but they seem to be of very good will and almost all approached Holy Communion with much devotion. From the 9th of this month [January, 1872], the day on which I first celebrated Mass here, will date the foundation of a missionary station at this place.¹²⁸

On the 8[th] of September [1872] I read Mass for the first time in the beautiful little town of Augusta, in Butler County. As it was a novelty to have a Catholic service, though the weather was very bad, we had a good attendance of Catholics as well as of Protestants. I placed this station under the patronage of the Immaculate Virgin, whose Nativity that day we were celebrating.¹²⁹

The Catholics of Parsons [Labette County] are most all mechanics and laborers employed by the railroad company. These have just finished a nice frame Church, which was solemnly blessed by our Superior Father John Schoenmakers assisted by Father Philip Colleton on Trinity Sunday, the 8th of June [1873]. This church was placed under the patronage of St. Patrick and is called by the name of this great Saint.¹³⁰

This chapel is in the small town of Thayre [Thayer, Neosho County] and eighteen miles from this mission. Father John Schoenmakers, our Superior, had the honor of blessing this new house of prayer on the 9th of January [1876] and placing it under the patronage of St. Agnes.¹³¹

The establishment of stations, the erection of chapels and churches, and the organization of parishes were all steps preparatory to the transfer of this ministerial field, section by section, to diocesan care. As Ponziglione expressed it, the Jesuits were everywhere "clearing the ground and opening the way for the secular clergy." Thus we have the record of provision made by Bishop Miége for the two centers of Ottawa and Humboldt:

December 2, 1868. During his stay in Leavenworth with our Rt. Rev. Bishop he [Ponziglione] exposed to him the state of the Catholics around Ottawa City, their good wishes about building a church etc. [The] Rt. Rev. Bishop took [a] good deal of interest in all this information and charged Rev. J. Perrier who was there present, with the care of that congregation; so there will no longer [be] need for any Father of this mission to go to visit those people. Rev. J. Perrier is full of zeal and will certainly attend to this charge with success.¹³²

¹²⁸ WL, 2: 151.

¹²⁹ Ponziglione, *Journal*, 4: 6.

¹³⁰ *Idem*, 4: 17.

¹³¹ WL, 5: 223.

¹³² Ponziglione, *Journal*, 1: 46.

On the 30th of August [1869] as I was returning to this mission I passed Humboldt. I heard that at last our Rt. Rev. Bishop appointed Rev. Francis Keller to take care of St. Joseph's Church at that place. On the 12th inst. I had the pleasure to present him to that congregation requesting all to be hereafter as good and accommodating to him as they always have been to me. I hope that the young priest will succeed and will take care of all the missions in that vicinity. This will afford me more time to attend both the Verdigris and its tributaries on which new Catholic settlements have been formed of late.¹³³

Wichita, the most important center in southern Kansas, received its first priestly services in 1869 at the hands of Father Ponziglione, who continued to visit it until the arrival in 1873 of a resident diocesan priest. Successive entries in his journals supply authentic data on the beginnings of organized Catholicism in that city:

The farthest point West which I have reached in this my excursion has been Wichita City, a small but lively town at the junction of the Little with the Big Arkansas river in Sedgwick County lying not far from the point where the Fifth Standard Parallel passes over the VI Principal Meridian some 150 miles west of this Mission.

Having on my way heard of some Catholic families residing in Wichita I called on one of them. But my coming was so unexpected that those good people would not believe that I was the Priest, nay from the signs they gave they seem[ed] to look upon me as a cheat. I did not know how to get them out of the perplexity for the more I talked the worse it was. I told them that I would go about town for an hour and meanwhile they should make up their mind and let me know at my return whether they wished me to read Mass for them the next morning or not; for if they would not, I would that night go somewhere else.

I went therefore through town and stopping at a store I met there a good young man, a Canadian, and a middle-age man, a Brazilian, both Catholics. I was speaking with them about my Missions when all at once I heard some one calling me by name. I turned around and whom did I see but an old American gentleman, an old friend of our Mission. No sooner people saw the familiarity of this man with me than they were convinced that really I was the Priest, and all perplexity about me was over and I was welcomed wherever I went. Catholics began to apologize and Protestants invited me to their houses anxious to hear something about the Catholic Church; by way of compliment they told me, "we have here some preachers, but we don't like them or care to hear them but we like to see a Catholic priest and whenever you come we will listen to you with pleasure." I passed the night in that town. Next morning [August 10, 1869] I read Mass in the house of a Catholic family [Meagher], some Protestants being present, and left that very day to attend other congregations. I hope I will see

¹³³ *Idem*, 1:19.

these good people again. The good reception they gave me makes me hope I will succeed in doing some good among them.¹³⁴

On the evening of the 13th [January, 1870] I reached the town of Wichita at the Junction of the Little with the Big Arkansas river. I called at Mr. Meagher[s] and was most kindly received. This gentleman deserves the sympathy of all that know him; he is a Catholic of the old stamp. Nine years ago he was struck with paralysis and has not been able to walk, nay he cannot stand on his feet. Yet despite all this I found him very joyful, agreeable and perfectly resigned: having requested [him] to tell me whether he was not tired of such a long sickness he smiled and replied "this is the will of God and I am well satisfied. I know that God does all for the better"; "now," he added, "your coming fills me with joy for I will once more and perhaps for the last time have the happiness of receiving holy communion."¹³⁵

On the 17th [July, 1870] I said Mass in the town of Wichita. As it was Sunday and we had already notified the people about it several days before, we had quite a large attendance at Mass as well as at 3 o'clock [in the] afternoon when I gave a lecture on the principal tenets of our holy Religion. Protestants came in promiscuously with Catholics and behaved most honorably. They all appeared to be satisfied and requested me most earnestly to remain with them and build a church in their town, nay, they liberally offered me land for the purpose. I exposed to them how it was impossible for me to comply with their desire, but as they were determined to have a Church, that very day we formed among the Catholics a Committee of 7 Trustees, whose business will be to procure a location, and, once our Rt. Rev. Bishop will have approved of it, raise subscriptions and proceed to build the Church. . . .¹³⁶

On the 27th of November [1870] I had Mass in Wichita and as that day was Sunday and the town newspapers had already two days before notified the people that on this day the Catholics would have Mass, we had a large congregation. On this occasion we found that the number of Catholics had considerably increased so as to be now about 60.¹³⁷

On the 2^d of June [1871] I reached Wichita in Sedgwick County. On the 4th being Sunday I had Mass in a large school-house where I had quite a good attendance and was very much edified at the piety with which these good people came to approach the Holy Communion. After Mass I baptized several children and with them an Arapahoe old woman, to whom I gave the name of Mary Cecilia. . . .¹³⁸

For over 3 years I took a good deal of trouble to form a congregation in Wichita. Last summer [1872] I succeeded in getting a most fervent lady [Mrs. Meagher] to go around and raise subscriptions for the building

¹³⁴ *Idem*, 2: 11.

¹³⁵ *Idem*, 2: 30.

¹³⁶ *Idem*, 2: 40.

¹³⁷ *Idem*, 3: 4.

¹³⁸ *Idem*, 3: 18.

of a church in that town. She had good luck and being full of zeal went to work and had the foundation built on some nice lots which she had obtained as a present. But difficulties having arisen about the building, she applied to our Rt. Rev. Coadjutor Bishop of Leavenworth [Fink] for assistance and he sent there Rev. Father Ku[h]ls of Wyandotte to see what could be done. Father Ku[h]ls, seeing that he could rely upon the subscriptions, went around collecting them and with the amount bought a Presbyterian church (a nicely finished frame building 24 x 40 feet), moved it on the lots obtained by the above mentioned lady, fitted it for Catholic use and on the 24th of November [1872] solemnly dedicated it to God under the invocation of St. Aloysius Gonzaga. He left Wichita on the 26[th] assuring me that during the next week a Priest would be sent to reside in that town. I feel very happy for the success my labors had and wish that the new Pastor may draw abundant fruit from the Congregation I prepared for him.¹³⁹

As a graphic portrayal of the circumstances attending the beginnings of Catholic Church organization in a typical western state during the period of pioneer settlement Father Ponziglione's "relations" have unique value. This value they possess not only by reason of the ecclesiastical data they contain but also because of the glimpses they afford of economic conditions in early Kansas. The state was then attracting immigrant groups of the most diverse nationalities, Ponziglione recording visits made to knots of Irish, German, Belgian, Hungarian, Scotch, French-Canadian, and even Negro settlers. During the fifties and sixties he made his ministerial rounds on horseback; in 1870 he was respectfully suggesting to his provincial in St. Louis that "a little one-horse carriage, a buggy, I mean," would not only lighten the labor of traveling, but what was more important, would enable him to double the range of his ministry and so augment the resulting good. His wish was more than realized, the missionary and his team of horses becoming a familiar sight to the Catholic settlers all through southeastern Kansas. The following passage is typical of the lively narrative and descriptive touches in which the Ponziglione accounts abound:

I left Wichita on the 18th [July, 1870] and directed my way to a place on Bird Creek some 7 miles east of Eldorado. According to information I had received I had to find a Catholic family in that direction. I travelled the whole day. About sun down I came on a very high prairie, I looked all around but I could not see the mark of a settlement. I nearly gave up my search, when I saw at a distance a man sitting on a rock. I went to him and found a poor man broken down with sickness hardly able to speak. I told him that I was the Priest. On hearing this he was, as it were, electrified; he sprang up, spoke to me most respectfully and thanked me for coming to him. He then said, "Father, you must be hungry, come, then,

¹³⁹ *Idem*, 4:9.

with me and we will have some supper." Having said this, Michael McAndrew, for this was his name, starts and I follow him and very soon we reach his residence. This is just a residence as simple as nature can make it, for the poor man has neither house nor shanty nor tent nor wagon wherein to shelter himself and his family but simply lives on the plain prairie with plenty of grass on which to lie and some rocks between on which to make [a] fire. A big large chest, a couple of chairs and some kitchen utensils form all the furniture you see around you. Yet the family, which consists of Michael McAndrew, his wife, two daughters and a small infant, enjoy themselves in this wilderness and are as happy as if they were living in an imperial palace. I was received with a hearty welcome, a frugal supper was soon set ready and with God's blessing we all partook of it, the moon giving us as good a light as a lamp would afford. The night went on very calmly and you would have thought [yourself] to be on a great ocean. The stars as it were by turns got up and, having displayed before us all their brilliancy, down they went in the west. As there was not a cloud in the heavens, we should all have been wet with dew; but providentially a soft breeze kept coming up from the south during the whole night and so we were free from this inconvenience.

Day having at last appeared, we stirred up to prepare for celebrating the Holy Sacrifice. I debated for a moment whether I should do so under such circumstances, for although our faculties allow it, yet we ought not to use this privilege without a great reason. But the ardent desire these people had of approaching the holy Eucharist—their condition and very likely [the] impossibility for a good while of [their] being able to come to the nearest Station, induced me to comply with their just wishes. We therefore raised an altar over the large chest they had and, having spread a quilt against the South that the wind might not give trouble, I hoisted up the cross and began to read the Mass.

During the late war once being in Fort Scott I celebrated Mass in an open military camp, having a tent to cover me and the altar. But this time a sky of pure sapphire was my only canopy and the sun just then rising without a cloud to mar its beauty, gives to it still greater grandeur. The wind, which during the whole night was whispering around us, seems now to be hushed in reverence to the mysteries I am celebrating and the prairie larks and doves roaming through the grass make the air resound with their sweet melodies. If you add to it the balmy fragrance of numberless flowers enameling the green grass that like a never-ending carpet covers all the country round, you certainly will have to say that a more noble temple could not be found for the celebration of the Mass.

The good family before whom I stood were sensible of the favor they were receiving! Had you seen these most devout Christians prostrated around me, their faces down on the ground adoring the Most Blessed Sacrament, had you heard their sighs and fervent prayers, you would have wondered and thanked God that such a lively faith is yet to be found in the world in this age of so great corruption.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ *Idem*, 2: 41.

The routine hardships of Osage missionary life as also the devotion of the missionaries are revealed in frequent records of distant sick-calls. Father Ponziglione declared it to have been the common experience of the Osage missionaries that persons who had been faithful in the discharge of church duties during life were not left, even under the most unlikely circumstances, without the ministrations of the priest in their last moments. Thus, after recording the sudden death of a Louis Roy, who sometime before had resisted his solicitations to be reconciled to the Church, Ponziglione relates the case of an Osage half-breed of excellent life, Peter Chouteau, who, as he lay dying in his home on the Verdigris, near Morgan City, Montgomery County, had attempted, vainly at first, to secure the services of a priest. By an unexpected issue of circumstances Ponziglione was led to direct his steps to the man's house to afford him the consolations of his ministry before death supervened.¹⁴¹ Summons to attend the sick, when they came from far-away localities, as they often did, meant some or other trying experience. Writing to the provincial, Father Thomas O'Neil, April 3, 1872, Ponziglione said: "As our people live all scattered in the country and we are the only priests to whom people can apply in case of need, you can form an idea how laborious these calls are. So, for instance, this Spring I had a call at no less than 130 miles southwest just at the crossing of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroad on the Canadian. I was lucky on this occasion and found the patient living; in calls of this kind we generally come too late, and who can help it?"¹⁴² So it fell out one occasion in the winter of 1870-1871:

Last winter was a very hard one on account of the heavy fall of snow which covered the country. On the 22nd of January, the coldest part of the season, I had a sick-call some sixty miles distant from the mission in the southeastern corner of Montgomery County. On my arrival I found indeed, as I had expected that the sick man was dead, for my guide and I were too slow, the great depth of the snow which covered the roads rendering it impossible for our horses to travel faster. I said Mass *praesente cadavere* and preached a sermon to a large number of Protestants who were assembled to assist at the funeral.¹⁴³

Most of the preceding accounts of Father Ponziglione's missionary experiences are drawn from a record which he began to keep in 1867 and to which he prefixed the title, "Journal of the Western Missions Established and Attended by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus Residing at the Osage Mission, Neosho County, Kansas, beginning from

¹⁴¹ WL, 1: 119.

¹⁴² Ponziglione, *Journal*, 3: 46.

¹⁴³ *Letters and Notices*, 8: 1.

August 11th 1867." Until February, 1869, the record is in diary form, items being entered under their respective dates; after that date, it takes the shape of letters addressed to the father provincial, editors of Jesuit domestic periodicals and other persons. As presenting to the reader a cross section of his strenuous ministry, a Ponziglione letter addressed under date of July 1, 1872 to the provincial, Father Thomas O'Neil, is reproduced entire:

On the last day of the past year, I start on a sick call to Independence, in Montgomery County. It was bitter cold. The prairie was covered with snow, and a strong Northeaster was blowing its best. I had never been to the place; and to the inconvenience of the having to travel a rough and unknown road for more than fifty miles, was added that of a darkness almost extreme. However, by divine mercy, and despite the darkness and the long, rough way, I reached my journey's end without any very great trouble, and at 8 o'clock, P. M. found myself at Independence.

The one who had sent for me was a poor young man who, while working in a coal mine, was buried alive by the caving in of the embankment. Fortunately for him, a large rock in falling lodged just above him, thus saving him from being crushed to death: and assistance coming in time, he was found alive, though so bruised that from his waist to his feet his body was beyond all feeling of pain. Imagine how happy the poor sufferer was at seeing me with the consolations of religion which I brought! Next morning I said Mass in his room, gave him the Holy Viaticum, and administered Extreme Unction. These last sacraments filled his heart with consolation. "Oh!" he exclaimed, "truly the Mother of God has obtained this grace for me!" This poor fellow had been well educated in his young days, and though for a time he went astray, as foolish boys will do, yet the good principles which he had imbibed in his youth were not without their influence, and, corresponding to God's grace, he sincerely repented. He has since passed way, and we hope to a better life.

Having called upon the Catholics of Elk City and New Boston, I paid my first visit to Cedar Vale, a little town in the southwest corner of Howard Co. Some few Catholic families have settled there, but as most of them were absent when I called, I hastened on to another new Catholic settlement, only ten miles distant and situated in the southeast corner of the adjoining county of Cowley. As this little settlement owes its origin to a lot of Limerick lads, no one will wonder that it rejoices in the name of Garryowen. I met with much welcome and determined to give these good people an opportunity of complying with their Christian duties. On hearing this, word was immediately sent inviting all in the neighborhood to attend Mass on the following day—the Feast of the Epiphany. The eve of this Feast was a stormy one indeed. A high wind had set in upon us, which grew keener every moment until night came on and brought with it a heavy fall of snow. There was no question of remaining out of doors, and yet the question was how to get in doors. We had to huddle together in an under-

ground excavation used as a cellar, which had, it is true, the framework of a house above it, but unfortunately the so-called room had no ceiling, and the windows had not even sashes, much less panes. It was perfectly fearful. The wind and snow poured in upon us most generously, and in fact, we might as well have been out in the open air, for we had no fireplace and the whole of our comfort consisted in a little cooking stove 18 inches by 6, and a few pieces of bark to burn. There was no thought of passing the night with the neighbors, for the house which we were in was considered the best in the whole settlement; and we could not go to the woods, for we were on a high prairie and four miles from timber land. God only knows how much we suffered! But He mercifully spared us for, humanly speaking, all chances were against us, and we seemed to be doomed to freeze to death. Of course the night seemed ever so long; and though the morning came at last, it did not drive the storm away. The few who attended Mass did so at the risk of their life, but the fire of holy love which glowed in their hearts burned all the brighter and more than counteracted the killing cold from without. I was surprised at the fervor with which they approached Holy Communion. Though the altar was erected close by the side of our little stove which was kept aglow during the time of Mass; yet I had to warm the chalice several times in order that I might be able to consume the sacred species. It was only towards night that the storm subsided. We went through this second night, thank God, without much suffering. . . .

As soon as Mass was over I left Winfield for Douglas, which lies on the same bank of the Walnut, some fifteen miles northward. Long before sundown I arrived at the house of a Catholic family about four miles southeast of the last named town, and having baptized the mother's darling in the presence of quite a number of Protestants who were anxious to see the novel spectacle, I retired to rest only to be awakened at midnight, myself to see a spectacle far more novel to me.

About 11 o'clock the sound of rolling wheels was heard, and in a few moments up drove three wagons filled with young men and women shouting and yelling and cursing at the top of their voices. Immediately we arose, and immediately, too, they swarmed into the house. What a sight! Doubtless you wonder who they are. Well, they are a set of ruffians who call themselves a dancing club, and they are gathering together parties for a big dance which is going on at a house some distance off. Without the least ceremony the leader of the motley band gives his orders, and as a refusal to comply with them would almost likely lead to a difficulty all hasten to do his bidding. I, being a stranger, am fortunately excused, and in a quarter of an hour I am alone with a little boy keeping house for them while they dance. Just think of it! Though this bacchanalian club was some distance away, yet in the stillness of the night I could hear their stamping and yelling and furious hooting. In their excitement they were singing: "Let us eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die!"

While I was at this house I learned with sorrow that, since my last visit, a young man, Michael N., had been cruelly killed by a mob, or self-styled Vigilance Committee. Michael and nine others were taken and without

trial hanged to a tree on mere suspicion. The poor fellow protested, assuring them that he was innocent, but it was of no avail. Finally, seeing that all hope was gone he begged them to let him send me word in order that I might come to assist him in his last hour, but meeting with only laughter and mockery, he threw himself on his knees at the foot of the tree from which he was to be hanged, and in a loud voice recited all his prayers. When he had finished, he stood up and, calling on a lady that was present (the same one in whose house I passed the night), he besought her to let his mother and myself know that he was innocent, that he was killed without having given any offence whatever. Then turning to the executioner he said: "I am ready, do with me what you please." In a few moments he was a corpse. Cases of this kind are of frequent occurrence in these remote parts where municipalities are only forming, where nothing, as yet, is well organized, and where the people, on the whole, pay very little regard to law and authority.

From Douglas I started for Augusta, a little town situated at the meeting of the White Waters and the Walnut. The country around is rich and well settled, and the U. S. Land Office which is established there draws to it the commerce of several of the adjoining counties. I passed the night on Turkey Creek, where I celebrated Mass the next morning, and then left for Eldorado, the county seat of Butler. On the following day, the 12th of Jan., I offered the Holy Sacrifice for the first time in this town, after which I started on my way homeward, taking a course due east through the counties of Greenwood, Woodson, Allen, and Neosho. I arrived at the Mission on the 18th.

In the beginning of Feb., I again set out on my western tour, and began by calling to Mass the Catholics of St. Francis Regis in Wilson County. It was a beautiful Sunday morning, in consequence of which we had quite a large attendance; but I could not remain long with them, for I had to visit Fredonia to baptize some little children, and to give the adults an opportunity of complying with their duties; and, besides, the new Catholic settlements of Neodesha and Thayer, as well as those of Chetopa and Dry Creek, stood in need of my services for the same purpose. I visited them all. During the night, which I spent in Fredonia, the little town was almost destroyed by fire. The business part of it was entirely consumed, but fortunately the house in which we were to have Mass was not in the business part, so despite the fire, the Holy Sacrifice was celebrated at the appointed time. On the 12th of Feb. I returned to the Mission. . . .

Our Right Rev. Bishop Coadjutor having again entrusted Marion and Sedgwick Counties to our care, I left the Mission on the 9th of April to visit them, and following the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad I arrived at Newton, one hundred and eighty-five miles west of Atchison. Newton may be called the "City of the Desert." It is situated on an extensive sandy prairie six miles from any woodland whatever, and anything like fuel must come from a distance of more than one hundred miles. Water is not always to be had, for in some seasons the whole country is perfectly dry, and the only way to obviate the inconvenience is by digging

cisterns of immense capacity. However, despite all this, the town is daily increasing and business is very brisk; for a line of railway from this place to Wichita, at the confluence of the Little and Great Arkansas brings a great deal of trade. Many Catholics are settling in this neighborhood, and I hope, ere long, to establish here a good missionary Station.

After visiting a German Settlement in Montgomery Co., where I celebrated Mass and baptized some children, I went down to Parker, in the same County. The citizens of this place have built a nice frame church, 30 by 50, with money collected almost exclusively from Protestants, almost all of whom are very favorable to Catholics. This good disposition on their part is quite common for experience has taught them that wherever Catholics settle and build a church, no matter how poor a shanty it may be, business will flourish. On the 5th of May I dedicated this little church to the most Holy Name of Jesus, and on the following day returned home in order to give Father Colleton a chance to visit his missions on the railroad.¹⁴⁴

Though Father Ponziglione stands out as the most conspicuous of the Osage field-missionaries both in period of service and long-distance range of activities, the ministry of Father Philip Colleton, a native of Donaghmoynne, County Monaghan, Ireland, was an almost equally striking one. In December, 1876, Ponziglione chronicled "the death of Father Philip Colleton, our co-laborer in this part of the Lord's vineyard for over 8 years. He was a zealous, energetic and very popular missionary and was gifted with a great power, that namely of bringing the most obstinate sinners to the Sacrament of Penance as well as of [the] holy Eucharist. He had a great devotion to the Mother of God and did his best to propagate it amongst the people. He was brought to his end almost suddenly by a violent cough which afflicted him for several months. He died on the first day of december (1876). He was 55 years old, of these he passed 24 in our society."¹⁴⁵ With a view to interesting his fellow-Jesuits in the Osage mission-field Father Colleton set before them a picture of his ministry in occasional letters, a few of which are extant. Some characteristic passages are cited:

Thanks to the Sacred Hearts of our dearest Lord and our sweet Mother Mary, last year was a fruitful one in blessings for the missions confided to my care. My excursions range over five counties of Missouri and five of Kansas, besides the lands of the Cherokees, mostly in the neighborhood of Fort Gibson. These people are friendly, hospitable, and courteous. Amongst them I found many of my countrymen, who had forsaken even the most cherished traditions of the Isle of Saints to be adopted among the children of these western wilds. Intermarriage with the natives is a condition without which they cannot acquire a permanent settlement in these territories.

¹⁴⁴ *WL*, 2: 149.

¹⁴⁵ Ponziglione, *Journal*, 5: 42.

Unfortunately, most of these settlers have lost the faith of their fathers. From a temporal point of view they are more prosperous. Most of the leading men among the Cherokees are sons of Irish fathers; among others, their present chief, whose name, Downing, sounds more familiar to our ears than most Indian names. They are sure to give any Irishman a most hearty welcome. When they learned I was a Priest, many asked me to baptize their children. I hope and trust in God and His sweet Mother that I shall live to see the Society establish a regular mission among these poor people.

Meanwhile the White settlers in Missouri and Kansas engage most of my time and labour. Hundreds of these good people, mostly Irish, come from all parts of the United States and from Canada to settle in these regions. Some have means, but the greater number have only "God's blessing and their four bones," as they quaintly express it. But they have health, courage, energy, and faith in the providence of Him Who feeds the birds of the air, and confidence in the help of our dear Mother. With these resources, and they are valuable ones, these faithful people convert the wild prairies, the Indian's hunting-ground and the haunt of the buffalo, into beautiful fields teeming with plenty. Most of them settle in colonies, build churches and schools, soon become independent landholders, practice the faith of their fathers, and bring up their own children in that cherished faith. They are always glad to see the Priest. The news of his arrival in a colony reaches the most distant dwellings in a very short time. Men, women, and children are then seen coming on horseback and in waggons from all directions. Confessions are at once heard, all confess once a month when they have a chance. The hardest part of a Missionary's labours is the proper training of the children; it is doubly difficult where the Catholics are few, and live in the midst of Protestants. These sectarians do all they can to entice our children to their Sunday schools; if the parent object, they sometimes find themselves ostracized by men who, however, pretend to have no holier aspiration than to promote religious liberty. The best remedy for this and other evils is to promote the system of Catholic settlements. In these, Irish settlers seem to prosper more than in any other situation in America. Even when they arrive poor, they soon become comfortable and independent; their children are educated and instructed in their holy religion. . . .

I have witnessed, dear Father, hundreds of similar changes. These people become on such farms sober, good, and industrious men; they practice their holy religion, and give a decent and pious training to their children. They are always the best friends the Priest can have. Their heart and their purse are ever open: the one to receive him kindly, and the other to supply his wants.

A third class of people, besides Indians and settlers, claim the attention and care of the Missionary in the southwest—viz., soldiers and railway hands. Patience, perseverance, tact, and an energetic, efficacious will are qualities necessary for a priest to effect any good among these people. He must not be astonished at anything he hears and sees, except that these

poor neglected people are not worse than they are. I say neglected, for such visits as are occasionally paid them cannot sufficiently strengthen them against the dreadful temptations to which they are exposed. Last August I visited fifteen or twenty railroad camps. I preached to the men and women, heard numerous confessions, and administered the pledge to many. One afternoon I came to a camp of 180 labourers. . . .

To conclude, I may inform you that since November, 1869, I have built nine small churches, been instrumental in settling near those churches 840 Catholic families, heard 10,000 general confessions, exclusive of those heard at the central mission; distributed 10,000 tracts, sold \$35,000 [?] worth of pamphlets called *Plain Talk* by Monsignor Ségur, *Father Roland*, and similar little works. To defray the expenses thus incurred, I have within the same fifteen months, collected \$11,869. I hope that our good Lord will enable me to build as many more churches during the present year. Thanks be to God and His sweet Mother for having given me health and courage to persevere.

I have just returned from a long trip of twenty-five days, during which I have ridden some 750 miles. I was well received wherever I went, by Protestants as well as Catholics. Wherever I could find five or six families together I made them build a little church on the top of a neighboring hill, and raise a tall cross upon it, as an attraction for Catholic settlements. The following is my order of march. On arriving at a house my first care, after securing [i.e., finishing] my Office, is to catechise the children. At night I say the Rosary with the family, and in the morning I hear confessions, say Mass, preach, take breakfast, and start. I ride, on an average, thirty miles every day. In this trip I met with fifteen Catholic families, some of whom had not seen a priest for thirty years. How gladly they welcomed me! The Indians, too, are a fine people. In my next trip I intend to baptize two Cherokee families.

The Protestants are very ignorant, and so are their preachers, in regard to every thing Catholic; but, at the same time, they are kind, and wish to be informed. I never enter into controversy with them, I never talk about politics or hurt their feelings in any way, but if they ask me questions about our holy faith I satisfy them. One lady was so indignant at being asked, after my departure, how much she had given the priest for the *remission of her sins* that it almost made a Catholic of her. She has, at any rate, bought a splendid picture of Pope Pius IX., and hung it up in her parlour.

In Gronty and Baxter [Springs] the people gave me the Presbyterian Church to preach in, and their behavior was so becoming that on both occasions I could easily imagine myself in a Catholic Church. The citizens of Baxter offered me an acre of land in the city, and subscribed 2,000 dollars to build a Church.

I baptized three Protestant families during this trip, and there are some more under instruction. A Protestant minister paid me a visit at Gronty, and

received two hours instruction. He was a perfect gentleman, and I hope he will persevere, for he has a large family.¹⁴⁶

A survey of the activities of the Catholic Osage missionaries among the whites will conclude this chapter. To the southwest their ministry was carried as far as Fort Sill, thirty miles from the Texan border, at which post "in Capt. Hogan's Quarters" Father Ponziglione held services for the garrison in 1871; to the west it was carried in 1873 by Father Colleton as far as Fort Larned and Dodge City in Kansas and Pueblo in Colorado. In 1870 the Catholic families in Kansas thus cared for from the Osage Mission numbered nine hundred and sixty-two or about five thousand souls. In 1872 Ponziglione again reckoned the Catholic population of southern Kansas at five thousand; the absolute figure could not be stated "for they were coming in every day." The Kansas counties visited were at least twenty-nine: Allen, Anderson, Bourbon, Butler, Chase, Cherokee, Coffee, Cowley, Crawford, Elk, Franklin, Ford, Greenwood, Harper, Harvey, Linn, Labette, Lyon, Marion, Miami, Montgomery, Morrison, Neosho, Pawnee, Reno, Sedgwick, Sumner, Wilson, and Woodson. In 1870 besides these Kansas counties, five in Missouri, viz., Barton, Jasper, Lawrence, McDonald, and Newton, were being visited, as also two in Arkansas, viz., Benton and Washington. Moreover, periodical visits to the Osage after their removal in the Indian Territory continued down to the early eighties.

A chronological register of "Residences, Churches and Missionary Stations Established by the Fathers of the Osage Mission, Kansas Between 1847 and 1890," compiled by Ponziglione for the General, Father Anderledy, under date of January 1, 1889, enumerates ninety-nine distinct places, most of them in Kansas.¹⁴⁷ Another Ponziglione list designates fifteen churches built by the Osage missionaries in southern Kansas between 1847 and 1887.¹⁴⁸ These were: St. Francis de Hieronymo, Osage Mission, Neosho County; ¹⁴⁹ St. Mary Queen of Angels, Fort Scott, Bourbon County; ¹⁵⁰ St. Joseph, Humboldt, Allen

¹⁴⁶ *Letters and Notices* (Roehampton, England), 7: 317-319, 321; 6: 95, 96.

¹⁴⁷ At the end of Ponziglione's *Annales Missionis* (A) is an earlier list of stations (1827-1887), one hundred and eighty in number, of which nine, missing in the later list, belong to a period prior to the opening of the Osage Mission. The list in the *Annales Missionis* records for numerous stations the names of the Catholic settlers in whose houses services were first held.

¹⁴⁸ (A).

¹⁴⁹ First church built 1847. Foundations of present church begun in spring of 1872. Corner-stone laid by Bishop Fink, June 23, 1872. Church dedicated by Bishop Fink May 11, 1884.

¹⁵⁰ Dedicated by Ponziglione August, 1864.

County; ¹⁵¹ St. Bridget, Scammonville, (now Scammon) Cherokee County; ¹⁵² St. Francis Borgia, Cottonwood Falls, Chase County; ¹⁵³ St. Aloysius Gonzaga, Hickory Creek, Crawford County; ¹⁵⁴ St. Ann, Walnut Station (now Walnut), Crawford County; ¹⁵⁵ Sacred Name of Jesus, Coffeyville, Montgomery County; ¹⁵⁶ St. Stanislaus Kostka, Independence, Montgomery County; ¹⁵⁷ St. Patrick, Parsons, Labette County; ¹⁵⁸ Immaculate Conception, Ladore, Neosho County; ¹⁵⁹ St. Ignatius Loyola, Neodesha, Wilson County; ¹⁶⁰ St. Agnes, Thayer, Neosho County; ¹⁶¹ St. Francis Regis, New Albany (Coyville), Wilson County; ¹⁶² and St. Francis Xavier, Cherryvale, Montgomery County. ¹⁶³ In addition to these fifteen churches, seven had been

¹⁵¹ Dedicated by Ponziglione August 11, 1867.

¹⁵² Built apparently by Father Colleton, 1868(?).

¹⁵³ Frame church, 20 x 40. "Foundation blessed" by Ponziglione May, 1870, and church dedicated by him March 26, 1871.

¹⁵⁴ Built in 1870.

¹⁵⁵ Built before 1871.

¹⁵⁶ Frame church, 30 x 50, dedicated May 5, 1872, by Ponziglione at Parker (Parkerstown), Montgomery County, under the title "Holy Name of Jesus." Apparently identical with the Coffeyville church, though Parker and Coffeyville, both in Montgomery County, are listed by Ponziglione as distinct stations.

¹⁵⁷ Built later than 1870. Title of the present Independence church is St. Andrews. "As Independence was considered my headquarters, I hastened to it and there I found that Rev. Robert Loehrer had already arrived to take possession of that church and establish his residence in that city. On the first of August (1878) I transferred to him charge of all the missions I had in the counties of Montgomery, Elk, and Chautauqua, reserving for myself the missions of Wilson County as well as of the Indian Territory." Ponziglione, *Journal*, 6: 28.

¹⁵⁸ Frame church dedicated by Schoenmakers, assisted by Colleton, Trinity Sunday, June 8, 1873.

¹⁵⁹ Church at Ladore, originally Fort Roach, built before 1871 by Father Colleton. Father Ponziglione in his *Osages and Father Schoenmakers*, 4:465, gives 1872 for date of erection. "About 1872 the town [Ladore] was practically abandoned and it is not on the post-office list today [1912]. At one time Ladore had a population of 500." "Some Lost Towns of Kansas," *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 12: 450. Ponziglione, January 16, 1871, describes the Ladore church as "a tolerably large frame building—not yet plastered or scaled [ceiled]." Ponziglione, *Journal*, 3: 8.

¹⁶⁰ "This summer [1876] we erected another small church in the beautiful little town of Neodesha," at the confluence of Fall River and the Verdigris, Wilson County, "some thirty-five miles southwest of this Mission. I had the first Mass in this Church on the 6[th] of August, which day being Sunday in the Octave of St. Ignatius, I gave to it the name of our Holy Founder." Ponziglione, *Journal*, 5: 41.

¹⁶¹ Dedicated by Schoenmakers, January 9, 1876.

¹⁶² Midway between Coyville and New Albany. Dedicated by Ponziglione, December 4, 1871.

¹⁶³ Dedicated by Ponziglione first Sunday of September, 1877.

"started through the influence of the Jesuit Fathers" and were "put up by their successors, Secular Priests." These were St. Boniface, Scipio, Anderson County; ¹⁶⁴ St. John the Evangelist, Prairie City, Douglas County; ¹⁶⁵ St. Joseph, Baxter Springs, Cherokee County; ¹⁶⁶ Immaculate Conception, Defiance (now Yates Center), Woodson County; ¹⁶⁷ St. Francis Xavier, Burlington, Coffee County; ¹⁶⁸ St. Lawrence, Chanut, Neosho County; ¹⁶⁹ St. Mary Star of the West, Boston, Elk (Chautauqua) County.¹⁷⁰

At the request of Father James F. X. Hoeffer, S. J., rector of St. Ignatius College, Chicago, Father Ponziglione drew up under date of February 20, 1898, a brief autobiographical sketch.

To comply with your request I will say that I was born on the 11th of February, 1818, in the city of Cherasco, 20 miles south of Torino [Turin],

¹⁶⁴ *Supra*, note 116.

¹⁶⁵ Station at Prairie City, Douglas County, established by Ponziglione in 1858. Prairie City incorporated in 1857. The name occurs in a list of Kansas "extinct geographical locations" in the *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 12:486.

¹⁶⁶ In Ponziglione's *Status Animarum* [church census] for 1871 the Baxter Springs church is named The Assumption.

¹⁶⁷ Station at Defiance opened by Ponziglione in 1860.

¹⁶⁸ Station established at Burlington by Ponziglione in 1858.

¹⁶⁹ Station at Chanute established by Father James C. Van Goch, S.J., in 1859.

¹⁷⁰ Boston or New Boston was started in May, 1870, by a group of Catholic young men from the vicinity of the Osage Mission. Ponziglione celebrated the first Mass May 29, 1870. *Journal*, 6:26. Boston was in Howard County, which was divided to form Elk and Chautauqua Counties, the dividing line between the two running through the town. "[Sunday, August, 1878] As usual, we had Mass in a very large school house and this being over we marched to the spot donated for the church. Having recited a short prayer, I exposed to the assembled people the object of the ceremony I was going to perform and having blessed the stone I located it in the corner prepared for it and, placing the whole work under the protection of the Mother of God, gave to the building begun the name of 'St. Mary Star of the West.'" Ponziglione, *Journal*, 6:27. In the *Status Animarum*, 1871, are listed two church titles, the Annunciation, Cherry Creek, Crawford County, and St. Cecilia, Oswego, Labette County, which are omitted in the later and more comprehensive list of January 1, 1889. Mention also occurs in the *Journal* (3:7) of a settlement in Montgomery County known as St. Ignatius. "Towards the evening of the 7[th] of December [1870] I reached St. Ignatius settlement near Morgan City in Montgomery County and having met with some young men returning from their work I requested them to go all around and inform the people that I had come and would have Mass the next morning. They did so and the next morning all our good people came to solemnize the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the B. V. Mary. Our little church was literally full and some had to remain outside during the time of the Mass. The congregation of St. Ignatius church is remarkable for their devotion to the Holy Mother of God. I hope that the Immaculate Virgin was pleased with us on that day and listen[ed] with joy to the fervent prayers of those pious people." Ponziglione, *Journal*, 3:7.

Italy. My Father was Count Felice Ferrero Ponziglione di Borgo d'Ales, and my mother was Luigia Ferrero Ponziglione di Borgo d'Ales, nata dei [born of] Marchese [Marquis] Ferrari di Castel Nuovo.

When I was 10 years old I entered on a regular course of education in the best colleges our Society had in Italy, first in the city of Novara, next in that of Torino. In the University of this city I was graduated.

On the 27th of February, 1839, I withdrew to the Novitiate of our Society in the city of Chieri not far from Torino. Having taken my first religious vows, I was employed in stud[y]ing and teaching and I was acting as vice-Minister in our College of Genova [Genoa] at the breaking [out] of the Revolution of 1848.

On the night of the 28th of February, 1848, the fanatical leaders of the Revolution in that city succeeded, without much trouble, in making the arrest of 18 old Jesuit Fathers whom they marched as captives to the Palace of the Governor and I had the honor of being added to them that same night. At 2 o'clock after midnight a strong military escort conducted us to the sea and shipped us to the Fregata [frigate] S. Michele, the largest war-vessel of the King of Sardinia. The room there assigned to us was a narrow, dingy, shapeless kind of a cellar in the hull of that vessel, on which, without knowing why, we were kept prisoners 3 days, when we were transported to a steamer which boarded us early on the next morning in the gulf of Spez[z]ia. Some people of that vicinity, having been requested by the leaders of the Revolution to give us a reception, they understood the meaning of the orders received and greeted us with rocks and dirt. I was wounded in my head by one of these rocks. They acted with us as savages!

Fortunately we were not far from the state line of the Duchy of Modena. We hasten[ed] to cross over it and there we met people who treated us kindly. About 2 p.m. we reached Massa Corraja and rested for a while with the Fathers of the college we had in that city. But not to cause any disturbance, which the partisans of the Revolution might have given to them on our account, we declined to stop there for the night. My companions scattered over the mountains, I took the way to Rome. That day I had great difficulty in crossing from the State of Modena into that of Tuscany, but with the help of God succeeded in reaching the city of Pietro-santo, where I passed a tranquil night with a good friend of mine. This friend on the next day took me to Livorno [Leghorn] and provided me with all the money I might need on my way to Rome. On the next day, which was Quinquagesima Sunday, a steamer from Livorno was carrying me to Civita Vecchia and on the evening of the 7th of March I reached Rome.

Those were terrible days for Rome. . . . Following the advice of Very Rev. Father General during that excitement I went to S. Andrew's house [San Andrea] to prepare with several other scholastics to receive ordination. In fact, on the 25th of March, 1848, I with my companions had the happiness of being consecrated Priests.

Sometime in the fall of 1847 being in Genova [Genoa] I met with Rev. Father Anthony Elet, Superior of the Missouri Province, then on his

way to Rome. The Father, having asked me whether I would have any objection to come with him to S. Louis, Missouri, my reply was, I had none. In less than a month Father A. Elet notified me that Very Rev. Father General had destined me for the Missouri Mission and that was the reason why from Massa Carrara I went to Rome where I expected I would make arrangements for coming to America.

After receiving the blessing of Pius IX, Father Ponziglione left Rome for Turin, thence proceeding to Paris and Havre de Grace, from which latter place he took passage, June 19, 1848, in a sailing vessel for New York. There he landed, August 5, after forty-eight days at sea, a rough passage marked by storms and small-pox on board. He made a stay of a month at the Jesuit college in Cincinnati and finally reached St. Louis where he was "most kindly received" by the vice-provincial, Father Elet, just one year after the two had met in Genoa.

For a little over two years I was detained partly in Missouri and partly in Kentucky. In March, 1851, I left with Rt. Rev. Bishop Miede for the Indian Territory Far West. From that time till December 12, 1891, I have been dealing with the wildest of Indians you can find from Fremont Pick [Peak] in Wyoming to Mount Scott near Fort Sill in the Indian Territory and I feel proud to say that I was well treated by all of them. The Osages however, are the ones with whom I passed the larger part of my missionary life. The Mission we had with them was flourishing for several years. The children proved themselves to be very intelligent. The grown people, though slow in adopting Christianity, never have been any way hostile to it.¹⁷¹

Father Ponziglione left the Osage Mission June 13, 1886, to assume charge of St. Stephen's Mission among the Arapaho, Fremont County, Wyoming. He returned to the Osage Mission April 19, 1887, leaving it again August 4, 1889, for Marquette College, Milwaukee. Here he was stationed until March, 1890, when he was assigned a second time to St. Stephen's Mission. From here he was transferred in a few months to St. Ignatius College, Chicago, where he arrived December 12, 1891. He died at this institution March 28, 1900. "On March 28th, while the parting prayers were said for him, he kissed the crucifix and tried to say the acts of faith, hope and charity, sweetly expiring in the effort." One who had acquaintance with him, W. W. Graves of St. Paul, Kansas, has written:

I knew Father Ponziglione personally and remember him as a man below average height but rather stoutly built. He was an old man when I knew him (at the Osage Mission) his hair being almost snow-white, but he had

¹⁷¹ (A).

an elastic step and a cheery smile that made one forget his age. He accosted the rich and the poor, the Christian and the sinner, the friend and the stranger with the same pleasant greeting that made for him a friend of everyone. Although he wore purple and fine linen in his boyhood days, his attire in after years was always plain and in keeping with his calling.

Another pen-picture of the man embodies details supplied by persons that knew him:

In personal appearance Father Ponziglione was a wiry little man, small in stature. His bright eyes were full of expression and his features resembled somewhat the picture of Pope Leo XIII. He was modest, quiet and industrious. There was a sweetness about his manner that made him extremely approachable. He looked upon the bright side of life and was fearless at all times because of his implicit trust in Divine Providence.¹⁷²

¹⁷² Sister Mary Isabel McCarthy, S.S.J., *The Influence of the Osage Mission upon Catholic Development in Southern Kansas, 1847-1883*, p. 17. (Ms. thesis, Notre Dame University, 1930.) Cf. also Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, "A Jesuit Circuit Rider" in *Mid-America*, 18:182-198 (1936). Two careful studies based on Father Ponziglione's unpublished writings. The general history of the Catholic Osage Mission has also been covered by Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald in a ms. doctoral thesis (St. Louis University, 1937).

CHAPTER XXVIII

ST. MARY'S OF THE POTAWATOMI, I

§ I. A NEW HOME FOR THE POTAWATOMI

The Jesuit missionaries resident since 1838 among the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs found their ministry in that quarter impeded and in fact rendered nugatory by chronic drunkenness among the natives. As a result they withdrew in 1841 from so unpromising a field of labor. Four years later the impending opening up to white settlers of the Sauk and Fox reserve, which adjoined the Potawatomi tract on the east, threatened to provide fresh opportunities for indulgence in the same vice. "As the Sacs and Foxes must soon remove," reported Richard S. Elliott, Indian sub-agent at Council Bluffs in 1845, "the Pottawatomies will soon be exposed to a frontier of whites on the east, which will, in all probability, like that of Missouri on the South, contain many individuals who will devote themselves, by illicit traffic, to the destruction of the red race; while their acts of cruel fraud, meanness and plunder, will disgrace our own. This state of things will constitute another strong reason for the removal of these Indians to a better home, where the beneficial policy of the government may be carried out towards them, without so many circumstances to thwart and frustrate it."¹

The Potawatomi of Sugar Creek seemed also about to go the way of their kinsman of the North. The Indian passion for strong drink was bringing the Jesuit missionary enterprise among them to the brink of ruin. Father Maurice Gailland, who as a chronicler did for the Potawatomi what Father Ponziglione did for the Osage though with smaller literary output, put on record the conditions that obtained in the last days at Sugar Creek:

As weeds will spring up in the best cultivated garden, so will vice sometimes make its appearance in places where virtue seems to reign supreme. This was the case at Sugar Creek especially during the past years. Among the Christians of the mission were a band of drunkards, who, not satisfied with causing a great deal of trouble to the missionaries, determined to take a bolder and more menacing stand. Drunkenness, it must be said, is the most fatal means of corruption among the Indians, and there is not virtue sufficient

¹ *RCIA*, 1845, no. 25.

left in them to withstand the temptation of the fire-water. Moreover, when once an Indian has drunk to excess, rage and despair seize on his soul—he persuades himself that salvation does not regard him—he flies from the minister of God—casts aside his prayer or religion and dies impenitent. The drunkards of Sugar Creek have alas! given too many awful and deplorable examples. . . . This band increased every day, and notwithstanding the active vigilance of our Fathers, its power and influence became so great that in fine it threatened the entire destruction of the mission. The evils increased—the good Indians built a prison again and again to confine those who were found drunk and the dealers in fire-water and as often were the prisons reduced to ashes. There were no more means left and but little hope of opposing this torrent of wickedness—the Fathers wept in silence and trembled for the safety of their little flock.²

The proximity of the Osage River and Council Bluffs Potawatomi to Missouri, where the fatal liquor could be obtained from unprincipled whites, was thus a motive to lead the government to remove the Indians to lands more remote where they would be protected at least from this source of infection. Besides, the so-called “United Nation of the Chippewas, Ottawas and Potawatomes” settled at Council Bluffs, and the Potawatomi of the Osage River agency were racially one and the same tribe, whose interests, it was believed, would be greatly promoted if the two component parts could be fused together. Elliott, the Indian sub-agent at Council Bluffs, observed in the report already cited:

In my report for 1843 I stated that no distinction is recognized or observed among these Indians on account of their origin from different nations, but that they all describe themselves as “Pottawatomes,” by which name they are known among their Indian neighbors. Though there are individuals here of Ottawa as well as Chippewa ancestry, yet they are so few in number that the official designation of the band, as fixed by the treaties of July 29, 1829, and September 26, 1833, is now little better than a misnomer. There are also individuals among them of Sioux, Menominee and Sac blood, but they are all classed here as “Pottawatomes.” This is the name which the bands here and those south of Missouri ought to bear, and I

² Gailland à De Smet, St. Mary's among the Pottawatomes, September 25, 1850; October 1, 1850. This relation, written originally in French by Gailland at De Smet's request, appeared in translation in the *Catholic Mirror* of Baltimore, November, 1850. De Smet to Duerinck, September 7, 1850. (A). Gailland's relation is the earliest detailed account extant of the foundation of St. Mary's Mission. Obviously the father could not have written of conditions at Sugar Creek from first-hand knowledge, as he arrived among the Potawatomi only in 1848, after the removal of the bulk of the tribe at least to the Kaw River reserve had been effected. But he spent a short time at Sugar Creek on his way to the Kaw River in 1848, and drew no doubt on the reliable data which Fathers Verreydt and Hoecken were able to furnish.

presume that measures will be pursued to effect their union into one nation, at least as far as their name, the possession of their domain and the distribution of their funds are concerned. These fragments constitute all that is left of what was formerly the Pottawatomie tribe. It has in course of time become thus divided and broken up by the policy of the government (necessarily pursued) in making treaties at different times with different portions of the tribe. Considerable jealousy and distrust have grown up between the bands here and those south of Missouri, and I think it will be difficult to effect their harmonious reunion without some concessions to the feelings or prejudices of the people here; but if they be gratified in some respects, it may possibly be accomplished. They object strongly to the country in the Osage river sub-agency, but would be satisfied to meet and join their brethren in a country on the Kansas, if the price of their lands should afford what they would consider an adequate support for the entire body of Pottawatomies.³

The lands on the Kansas River which the government proposed to set aside as a new Potawatomi reserve were at first objected to by the Indians on the ground that they were timberless and otherwise ill-suited for the purpose intended. This circumstance, together with the desire of the Indians to drive a good bargain, prolonged the negotiations for the purchase by the government of the Council Bluffs and Osage River reserves. Finally the Potawatomi of both reserves agreed by treaty, the Council Bluffs group on June 5, and the Osage River group on June 17, 1846, to dispose of their lands and remove to the new tract assigned to them in common on the Kansas River.⁴ This tract was part of the lands of the Kansas Indians acquired by the government by treaty January 14, 1846.⁵ With regard to the character of the tract, Major Thomas Harvey, the most active of the three United States commissioners who negotiated the treaty, wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill:

I have the honor herewith to endorse an extract of a letter received from Major Cummins reporting the result of his visit to the new country of the Potawatomies on the Kansas, from which it will be seen that it contains everything necessary for the comfort of its future occupants and completely upsets the unfounded reports that at one time prevailed among the Potawatomies of the Osage, that there was an insufficient supply of timber for their wants. I am much pleased that Father Verreydt (who superintends the school and mission at Sugar Creek) visited the country, as it will enable him to disabuse the Indians over whom he deservedly has great influence.

³ RCIA, 1845. Elliott's report includes an account of economic and moral conditions among the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs at the period just prior to their removal to the Kaw River.

⁴ Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, 2: 557.

⁵ *Idem*, 2: 552.

Joseph Lafromboise, Perish Leclerc and Half a Day were the three chiefs who manifested the greatest zeal in inducing these people to emigrate from the Bluffs. I would respectfully recommend that their good conduct on the occasion be noticed by the Department by some public document approving their conduct.⁶

The Sugar Creek Indians were particularly reluctant to accept the terms of the treaty and they seem to have acquiesced in them chiefly through the influence of Father Verreydt, their pastor. The incidents connected with their final acceptance of the government offer are recorded by Father Gaillard:

This treaty seemed to be very advantageous to the Indians, for it not only removed them from the poisoned springs of the fire-water, but also assured to each individual an annual pension for several years. Besides, the government offered to furnish them with a sufficient sum to support a school of 90 boys and 90 girls, and to erect mills, forges, etc. The Indians of Missouri [Iowa] had already concluded the treaty on these terms, and it only remained to be accepted by the Pottowatomies of Sugar Creek. Some declared in favor of the treaty, but the greater number were opposed to it. They wished to convoke a general assembly to deliberate on the subject. They met and sent for Rev. F. Verreydt, praying him to come and aid them by his advice. He appeared in their midst and being pressed to give his opinion on the subject he spoke as follows: "The Blackgown came here to teach you how to pray—the selling or exchanging your present lands is your affair, not mine—but as you wish me to tell you what I think of this matter, when I shall have expressed to you my thoughts, you will still be at liberty either to follow or reject them—but pray, should you enter into this treaty, I beg you never to say that you were induced to do so, because I engaged you to it. Examine then my words—meditate them in your hearts—judge whether they are favorable and for your own interest, or not, and then decide. I think that the treaty offered to you is good, and I believe that it will be to your advantage to accept it. These are my reasons: 1st. Sugar Creek is an unhealthy country—in the space of seven years, seven hundred have died—a frightful number when compared to the small population of the place. 2nd. The ground is not very fertile; you work a great deal and the reward of your labour is small—the soil is so full of rocks and so near to the surface, that you cannot dig graves deep enough to receive the dead. 3d. You are here too near the whites—their neighborhood is becoming daily more dangerous to you—the fire-water is constantly tempting you, and favored by the darkness of night, you issue forth and procure it—your children will soon follow in your footsteps—you cannot prevent them from doing what you do—and they will be what you were before the Blackgowns appeared in your midst. 4th. The annuities which you have been receiving are almost at an end, and in a short time you will be unable to

⁶ Harvey to Medill, November 2, 1847. Records of the St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs. Library of the Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

purchase the first necessities, as food and blankets. 5th. It is absolutely necessary that you should have saws and planks, mills to grind your corn and wheat, forges to mend your guns and your wagons, and how can you obtain all these with your scanty means, unless you agree to the treaty. You say that you wish to see your children grow up under the eyes of the Blackgown that they may learn how to read, to write, to work and to pray; the Blackgowns wish the same, but they are as poor as you and cannot feed and dress your children. Your brothers of Missouri [Iowa] have signed the contract; they are now taking possession of the new lands; several of you have parents and relatives among them—many are weary of cultivating an ungenerous soil and will leave it to go and join their friends—your numbers must diminish, you must soon become a feeble branch of a great and flourishing nation and in a little time you will find all around you gone. The condition of the contract which you are asked to sign can alone remedy all these evils. This is my opinion on the matter now under your consideration. I have spoken all I wished to say and will now retire. It is for you to judge whether you will or will not sign the contract, for you alone are the judges.” On leaving the assembly the Rev. Father did not think that there would be much importance given to the few words he had spoken; but in this he was mistaken, for his opinion was listened to and received as an oracle—the voices were taken and the treaty immediately accepted. At the moment of the acceptance a murmur arose and a report was spread that the new country was woodless. Some were sent thither to examine, and they returned with a confirmation of the report. A gang of the discontented and wicked commenced immediately to clamour against the Fathers, crying out that the Blackgowns had sold them to the Americans. How shall we, they asked, build our wigwams in the new country or enclose our fields and gardens with strong fences? Some even among the well disposed exclaimed: “And when we shall be there, will we not be mixed up with those who do not know or who never say their prayers? Shall not our children every day witness their lascivious dances? hear the medicine and drums beating? and will they not see their debaucheries? what then must become of their faith?” These serious complaints were in the mouths of almost every one and deeply affected the future prospects of the mission. However, the time for deliberation was over—the treaty was signed and the land must be given up at a stated period. Nevertheless no one seemed willing or ready to start for their new home, except the missionaries, who determined to emigrate to avoid all responsibility of delay.⁷

The emigration of both groups of Potawatomi to their new home was accomplished quietly and within the time-limit of two years stipulated by the treaty. The success of the movement was due in large measure to Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, who on behalf of the government had conducted the negotiations which terminated successfully in the treaty. Richard W.

⁷ *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), November 9, 1850.

Cummins of the Fort Leavenworth agency reported to Harvey September 26, 1848:

Pottawatomies—This large tribe, formerly divided into several district bands—each antagonistical to the other—each claiming interests denied by the other—the dire cause of jealousies and alienation—are, in virtue of their last favorable treaty, happily brought to assemble around one council fire and to speak with one tongue. To your untiring exertions and fatherly interest in the future welfare of this people is this result mainly to be attributed. It affords me much pleasure to state that the last spring semi-payment, made in May, terminated in the most quiet and orderly manner. I had the satisfaction of seeing the two bands, viz.: that from the Council Bluffs and that from the Osage River mingle with each other on the most friendly terms. I could discover no signs of a desire by either party to domineer or dictate. They sat promiscuously together and exchanged their opinions with urbanity and good will. You will remember that immediately before payment and in your presence the head man of the upper band or Council Bluffs party made an effort to revive those jealousies that have for so many years alienated the upper and lower people. Your firmness and decision alone and the just censure with which you met the scurrilous speech of the old chief frustrated his unworthy design. It had a most beneficial effect and, I am free to say, that there was not one Indian but was glad in his heart that this matter was put to rest so auspiciously.⁸

§ 2. MISSION CREEK, WAKARUSA, ST. MARY'S ON THE KAW

From Sugar Creek Mission near the present Centerville in Linn County, Kansas, to the new Catholic Potawatomi mission about to be

⁸ Cummins to Harvey, September 26, 1848, in *RCIA*, 1848. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill in his report for 1848 speaks in terms of great satisfaction of the new status of the Potawatomi:

"Within the past year, the Pottawatomies, who have heretofore been separated (the larger portion being in Iowa, and the others on the Osage River), have completed their removal to their new country on the Kansas river, between the Delawares and Shawnees, where they are now comfortably settled. Thus happily reunited, not only among themselves, but in means and interests, and free from those adverse influences arising out of contact with a white population, to which those in Iowa were subjected, it is confidently expected, that under the measures and influences which may now be favorably brought to bear upon them for the purpose, they will enter upon a course of improvement, which, in a few years, will result in at least their comparative civilization. Much credit is due to them, not only for their prompt self-removal, but for the peaceable and orderly manner in which it was conducted. It was a new feature in our Indian system, to see an entire tribe of Indians quietly organize and leave their old homes, and peaceably and without disorder of any kind, remove themselves to a new country, nearly two-hundred miles distant from most of them, in conformity with a stipulation to that effect in a treaty which they had made with the government; and bearing their own expenses out of funds set apart for that purpose."

begun on the north bank of the Kansas River was a distance of some ninety miles. Yet it was only after months of reconnoitering, painful wanderings and tentative settlements on the way that the transfer of the Sugar Creek Indians from south to north was finally effected. On November 21, 1847, Father Hoecken recorded his last ministerial act at Sugar Creek, a baptism. Between that date and the end of the month he set out with Brother Andrew Mazella and the main body of the Potawatomi towards the Kaw Valley, the mission buildings having been burned to save them from desecration.⁹ On leaving Sugar Creek, Indians and missionaries moved northwest to a spot about seventeen miles due south of the present town of St. Marys, Kansas. Here, on the banks of a small stream called Mission Creek, they halted and made preparations for a protracted stay. In January, 1848, the Indians were engaged here on a church and a residence for the missionaries. Brothers Miles and Ragan were sent for from Sugar Creek to put the buildings in readiness for use and Hoecken began to occupy his new residence on February 26. In this new-born Indian village occurred on Sunday, January 23, the marriage of Pierre Droyard and Angelique Wawiatinokwe. Scarcely settled down on Mission Creek, the restless Indians were looking for another home. "The Indians have selected another place to camp in, at least during the spring and summer," is an item recorded in Father Hoecken's diary. "I went to see the place on the 18th of February." The new camping place was on the Wakarusa, a stream which flows through the present Waubensee, Shawnee and Douglas Counties, emptying into the Kansas River eight miles east of Lawrence. The first mention of this stream in Hoecken's diary occurs under date of March 13, when the missionary sent the chiefs Wewesa and Chapikug to confer with the Potawatomi settled on Wakarusa Creek.¹⁰ Mission Creek did not appear to suffer much in consequence of the new settlement on the Wakarusa. In March at the former station fields were being ploughed and houses built. In April and May it was found necessary to enlarge the church, as new bands were pouring in from Sugar Creek, while not a few Indians who had given the Wakarusa locality a trial or had even ventured north

⁹ The ashes of the destroyed buildings are said to have been visible as late as 1920. The spot, marked by a granite block bearing the inscription, "St. Mary's Mission, 1839," is on the Michael Zimmerman farm four miles directly northeast of Centerville in Linn County, Kansas. Kinsella, *History of our Cradle Land* (Kansas City, 1921), pp. 12, 30.

¹⁰ In Hoecken's Latin Diary, (F), March, 1848, occurs the entry: "*duo obiere, ut audivi, ad flumen Wakarusam*" ("two have died, so I have heard, at the Wakarusa river"). "Father Paul Ponziglione, S.J., Osage missionary, saw the little shanties put up by the Indians along the Wakarusa." *Dial* (St. Marys, Kans.), February, 1891.

of the Kansas River, returned to Mission Creek. While Father Hoecken seems to have maintained headquarters at Mission Creek, he went frequently on sick calls to the Wakarusa.¹¹

In the meantime Father Verreydt, as superior of the Catholic Potawatomi Mission, was searching for a suitable mission-site on the new reserve. As early as November 1, 1847, he went up from Sugar Creek with a party of Indians to explore the new Potawatomi lands. Later, in March, 1848, he was again on the north side of the Kansas, still prospecting for a site on which to locate the mission. Once again, on May 29, he crossed with an Indian escort to the north bank. He returned three days later to Mission Creek, but on June 2, with Michael Nadeau for a companion, made a fresh crossing to the north side, this time on a sick call. He put his stay across the river to good account, for, when he returned to the south bank on June 6, he had his mind definitely made up on the question of a mission-site. Some days later in company with Joseph Bertrand, a Potawatomi mixed-blood, he visited the Indian agent, Major Cummins, and acquainted him with his intention to establish the mission on the north bank of the river on the site of the present St. Mary's College. The vexed problem of a suitable location being thus finally settled, Verreydt sent the two lay brothers, Miles and Ragan, from Mission Creek to Sugar Creek to make preparations for definitely abandoning the latter place, while he himself left on July 16 for St. Louis to obtain the approval of his superior for the step he was about to take.¹²

¹¹ According to Gailland's account cited later in this chapter Hoecken had a house and chapel on the Wakarusa, where Gailland visited him in the course of his journey from Sugar Creek to St. Mary's in August, 1848. "A mission was established by the Catholics in the fall of 1847 [February, 1848] for the Potawatomic Indians at the juncture of the East, Middle and West branches of the Wakarusa river. The mission was under the charge of Father Hoecken. About twenty log-cabins were built here by them. In the spring following the Indians found that they had located by mistake on the Shawnee lands, and as they could not draw their annuity until they were on their own lands, they moved to the North side of the Kaw river near the centre of the reservation and established a mission there. [Inaccurate.] The Shawnees immediately moved into the deserted cabins and remained there six years. On the 12th day of August, 1854, Mr. J. M. Brown purchased of the Shawnees some of these cabins and their right to a part of the lands." W. W. Conc, *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County, Auburn Township* (Topeka, 1877).

¹² Father Verreydt was to meet with difficulty in persuading the Catholic Indians to settle on the north side, which promised a better supply of timber than the south side. Whether through fear of the Pawnee or because they judged the site chosen by Verreydt too low, it being only a mile from the river, they held out against the advice of the father to settle north of the Kansas. They finally crossed in large numbers in the early summer of 1848, but again went over to the other bank in consequence of the Pawnee episode of July, 1848.

After a short stay in St. Louis, Father Verreydt set out once again for the West, having secured the approval of Father Elet for the new location of the Potawatomi mission. As was customary with Jesuit missionaries journeying to the Indian country, the father did not travel alone. With him was a party of fellow-Jesuits, bound like himself, for the Indian missions and including Father Maurice Gailland, assigned to the Potawatomi, Father Van Mierlo, who was to labor among the Miami, and Brother Thomas O'Donnell, who was to be employed as a teacher in the Osage Mission school.

Father Gailland, a native of Switzerland, was now only thirty-two. An unusually efficient missionary, he also wielded a facile pen and, as already noted, became chief chronicler of the Catholic Potawatomi of Kansas. His account of the journey from Missouri to Sugar Creek and thence to the new mission-center on the Kansas River, is packed with vivid detail:

Shortly after his [Verreydt's] arrival, whilst in St. Charles, I received the news that I was appointed by my superiors as missionary among the Potawatomes and would soon leave for the Indian territory. Need I tell you, Dear Father, [De Smet] that my heart leaped with joy at these glad tidings, and that I longed with impatience for the hour of departure? It came at last. One morning whilst I was walking in the garden, musing with delight on the condition of the far-off flock that was committed to my care, the steamboat arrived and rang the signal for us to come on board. Bidding a hasty farewell to the good Fathers of St. Charles [Missouri], who with the greatest kindness and generosity had extended to me the most bountiful hospitality during two months, I embarked. Our boat went rapidly and in five days we arrived at Kansas, a pretty little town on the banks of the Missouri. If we may judge from its present growth and its advantageous position it must one day become a place of considerable importance. From there I made the remainder of my journey in a wagon, not having yet learned to ride on horseback. When I arrived at Sugar Creek, I was in a burning fever, which had commenced in Kansas and continued for some time to prostrate me more and more every second day. For a while, I was almost entirely confined to bed, and my delirious imagination, in place of resting then on the beauty and grandeur of the Indian country, would carry me back in thought to the mountains of Switzerland from whose rocky bosoms sprang the clear, pure, cold streams, that went murmuring on to the lakes below, and sometimes when the burning thirst was come, I would bend down to allay it in their sweet waters, but their shadow alone was there.

Eight days after our arrival at Sugar Creek we started for our final destination, in company with the Ladies of the Sacred Heart [Mother Lucille Mathevon, Mother O'Connor and Sister Mary]. I journeyed as before in a wagon, but this time we commenced to live à l'*Indienne*. Towards evening we halted near a wood, made a large fire and prepared our simple supper.

When this was over we fixed our tents and stretched buffalo robes for beds, but before lying down we had the precaution to add fuel to our fire to prevent the coming of or to drive away the mosquitoes. Next morning we were on foot at break of day and started across the prairies, without knowing in what direction we were going, unless by what little we could guess by the position of the sun in the horizon. These plains present a strange and wild, but at the same time, a grand and beautiful appearance. Stretching out and away in the distance, they seem, like the ocean, to have naught but the blue sky for limit, where the eye loses itself in their immensity. Everything about them reminds you of the sea, their silent death-like stillness, their dull monotony and wild solitary air. To complete the resemblance in our case, we saw not far from the road a kind of sailing boat ready to commence its trip on this new ocean. It was a kind of cylinder ingeniously contrived and placed on four large iron wheels; it contained seats for four or five persons and two masts with sails, which were hoisted up and down. I learned later that the inventor and constructor of this machine had made several voyages in it, but that sometimes the violence of the wind drove his bark so fast that he was not unfrequently in imminent danger. From the top of the wagon, which went slowly, I could observe at leisure the wild lands we were traversing.

The Ottawas country was the first that we passed, and we stopped in one of their villages to visit a Catholic family, in whose lodge our Fathers said Mass, when they came to preach the gospel to this nation. We entered next the country of the Sacks [Sauk], a brave and warlike people, celebrated for the battles which they have fought and their profound hatred for the Americans. Having made a short stay in the country of the Shewanous [Shawnee], we at length arrived at the Waggerousse [Wakarusa], a little river, on whose banks Rev. F[ather] Hoecken had built his temporary dwelling. We entered a wood where we saw several Indian wigwams. The inmates had no sooner recognized the Father Superior and the Ladies of the Sacred Heart when all pressed forward to them and gave them a most hearty welcome in their own simple way. Father Hoecken's house being a mile farther, we continued penetrating the wood and soon found ourselves in a village containing over 100 lodges, surrounded by fields and gardens. The missionary's house was in the centre, and could be distinguished from the rest by the cross, which was placed over that portion that was used for a church. I immediately descended from the wagon, and hastened to see the Rev. Father, for I was impatient to look on a man in long missionary labors. When I entered he was standing in the middle of the floor, dressed in his surplice and stole, to hear the confessions of his flock. His body bending to the ground, his white silvery hair, and thin pale face told me enough of his privations, his sufferings and arduous labour. I embraced him with a deep feeling of respect and veneration, and then said, "My Father, if you want assistance, I come to offer you my services for the benefit of your dear Indians, and I shall think myself happy, if I shall be of any use." "With all my heart," he replied, "I accept your offer; for during many days past, I have been praying to God to send us some companions to come out

and share our labors." These words filled me with joy and consolation, and now banished from Switzerland, where I was about to enter on the mission of the Gospel, I was more than contented to exercise the duties of my ministry among the unhappy forsaken savages of the great American desert.¹³ The next day, when I had offered up the holy sacrifice of the altar, in the humble little chapel, I was witness to a ceremony which made the tears come to my eyes. All the Indians, men, women and children came and knelt at my feet and asked for my blessing. I would have gladly prolonged my stay among the good people, but after three weeks I was obliged to proceed to the other side of the river to our new missionary establishment.

During my short stay with Rev. F. Hoecken, I applied myself to learn the first rudiments of the Indian language, and attended the daily instructions he gave to his little flock. At first the sounds of the words appeared to me very strange and difficult, but by degrees, and as I commenced understanding it a little, it became daily easier and smoother to my mind, and I found it to my great astonishment a rich and expressive though an uncultivated language. Its great defect is its paucity of words to express abstract ideas. But I must not forget to mention a visit which was paid me by the Kanzas. One day whilst I was earnestly tasking my memory for a few Indian words, a fine looking native came to the door armed with a dagger, a gun and a kind of war-club. He looked at me for a moment, and then giving a cry that a savage alone could imitate, he leaped into the centre of my lodge; he was followed by six others, all well armed and almost naked. I motioned to them to sit down, and they kept their eyes fixed on me. Wishing to know whether they belonged to a band of Pottowatomies, I addressed to them a few appropriate words I had already learned, but they replied in a different language. I showed to them every mark of friendship, and on their part, having recognized me as a blackgown, they returned the greatest respect and love. Their cries and gestures, at entering, were only intended as common-mode [*sic*] salutations.¹⁴

Father Gaillard's party, consisting of the superior of the mission, Father Verreydt, Brother George Miles and the three Religious of the Sacred Heart with Joseph Bertrand as guide, had left Sugar Creek August 16 and arrived at Father Hoecken's place of residence on the Wakarusa, August 19. Sister Louise came in from Westport on September 1. On September 7 the travellers bade adieu to the Wakarusa to begin the last stage of their journey to the new St. Mary's.¹⁵

¹³ Gaillard came to the United States in consequence of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland in the revolutionary troubles of 1847-1848. Cf. *supra*, Chap. XVI, § 4.

¹⁴ *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), November 16, 1850. The punctuation of the printed text has been slightly altered.

¹⁵ Gaillard makes no mention in his narrative of having stopped at Mission Creek. The route followed by his party would scarcely have brought them in that direction.

Gaillard's diary records briefly the particulars of the trip:

We begin the journey to the new mission September 7, 1848, Father Superior, Father Gaillard, the lay brother, Patrick Ragan, and a boarder named Charlot. High water keeps us detained a whole day at a trading post. Next morning, the water having fallen, we ford the river at a place called Uniontown, some on horseback, others in wagons.¹⁶ At noon we stop for dinner at a creek.¹⁷ Continuing our way we arrive at our new home about four o'clock in the afternoon of September 9, 1848. We were accompanied the whole way by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and Mr. Joseph Bertrand. Two log houses were prepared for us on the prairie; but they were only half finished, without windows or doors or floors or any conveniences. We begin to work at them, to provide a shelter against the night air and the winds. We miss sorely the skilled labor of the Brother whom we call the doctor [Mazzella] and who is sick with fever and obliged to remain behind at Sugar Creek.¹⁸

Such, told in simple language by one of the chief participants in the event, was the founding of St. Mary's Mission on the Kansas River. Later years were to see their humble venture develop into a well-spring of civilization and religion up and down the Kansas Valley.

APPENDIX

Some twenty-five years after these incidents occurred Father Verreydt set them down in writing (Memoirs [A]), probably wholly from recollection, his account being in substantial accord with the data as set forth in contemporary records. At the risk of some repetition the account is here reproduced:

"They all rose and the treaty was signed by them. They agreed to receive the \$40,000 and to move that year to their new country. The land assigned, as I have already observed, was 30 miles square. The greatest part of the land was situated on the north side of the River Kansas and a portion of about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile was on the south side of the River. A small band of our Indians with Father C. Hoecken at the head went to see their promised land before their removal from Sugar Creek. Arriving at the small fraction south of the River, a hilly and barren country, and supposing that was the country set apart for them, they all got a bad case of blues. Downcast and utterly discouraged they returned home as quick as possible. F. C. Hoecken with a broken heart told me that the country was not fit even for

¹⁶ Uniontown, "site of a government trading-post, established in 1848 and abandoned about 1855, was located on the northwest quarter of section 23, township 11, range 13 east (Shawnee County), on the California trail, a short distance from where it crossed the Kansas river, on the only rock ford on the river." It was fourteen miles above Topeka, Kansas. *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9: 573.

¹⁷ Cross Creek, at the site of the present Rossville.

¹⁸ (F). Original text of the diary is in Latin.

dogs to live in. Wiewosay [Wewesa], the chief, and others went on the same errand, saw the same desolate place, and told the same doleful story. One of our traders, a Frenchman, who was of course interested in the affair, went to examine the country and came back under the same illusion. Addressing the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, he said, '*Mes Dames, ce pays est l'enfer meme.*' This expression completely discouraged the poor Ladies. The whole village was in the dumps."

Father Verreydt now decided to make a personal inspection of the new reserve at Sugar Creek. There was universal dejection as a result of the unfavorable reports about it that had come in. But the Father could not believe that he and his Indian flock had been so egregiously imposed upon. With a party of two or three he visited the section south of the Kaw only to find it quite as unattractive as it had been painted. He urged his companions to accompany him further north, but they demurred, being apparently of the opinion, in Verreydt's words, that "they could judge how dreary it [the reserve] was by looking only at the worst place of it." Verreydt accordingly went on alone. "I went farther into the country till I came to an elevated place where I had a fine view of the country designated on both sides of the river for the Pottowatomies. As I had taken the precaution of taking a chart, which gave me all the information I needed to know exactly the situation of that part of the country, all my fears disappeared at once when I saw plenty of timber, which then truly was the case; but [the timber] being all on the other side of the river, I was satisfied that I had not been deceived by the Agent and that, as he had said, it was a fine country."

Relieved of all anxiety as to the true character of the new reserve, Father Verreydt returned to Sugar Creek where on the following Sunday he gave an account of his visit to the Indians assembled in church. "They opened their eyes and could scarcely believe that words of such assurance could possibly proceed from the lips of a blackgown and that at the altar of God. Their appearance convinced one that it was useless to say anything more on the subject. I left the whole affair to their discretion. They knew that the contract which they had made with the government could not be broken and that it had been made by their own free will and could not be attributed to me, for I had given them my opinion only according [to] their request and I had told them plainly that I would not be answerable for their proceedings in this matter. . . .

"As they had agreed to move that year [1847], the greater part of the nation departed for their new home with F. C. Hoecken as their leader in whom they had confidence and respect and he as a true shepherd was determined, whatever might happen, never to abandon them. Br. Mazzelli accompanied him. I let them go ahead to follow soon after them. It was of no use to go along (with) them, I had lost my credit! Those Indians that remained still at Sugar Creek did not know what to do. Some would have liked to remain where they were, others to join their friends of some other nation. A few days after F. C. Hoecken with his faithful band had left, I arrived at the same barren spot [Mission Creek] and found them in the

Diarium Botévalimica Missionis *St. Mariae ad Lacum.*

Annus diebus
1848.

- 8^o 1^o Oct. Iter ingredimur ad novam missionis regionem S. Superior, S. Galland^o cum uno Coadj. S. Regem, et uno Convictore, hactet dicta.
- 8^o Totā die commoramur in Mercatorum pago, propter altitudinem fluminis, impediti quominus proseguamus iter.
- 9^o Tragicissimus fluvium vulgò Kansas nuncupatum, alii quidam equis, alii vero curribus. Horā circiter 4^o pomeridiana tempestas ad novas habitationes latè peruenimus. Totius itineris committes habuimus domos a S^{ro} Er. De et D^{no} Josephum Bertiaud. Nova quidem regio latum undique praebet aspectum, sed non ita nova domus, quippe quae, semi-constituta, liberum omni vento patitur tant aditum. Quod nobis unius operarius huic malo qui possit occurrere, Coadjutor scilicet, quem Doctorem dicimus. Hic febrilaborans cogitatur suam commemorationem in Sugar-Creek protegere.

Arrival of the pioneer party of Jesuits and Religious of the Sacred Heart at the site of the Catholic Potawatomi Mission, Kansas River, September 9, 1848. Entry in Latin diary of Maurice Gailland, S.J. Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas.

most dejected condition. John Tipton, my friend and interpreter said, 'I think, Father, you came from a country where there was no timber.' Persuasion was useless; they did not want to cross the river. Just at that time a young man who had been sent out to look for timber somewhere arrived and announced that there was fine timber and plenty of it about eight miles south of Kansas river. Off they went to the Wakarusa and soon commenced a new settlement. Trees were felled in every direction, rails to fence their fields were soon ready, cabins were erected for their dwellings, a little log-church was soon provided for Divine Service and a cabin that joined it for the habitation of Father C. Hoecken and Br. Mazzelli, and a kitchen joining their cabin about six feet long by four feet wide. All this great labor had been done in the beginning of the fall of that year without my knowing anything about it; for whilst they were going to examine the place where there was such fine timber, as the young man mentioned before had told them, I crossed the Kansas River, which often is very low and can easily be forded. I was astonished to find such a fertile plain covered with large timber. I soon met some Indians and half-breeds with whom I was well acquainted at Council Bluffs. Old friendship was renewed and I saw I was perfectly welcome. I met other Indians and the same friendly 'how do you do' was repeated. All, even those Indians at Council Bluffs who had never visited our church, wanted me to stay in that part of the country where they were already established. They did not want me to go to the south side at all; they wanted me to remain with them. In a few words, to mention the truth, I was their friend. I travelled up and down the country to find a suitable location for the intended mission. Wherever I travelled, I found the soil excellent for cultivation. As to the timber, there was an abundance of it at the Big Blue. This River flows through a fertile plain which was then covered with timber. This would have been sufficient for a fine settlement for our Catholic Indians and would have been at a reasonable distance from the Council Bluffs Indians, who were then already settled far below St. Mary's. The Council Bluffs Indians desired that I should reside among them, but I knew that our Catholic Indians would never have consented to live among them. Therefore I promised nothing but merely told them that I was going to look out for a good location. Moreover, I had heard that the whole country below St. Mary's had been inundated after the Caw Indians had been already removed from that country. Some of their half-breeds came in possession of a beautiful tract of the country joining that of the Pottowatomies. It was a beautiful place reserved for them but by the overflow of the Kansas River, the flood had carried away their houses, etc. The water, as I discerned by the driftwood, which was still hanging on the trees, when I was there, must have been about sixteen feet above the ground and I further discovered, by some rails and other driftwood which I saw on the ground, that the overflow reached as far back as to be only six miles from St. Mary's. This overflow, however, was to be attributed to an almost constant rain of one month. Still I did not like, I must own, to settle in a place which had once been under water.

"As I always dearly loved the Blessed Virgin Mary, though unworthy,

I wanted the place which I had selected for our mission to be called St. Mary's. I needed her assistance for I did not know where I should establish our mission; to settle at the Big Blue would have been too far away from the Council Bluffs Indians, and as to our Catholic Indians, they might have remained where they were; for they needed the consent only of the Shawnees, to whom the land belonged, and as they were always on friendly terms with the Shawnees, the latter might have had no objection, as they had plenty of land. Moreover, I could not hope to get them to settle so far away as to be at the very limits of their country. I had lost their confidence. To settle among the Bluffs Indians would have precluded our Catholic Indians from their country; for then they never would have crossed the River to live among Indians who were known to be addicted to liquor. I knew very well that St. Mary's locality was not suited for a town; but as the Kansas River flows through a very fertile plain, generally covered with large timber as walnut and oak trees, a great many of our Catholic Indians might have settled along the River (where an Indian likes to live) or might have found some other suitable place back of St. Mary's. N.B. When I went to see that country, there was a plenty of timber and we used a great deal of timber for our church, buildings and fences, etc. As to the prairie, it is the best grazing place in the West. As to the timber at this present time, I know it is scarce, but necessity compelled me to settle at St. Mary's.

"After all, it was truly Providential that I did not settle at the Big Blue, for I had scarcely commenced preparations for erecting a little cabin for our habitation than a brave half-breed of the Council Bluffs Indians having selected a place there [the Big Blue] and built a house, etc., but a few days after all his labor had his horses stolen, perhaps by the Pawnees or some other wild Indians, as it was supposed. As he had no protection to expect from the Council Bluffs Indians (who were afraid to settle down at St. Mary's), our brave half-breed thought it prudent to move back to his old place. Since that time no Indian would have dared to live there. Knowing *how brave* our Catholic Indians were, I came to the conclusion to establish a permanent location for our mission, at hazard, at St. Mary's."

§ 3. EARLY STRUGGLES: THE WINTER OF 1848-1849

The Potawatomi reserve was a square, thirty miles to the side, the Kansas River flowing through it from the west a few miles above the southern boundary. Its east line ran two miles west of the site of the future Topeka, its west line passed through what is now Wamego. The mission buildings stood some six miles above the southern limits of the reserve, and five miles closer to the western than to the eastern boundary, forming a hub around which was to revolve the little Potawatomi world that had been conjured up by governmental agency on the banks of the Kaw.¹⁹

¹⁹ " . . . a tract or parcel of land containing five hundred and seventy-six thousand acres, being thirty miles square and being the eastern part of the lands

At almost a mile's distance north of the Kaw the fertile bottom-lands terminate in a line of equally fertile and gracefully undulating hillocks, which form the background of the picture as one gazes to the north from the valley below. Here, between spurs of the crenelated ridge, rose the buildings, work on which had been in progress for weeks before the arrival of the missionaries. There were two main structures, both of hewed logs and mates in every respect, lying on parallel axes at a distance of about one-hundred and ten yards apart. The west log-house, sixty-one by twenty-one feet and twenty-one feet high, was of two stories and contained five rooms. This building, which was assigned to the nuns, occupied the site of the infirmary building of St. Mary's College; near it, a hundred yards to the west, ran a small creek. Additions were later made to this log house on the north end while on the south it received, at the hands of Brother Mazzella, who arrived at the mission September 26, an annex forty by twenty-one feet, which was used as an assembly-hall. The log-section and additions of frame made together a building a hundred feet in length, which did service as school-house and residence for the sisters up to the construction by the latter in 1870 of a substantial building of brick, now the administration building of St. Mary's College. The log house occupied by the fathers stood about one hundred and ten yards east of the sisters' dwelling. It also received (1865) a frame annex at the south end, so that the building measured in later years one hundred by twenty-one feet in floor space and twenty-one feet in height to the ridge of the roof. In 1849 a school-house of logs was put up some five or six yards east of the fathers' residence. Midway between the fathers' and the sisters' dwellings, at a distance of about fifty yards from each, was located the church, originally a poor frame house put up by Brother Mazzella and first used for divine service on November 12, 1848. The spring of 1849

coded to the United States by the Kansas tribe of Indians, by treaty concluded on the 14th day of January and ratified on the 15th of April of the present year, lying adjoining the Shawnees on the south and the Delawares and Shawnees on the east, on both sides of the Kansas river." Article four of Potawatomi treaty of 1846. Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 558. "The Pottowatomic Reserve is located in the choicest part of Kansas, 30 miles square, its eastern boundary line running two miles west of Topeka and sixty-two miles west of the Missouri river and embraces within its limits every variety of farming land, rich creek and river bottoms, level table-lands, undulating slopes and rolling prairies and even rocky bluffs in some localities that seem almost majestic from their great height. Also timber of all kinds (except pine) fringing the smaller creeks throughout their length and skirting the larger streams in mimic forest, many of the trees measuring from four to six feet in diameter, oak, walnuts, sycamore, elm, locust and cottonwood predominating." *Times* (St. Marys, Kans.), October 25, 1877. Citations in this and the following chapter from Kansas newspapers are from clippings in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

saw the construction on approximately the same site of a more substantial sacred edifice, built of logs, which was to acquire distinction as the first cathedral church in the vast region flanked by the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains.²⁰

The physical environment of the mission left nothing to be desired. Gaillard's description of it touches off all salient features:

We found the country around our establishment charming and beautiful. The houses are built on an elevated spot, near a stream of pure, fresh water; in front extends a vast green prairie, dotted with trees; its soil is exceedingly rich, for the fields belonging to the Indians, though indifferently cultivated, will yield a very fine harvest at the coming season. As for timber, we have an abundance for many years to come, even should all the arable lands be occupied. Oaks of different kinds and various other trees of hard and substantial wood abound in the forests. The Indians only regretted not to find here their much esteemed and cherished maple or sugar-tree, which grew so luxuriously in the old Mission. . . . The Kanza river flows majestically through the lands of the nation and is bordered on both sides, especially on the north by two forest belts or thick woods. At some distance from the river a range of hills rises in the north and south from which smaller streams and rivulets are flowing and traversing the plains, and are bordered with a great variety of trees. Early in the spring these streams are frequently so high that they cannot be crossed without much danger whereas in the fall of the year they are almost dry. In autumn the Kanza river itself is so low that it may be crossed on horseback or in a wagon; in the winter the river is generally icebound.²¹

Attractive as were the environs of the mission, the Jesuits at the time of their arrival found them a solitude. Only three Indian families were settled in the neighborhood. A much larger number could have been found there earlier in the year; but an incident which occurred in July, 1848, had sent them flying in panic to the south side of the river. A small party of Potawatomi of the family of Paid, together with a handful of Kickapoo and Sauk, had gone out west of the reserve to hunt buffalo.²² On the way the hunters fell in with the main body of the Kansa Indians, who were also in search of the same game, and

²⁰ The site of the log-church is marked today by a large red boulder. The first baptism registered after the arrival of the Jesuits at the Kaw River was that of Jean Paschal Miller, three-months old son of Paschal Miller and Victoire Mauchtei, Father Gaillard being the officiating priest. Date, October 15, 1848. (F).

²¹ *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), November 9, 1850. For the numerous variants of the name Kansas, cf. *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9:521.

²² As late as the end of the fifties the buffalo was hunted by the settlers a day's march above Manhattan in the Republican Valley. *Recorder* (Westmoreland, Kans.), January 13, 1887. Even in the late sixties the Potawatomi were hunting buffalo in western Kansas, though by that time the game had become very scarce.

smoked with them a friendly pipe of peace. Meanwhile a band of Pawnee came up to the four allied camps, but deterred presumably by the rather formidable strength of the latter from making an attack, they sent a messenger to the Potawatomi and their friends with pledges of good will and an invitation to join them on the hunt. The messenger was well received and dismissed in peace, but on his way back was fired upon and killed by a Kansa Indian. Enraged by the murder, the Pawnee attacked the four camps. In the engagement that ensued five Pawnee were killed and their scalps carried off by the Potawatomi and Kickapoo.²³ Major Cummins of the Fort Leavenworth Agency, to whose jurisdiction the Potawatomi belonged, thus concludes his report of the incident: "I am inclined to think that blame in this matter ought not to be attached to the Pottawatomies or Kickapoos; that they fought in self-defense is evident. But it is in every way unfortunate, as it has led to reprisals, and may end in further bloodshed; for, since the above collision took place, the Pawnees have lifted forty horses from the Pottawatomie settlements on Kansas river."²⁴ At the time the missionaries arrived the Indians had not yet summoned up courage enough to return from across the river and settle around the mission-house. "Not an Indian," Gaillard notes in his diary, "wishes or dares to share the danger with us."

But there were other circumstances besides the absence of the Indians to make the position of the Jesuits a distressing one. For some weeks subsequent to their arrival the buildings remained in an unfinished condition and could afford no shelter against wind and rain. On September 17 they erected a cross on the hill overlooking the houses. Presently they were taken down with fever and the ruin of all hopes for the mission stared them in the face. A measure of sunshine broke through the gloom with the arrival from Sugar Creek on September 26 of Brother Mazzella, not a well man by any means, but strong enough to set to work on the unfinished buildings. The situation was still further relieved when Father Hoecken arrived October 12, having closed his station on Mission Creek. By the beginning of October he gathered in all the available produce of his field and garden; then, whatever household effects he had were transported across the river

²³ "The first engagement between the warriors of the two tribes was on east side of Blue river near the Rocky Ford and on territory now included within the limits of Potawatomi County." Address of Hon. J. S. Merritt in *Tribune* (Wamego, Kans.), June 6, 1879.

²⁴ *RCIA*, 1848. The Potawatomi ambush is said to have been planned by Kack-kack, chief of the Prairie Band, who died at about eighty-eight at his home five miles west of Mayetta, Jackson County, Kans., February 16, 1907. He was born near Chicago and was a brother of the well-known Indian chief Shab-nec or Shabaunee, who participated in the Black Hawk War. *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 14: 545.

to St. Mary's with the help of Brother Ragan and the never-failing Michael Nadeau and Joseph Bertrand. Together with Hoecken came a number of Indians to plant their tepees around the mission-site. The missionaries had now every reason to hope that the Indians still remaining south of the river would shortly follow the example of the group brought in by Father Hoecken. Meantime, a few Indian boys were already at the mission and with them an attempt was made to continue the school begun at Sugar Creek.

Brother Mazzella having made the log-buildings inhabitable built a frame annex to the fathers' residence to be used as a chapel pending the erection of a church. In this temporary chapel Hoecken spoke regularly in Potawatomi at Mass and evening Benediction up to November 12, when he left the mission in company with a party of Indians who were going to the Miami country to hunt and make sugar. After his departure Verreydt, who does not seem ever to have mastered Potawatomi, preached Sunday mornings in English with the aid of either Joseph Bertrand or John Tipton as interpreter, while at the evening service Gaillard spoke in French for the benefit of the mixed-blood and Canadian families, of whom a number had settled around the mission.²⁵

The winter of 1848-1849 was extraordinarily severe. For eighty days, from December 6 to February 24, the ice-bound Kaw became a wagon-road. December 22 the ink froze on Gaillard's pen. On the 24th, Christmas Eve and a Sunday, there was no sermon "on account of the cold." But the priests were not idle. They buried an Indian boy, Pemowetuk, whose death is the first recorded in the annals of the new St. Mary's, besides hearing the confessions of not a few Indians, who had come over in numbers from the south bank to celebrate Christmas with the missionaries. A brief entry in Gaillard's Latin diary under date of this Christmas eve of 1848 records the pathos of the situation—"desiderium ingens P. Hoecken" ("a great longing for Father Hoecken"). On Christmas Day there was no midnight Mass; the intense cold forbade, Verreydt and Gaillard having each to content himself with a single celebration of the Holy Sacrifice. Out over the reserve dogs and horses were perishing in the freezing weather. On the 26th a messenger sent to Tremblé's for the mail was forced to return, unable to make his way through the piling snow-drifts.²⁶ New Year's day saw a great crowd of Indians at the mission, who had come from across the river to give the fathers the customary hand-

²⁵ John Tipton, mixed-blood Potawatomi, was especially efficient as an interpreter.

²⁶ Tremblé or Tremblay, a French mixed-blood. The name is of common occurrence among the French pioneers of the West.

shake. The diarist notes that their faces were bright and cheerful despite the distressing conditions in which they had perforce to live; moreover, they brought the missionaries a timely New Year's gift in the shape of a quantity of venison. The latter soon made a painful discovery; many of the Indian families around them were without the barest necessities of life. And still the fierce winter held on. Leaden skies and low temperatures were the order of the day. Father Gailland's Latin vocabulary was put to a severe test for synonyms. "*Coelum summe obscurum ad tristitiam invitans*," he wrote on January 3.²⁷ Again on the 5th, "*tempestas summe tenebricosa frigoreque asperrima*"; on the 6th, "*tempestas admodum densa*."²⁸ Then on later days, "*coelum admodum lugubre, frigus acerrimum*," "*coelum serenum sed frigidissimum*," "*hyems iterum asperrima*."²⁹ When conditions were at the worst, Charlot, the Indian boy, was sent out to hunt for game but returned with nothing more than two prairie-hens. One cheering incident of the gloomy season is recorded. On January 5 Father Hoecken, "*tandem omnium votis exoptatus*," ("the object of everyone's longings"), returned with two Indians from his Miami excursion, much the worse for cold and hunger. The party he had accompanied to the Miami country was still there as late as April and rumors began to reach the mission that grave disorders had broken out among them.

The winter was beginning to moderate when a more unwelcome visitant than even freezing weather made its appearance in the neighborhood of the mission. On February 9, 1849, the first tidings of the approach of the Asiatic cholera reached St. Mary's. Its advent was hastened by the parties of California emigrants passing in continual procession in wagons and on horseback along the western trail. On June 1 six cases of cholera were reported in Uniontown, the trading-post of the Potawatomi, a few miles below St. Mary's on the right bank of the Kaw. On June 6 only one Indian family was left at the Wakarusa, the rest of the village having fled before the scourge. It was impossible amid the prevailing terror to conduct school at the mission and so the Indian boarders were dismissed to their homes. During the six weeks that the epidemic was at its height the three fathers of St. Mary's were constantly riding back and forth between the various settlements on the reserve, administering remedies to soul and body. About the middle of July the cholera began to abate.³⁰

²⁷ "A very heavy and depressing sky."

²⁸ "Very cloudy and bitterly cold weather." "Extremely heavy weather."

²⁹ "Sky very gloomy, cold intense." "Sky clear, but freezing cold." "More very biting winter weather."

³⁰ In the absence of professional doctors, who seem to have been unknown at this time on the Potawatomi reserve, the missionaries, especially Father Hoecken

The task before the missionaries would have been a lighter one if their flock had gathered into one great settlement around the mission-house. As it was, the Indians were scattered in villages up and down the reserve. February 17, 1849, the Indians south of the river petitioned for Mass every Sunday; but their wishes could not be met. In April Father Gailland started to pay monthly visits to Uniontown, Mech-gamiinak and Sugar Creek, the three stations south of the river.³¹ In August at the special request of the Indians Father Hoecken began to spend a week in turn at each of these villages, baptizing, assisting at marriages and instructing the children. Thereafter all ministerial work south of the river devolved upon Hoecken. The Indians indeed could never be brought to settle as a body on the north side of the river. When Hoecken first joined the other missionaries at St. Mary's October 12, 1848, it was expected that the Indians would be induced by his presence to cross the river after him. "His accession to us," notes Gailland in his diary for that day, "will induce many Indians to come here after their Father and Leader." Later he writes: "In October the Indians began to move near the mission in large numbers." But a large number still kept to the south side, alleging the scarcity of timber on the other side or the fact that a change of settlement would mean for them a loss of the improvements made in their first homes. In Gailland's opinion the real reason why they refused to move was fear of the Pawnee and Sioux, who were not likely to continue their depredations south of the Kaw. In 1850 the situation as summed up by Gailland was this: "Nearly half of our neophytes have refused to cross the Kansas."

The visit to St. Mary's in September, 1849, of the vice-provincial, Father Elet, resulted in several wise provisions for the advancement of the mission. Elet, accompanied by his assistant, De Smet, came up from the Osage Mission by way of Mission Creek, where Hoecken chanced to be on one of his ministerial visits. The Indians, many of whom had crossed from the north side of the river for the occasion, formed an escort to conduct the three fathers, the march being enlivened by beating of drums and volleys of musketry in honor of the distinguished visitors. To return the compliment, Elet ordered a barbecue on October 10, to which all the Catholic Indians on the reserve, the school-boys

(as also Brother Mazzella) gave the Indians the benefit of their medical knowledge, which was not inconsiderable. A claim for compensation for medicines and medical services rendered the Indians during the cholera of 1849 was put in by Hoecken. "I presume no doubt can be entertained of the importance of the services rendered and consequently of the justice of the claim." Haverty to Mitchell, Feb. 5, 1850. Records of the St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs. Library of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

³¹ There were apparently some Potawatomi still around the old mission-site on Sugar Creek.

included, were invited. The instructions left by the superior at the close of his visitation covered matters ranging from the building of chapels to the domestic economy of the mission-house. Hoecken, as principal pastor of the Indians, was charged with the erection of two chapels south of the river and was also to try to induce the Kansa Indians to build a chapel for their own needs. The Jesuit community were to be provided with a refectory distinct from the one used by the boys as also with a dwelling-house separate from the school.

On September 29 Fathers Elet and De Smet took leave of St. Mary's in company with Father Verreydt, who, after eleven years of continuous service as superior at Council Bluffs, Sugar Creek and St. Mary's, was now relieved of office, his career as Indian missionary being at the same time definitely brought to a close.

In compliance with the vice-provincial's directions, Father Hoecken crossed the river, October 12, to make preparations for the building of two chapels, one at Mission Creek, the other at Mechgamiinak.³² Men were at once hired to hew the timber and haul the lumber for the new structures, which were erected under the superintendence of Thomas MacDonnell and made ready for divine service, one in July, and the other in August, 1850. The church at Mission Creek was named for Our Lady of Sorrows, the one at Mechgamiinak for St. Joseph.

In the summer of 1850 Father Hoecken reported to Father Elet that the order given by the latter for the construction of two additional churches had been carried out. "I did not forget the two churches *ex parte australi fluminis* [on the south side of the river] and consequently am enabled to state to you that next Sunday we shall be able to celebrate the sacred mysteries in both of them. It was highly necessary, for a great many were running very fast headlong into dissipation, vice and destruction. I would be glad if your Reverence could send another Father early this fall; it might be better for me to wait till that time to absent myself—*salvo meliori judicio*—please let me know your sentiments on the subject. I have been sick and am still—I caught a bad cold in working on the churches."³³

§ 4. CHRISTIAN HOECKEN AND THE KAW INDIANS

Among the matters that engaged Elet's attention during his stay at the mission was that of extending the ministry of the fathers to the Kaw or Kansa Indians. This tribe, according to instructions he left be-

³² Mechgamiinak was about six miles from the site of Topeka and in the immediate vicinity of the Baptist Potawatomi school conducted by the Reverend Johnston Lykins.

³³ Hoecken to Elet, July 21, 1850. (A).

hind, were to be visited by Father Hoecken, who was to endeavor to secure their children for the mission-school and also to build a chapel on the Kansa reserve. The Kansa, a Siouan tribe, are closely allied in blood, language and manners to the Osage, with whom they have the distinction of being named on Marquette's map illustrating his journey of 1673. As early as 1826 General William Clark had made overtures to Van Quickenborne for a Catholic mission among the Kansa (*supra*, Chap. VI, § 1). An attempt to open such a mission was made by Father Joseph Lutz, a young priest of the diocese of St. Louis, who in 1828 resided for a short time in the Kansa village on the Kaw River near the site of Lawrence. Subsequently the Kansa came into occasional contact with Jesuit missionaries in the West. A party of them visited Father Point's little chapel at Kawsmouth and they were to be found at intervals at the Kickapoo Catholic Mission begging provisions from the fathers. De Smet on his way to Oregon in 1841 was entertained royally in Fool Chief's camp, on the north bank of the Kaw, six miles distant from Soldier Creek. His impressions of the Kansa found expression in one of the most informing accounts of the tribe that we possess.³⁴

The Kansa seemed to be particularly unfitted to cope with the difficulties that everywhere beset the Indian tribes before the advancing tide of white civilization. They were economically most destitute and without decent means of subsistence. Wherever we meet them in written accounts of the Indian country, they seem to be engaged in a search for food. They beg provisions at the Kickapoo Mission; they cross the path of Parkman, the historian, on his way up the Oregon Trail, who describes them as a sorry-looking lot with starved and repulsive faces; the last act of Hoecken on closing his station at Mission Creek was to distribute a quantity of bacon which he had on hand to some Kansa visitors. Though the picture which De Smet drew of the tribe as he found it in 1841 is not an altogether unfavorable one, Major Handy, of the Osage River agency, portrayed them in uncomplimentary terms: "The Kansas tribe of Indians are located on the head waters of the Neosho, a tributary of the Arkansas; they have a lovely country; their number is in all about thirteen hundred; they are a poor, miserable race of beings who make their living entirely by hunting and stealing; indeed, stealing seems to be a part of their tuition; they drink but

³⁴ CR, *De Smet*, 1:180 *et seq.* Cf. also Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, pp. 30-32. As early as May 17, 1827, White Plume, the Kansa chief, made an appeal to General William Clark for Catholic missionaries: "My Father. Another thing I want to say. The American Ministers among us are married men. I don't like that. I want Catholic priests to teach my children." (H).

little (I presume only for the reason that they are too remote from the States to obtain it) and are respectful and obedient to the agent." ³⁵

The Kansa Indians were probably not as degraded morally as the picture of them drawn by Major Handy would seem to indicate. At all events, they expressed on various occasions a desire to have Catholic missionaries. Gaillard's diary chronicles a visit they paid to St. Mary's on February 19, 1849, when they took occasion, one may presume, to urge the fathers to send them a Catholic pastor. In accordance with Elet's instructions Hoecken visited the Kansa Indians in the August of 1850.

Although poor in health, I paid a visit to the Kansas village commonly known as Council Grove. It is a most beautiful place, healthy, well provided with timber of every kind and water, excellent water at that, and distant about 125 miles from Westport on the Santa Fe trail. I was well received. I asked the chiefs in council whether they had made any contracts with individuals. They all answered me in the negative. 2° (I asked) whether they had petitioned for the Methodists. Their answer was again in the negative. 3° They declared they could do nothing; they had often remonstrated against sundry matters, but these continue to remain as they were. 4° They avowed it to be their wish and desire to have black robes and none others, but they were at a loss to know how to get their petition heard. I explained everything to them and on my finishing they at once asked me to write a letter for them to Washington and also one to St. Louis, which I did. In the letter to the President they beg him to send them black-robes and absolutely no others. They go on to say they have heard that the Methodists intend to settle among them; but this also is against their wish and desire. ³⁶

The petition of the Kansa Indians, dated August 8, 1850, and addressed to Major Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, was forwarded by the latter to Luke Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs, with the comment that, as it was not witnessed, it was valueless. ³⁷ In the end, nothing was done for the Kansa though the half-breeds of the nation, who had been assigned tracts on the north bank of the Kansas River at the time of the cession in 1846 of the old Kansas reserve, found the ministry of the Jesuits brought within their reach by the erection in 1850 of the chapel of the Sacred Heart on Soldier Creek, twenty miles distant from St. Mary's. It was built by the fathers chiefly for the Potawatomi settled around Soldier Creek, but also for the French-speaking Kansa half-breeds. It was a modest

³⁵ *RCIA*, 1849.

³⁶ C. Hoecken to Flet, August 10, 1850. (A).

³⁷ The Kansa petition is in the files of the Indian Office, Washington (cited as H).

structure, eighteen by twenty-two feet, costing only one hundred and six dollars, and its builder was Moise Belmaire. Mass was said here every other Sunday and the preaching was in English, Potawatomi and French.⁸⁸

An effort was made in 1862 by H. B. Branch, of the superintendency of Indian affairs at St. Joseph, Missouri, to secure Jesuit missionaries for the Kansa Indians. He wrote on December 30 of that year to De Smet:

In accordance with the request of the Kansas Tribe of Indians I address you on the subject of the establishment of a Catholic Mission School among that tribe.

These Indians are mostly Catholic and are anxious that their religious and educational interests should be looked after by some Jesuit Fathers, rather than by the Baptists and Quaker Societies, who are now making efforts to get control of their school.

They desire a school established among them on the plan of the St. Mary's Mission among the Potawatomies to be conducted by such persons as have the management of that institution. The request of these Indians appears to me to be just and proper; being Catholic and expending their own money in support of schools, they should certainly have a voice in the selection of Teachers for their children.

In this connection I beg leave to remark that I am in favor of the establishment of schools or Missions on the above plan in every agency under my charge; for I am well convinced that the Jesuit Fathers have been and are evidently successful in their efforts to civilize and refine the Indians; because, they are generally educated for that purpose, are zealous and earnest in their efforts; devoting their whole time to the interests of education and religion, without pay and with the devout self-sacrificing spirit which the hope of future reward, the love of God and the labor of educating the human race, should inspire in every heart.

In behalf of these poor Kansas Indians I appeal to you to make an effort to get control of the Kansas Mission and I pledge you my hearty cooperation for the accomplishment of the object in view.^{88a}

With their meagre personnel the Jesuit group represented by De Smet were in no position to take on additional missionary work. In an

⁸⁸ Account-book, St. Mary's Mission. (F). Helen Papin, mother of Vice-President Charles Curtis, was a Kansa mixed-blood belonging to the group settled around Soldier Creek. Curtis, born January 5, 1860, was baptized April 15, 1860, by Father Dumortier of St. Mary's, as attested by the mission register. "Pappan's Ferry" at the Oregon Trail crossing over the Kaw, where is now Topeka, was a well-known institution in the emigrant period. Father Schultz baptized "Arthur Lefevre [Lefevre?], born 25 December, 1854, in the place called Soldiers Creek at Papin's Ferry." (F).

^{88a} (H).

address delivered December 4, 1906, before the Kansas Historical Society, George P. Morehouse summed up briefly the subsequent fate of the Kansa:

The Kansa neglected by state and church fell before an unfair contest with the white man's civilization, while the Osages, who since 1827 have been the favored ones in business bargains with the government and the special charge of a devoted and continued missionary effort on the part of such devoted teachers as Fathers Van Quickenborne, Schoenmakers, Ponzi-glione, Mother Superior Bridget Hayden and others, are now amongst the most prosperous of western tribes.

What a different tale to relate regarding the Kansa [Indians] had they been treated honestly, their imperial home ground from Manhattan to Topeka and eastward been preserved for their use and had they been given the same wise and continuous educational and moral advantages as were given the Osages. Instead of being the sorry remnant destined to obliteration, they might have been filling the same important part in Kansas affairs now occupied by the Osages in Oklahoma.^{38b}

§ 5. STARTING THE INDIAN SCHOOLS

The most remarkable feature of St. Mary's Mission on the Kaw was the schools for Potawatomi boys and girls. At Sugar Creek the Jesuits had conducted a day-school only, the lack of a government appropriation making one for boarders impossible. At St. Mary's, on the other hand, boarding-schools, one for boys and one for girls, were opened from the very beginning of the mission and maintained successfully down to the breaking-up of the Potawatomi reserve.

In the spring of 1848 the question of schools on the new reserve was debated in lively fashion in the Potawatomi councils. According to an official census taken at this time, the tribe now numbered 3,235 members.³⁹ Of these, not quite one half were Catholics, the rest, apart from small knots of Baptist and Methodist converts, being still pagans, or, as they were called, Prairie Indians.⁴⁰ The civilized portion of the tribe was predominantly Catholic. The attitude of the Indians on the school question was summed up by Major Cummins, government agent for the Potawatomi, in a report under date of June 7, 1848, to Major Harvey of the St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs. According to the agent the Indians were divided on the question into four parties: the Catholics, who were unanimously in favor of a school on the

^{38b} *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 10:365.

³⁹ *RCIA*, 1848, no. 2.

⁴⁰ "The Potawatomi tribe is still more than half-pagan. The Catholics among them number from 1500 to 1600." Gailland in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, November, 1851.

north side of the river; the Baptists, with chief Topenebee at their head, who asked for a Baptist school on the south side of the river; the Methodists, who did not ask for anything; and a fourth party, inconsiderable in point of numbers, who were in favor of the government's erecting schools and appointing teachers without reference to religious views, the schools to be entirely under government control. "I think," continued Cummins, "a large portion of the Potawatomes, particularly those from the Bluffs, incline to the Catholics. I would, therefore, recommend that their wishes be complied with and that a school and mission be placed under their charge on the north side of the river. Some of them stated in council that this was the unanimous wish of all on the north side of the river and it was not contradicted. I would also recommend that the wishes of the Baptist party be complied with and that a school or mission under their charge be established on the south side of the river."⁴¹

As a protest apparently to Agent Cummins's recommendation that a Baptist as well as a Catholic school be given to the Potawatomi, a petition signed by nineteen chiefs and braves, including Joseph Lafromboise, Perish Leclerc, Charles Beaubien and Half Day, and dated Soldier Creek, May 30, 1848, was sent to Superintendent Harvey at St. Louis:

We wish that the two schools should be under the direction of the Catholic priests or Fathers. As it is your wish that all your Indian children should be united, we think that is the only way, by having only one denomination. If we have two, we will always be divided. It is the wish of our Grandfather, the President, that we should live like brothers in peace and happiness. In order to live that way, according to our fathers' wishes, you will please grant us our wish. It is the opinion of all our chiefs. Give us the Catholics for the two schools. If this does not meet with your views, forward this to the President and beg of him to bid hear to our request in this small instance.⁴²

It would seem to be likely, in view of this document, that the predominant demand among the Potawatomi was for Catholic schools

⁴¹ (H). Cummins in his report to Harvey observed that the Baptists were the first to open a school for the Potawatomi. "I think the Baptists were the first to establish a Mission and School among the tribe in 1822 [Carey Mission near Niles, Michigan] . . . the existence of a partiality for them by many of the Potawatomi, they being the first to open a school now being taught in their new country on the Kansas River, their unabated interest in their welfare and their strong desire to continue their labors among them are all considerations in favor of assigning the management of one of the Manual Labor Schools to that Society." Cf. Lela Barnes, "Isaac McCoy and the Treaty of 1821," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 5: 122-142.

⁴² (F).

only. Harvey, however, indorsed Cummins's report in favor of a Baptist and a Catholic school and transmitted it June 16, 1848, to Washington, forwarding also at the same time the petition of the Catholic Indians, of which no account was taken in the arrangements subsequently made.⁴³ In accordance with the recommendations thus made by Cummins and Harvey, the Indian Office gave out in the fall of 1848 two contracts, one dated September 30, in favor of the Baptist Board of the American Indian Mission Association of Louisville, Kentucky, and another dated October 4 in favor of Father Van de Velde, procurator of the Jesuit Vice-province of Missouri.

The party of pioneers that arrived at St. Mary's on September 9, 1848, included an Indian boy, probably of mixed blood, Charlot by name, whom Gailland describes in his diary as a *convictor* or boarder. With him the long line of Catholic youths to be educated by the Jesuits at St. Mary's may be said to have begun. The first pupils formally registered in the school were the mixed-bloods, Bernard Bertrand, November 25, Ezechiel Pelletier and William and Francis Darling, November 30, and Francis La Flamboise, December 11, 1848. Approximately the same number of girls were admitted about this time into the school conducted by the Religious of the Sacred Heart. There was no special teacher for the boys until the arrival in November, 1849, of the layman, Mr. Ryan. During the interval classes were conducted twice a day by Father Verreydt, the superior, who could ill afford to spare time for this occupation, busy as he was with superintending the erection of the new school buildings. On October 23, 1849, Father Gailland started to make the rounds of the reserve to notify parents that classes were about to be resumed and to urge them to send the children. On November 2 the boy boarders moved into their new building and on the 12th classes were begun under the direction Mr. Ryan.⁴⁴ De Smet, who was procurator or agent for the Jesuit missions in succession to Van de Velde, notes in a financial report to the government that the five thousand dollars allowed by the latter for the construction of the new building and for the farm improvements did not altogether meet the expense incurred, the fathers being obliged to draw on their own

⁴³ Major Cummins was not considered unfriendly to Catholics. "From what I heard Mr. Haverty say, Major Cummins is very much in your favor. He told me he would add his name to anything bearing your signature." De Smet to Verreydt, June 25, 1849. (A). In 1855 Cummins indorsed Father Duerinck's petition for an increase of the government allowance for pupils from fifty dollars to seventy-five dollars. At a later period De Smet gave testimony to Cummins's friendly attitude to the Catholic Indian missions.

⁴⁴ Hoecken's Diary. (F).

private funds to the extent of \$465.32.⁴⁵ The first official report on the schools was addressed by Father Verreydt to Major Cummins from "Pottawatomie Station, Kansas River," September 5, 1849:

A beautiful site for a settlement and a location for our mission has been selected one mile north of Kansas river, 38° 15'; the two dwelling-houses for the boys and girls stand at a suitable distance from one another, so as to separate the male from the female scholars, which is so requisite and proper. Said buildings are substantial log-houses, two stories high, 22 by 58 feet in front. The rooms are well arranged for ventilation, having windows so situated as to admit the air on all sides. Ere long I hope we will be ready to accommodate comfortably the number of scholars specified in the contract, and many more. It appears that nearly all our Pottawatomies are determined to send their children to our manual labor school, and to no other school whatsoever. If we receive them, will the government defray our expenses which we will necessarily incur to educate and board them?

The number of boarders, both male and female, already registered, is 57; in addition to which there are ten day scholars, as you will find in the tabular statement. They are all well supplied with wholesome food, and are suitably clothed; order and cheerfulness are apparent throughout the establishments.

The male portion of the school is under the immediate charge of the Rev. M. Gaillant [Gaillard] and myself.

I do not wish to make it appear as if we had given all that strict attention which we intend to give to our scholars when our manual-labor school will be in full operation. You know the embarrassing circumstances in which we were placed during the time of the cholera, by almost a constant avocation to attend the sick. It is, however, highly gratifying to me to be able to state, that our pupils of both schools have made more progress than I really anticipated, notwithstanding all the difficulties that were thrown in our way. Indeed, almost all our scholars promise much for the future. They have five hours' attendance each day, viz: three in the morning, and two in the afternoon; so as to conciliate, as much as possible, the obligation of attending school with agriculture or manual labor, which the department requires.⁴⁶

Some miles below St. Mary's on the south side of the Kaw was the Baptist Potawatomie school. Rev. Johnston Lykins, superintendent of the school in 1849, described the site as "half a mile south of the Kansas, nine miles below Uniontown, the trading post of the nation, and a half mile west of the great California road from Kansas, Westport and Independence." The Baptist school previously conducted at

⁴⁵ De Smet to Orlando Brown, January 5, 1850. (A). The five thousand dollars were paid to De Smet in two instalments, one of two thousand, January 23, 1849, and the other of three thousand dollars, October 20, 1849.

⁴⁶ War Department Congressional Documents, 550, p. 1091.

Pottawatomie Creek on the old reserve was reopened on the new site March 20, 1848, with Miss E. McCoy in charge. It was in operation, therefore, before the arrival of the Jesuits at St. Mary's. In September, 1849, forty pupils, male and female, were in attendance, under the direction of the Rev. J. Ashburn, A.M., as principal teacher. One may read between the following lines with which Dr. Lykins, as he was generally known, concludes his school report of September 30, 1849: "It is a leading motive with us to Americanize the Indians and attach them to our country and institutions, as, in our estimation, upon success in this depends much in regard to their future well being. A foreign influence must ever engender prejudice and produce a want of confidence in our government and people."⁴⁷ Owing to lack of patronage and other difficulties the Baptist Potawatomi school was suspended in the mid-fifties, reopened about 1858 and again suspended at the beginning of the Civil War, its management being at this juncture in the hands of the Southern Baptist Convention of Louisville. It was recommenced in April, 1866, this time by the Baptist Missionary Association of Boston, but was again suspended after a brief trial.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *RCIA*, 1849, p. 151. Dr. Johnston Lykins, son-in-law of Rev. Isaac McCoy, translated the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Acts of the Apostles into Potawatomi. Lykins County, Kansas, is named for him. The following contemporary commendation of him is by Duke W. Simpson: "Dr. Lykins is a physician, a man of talent, firm and decided in his course, is a good democrat, was the friend of General Jackson, Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Polk, although he was appointed to that station by Mr. Wilkins under Mr. Tyler's administration." (H).

⁴⁸ The Baptist school drew chiefly from the Prairie Potawatomi, at least so Agent Murphy reported. Dr. Lykins's report of 1850 classifies the pupils as six Chippewa, ten Ottawa and thirty-four Potawatomi. The school-register for this or a closely subsequent year carries the names Bourassa, Beaubien and Darling (Ottawa); Petelle (Chippewa); Bertrand, Burnet, Lafromboise and Wilmet (Potawatomi). Four Wilmetts, Esther, Charlotte, Mary and Archange are entered. The name, a phonetic spelling for Ouilmette, is perpetuated in the north-shore Chicago suburb, Wilmette, laid out on a claim of Archange, wife of Antoine Ouilmette, pioneer Chicago settler and progenitor of the Kansas Wilmetts. Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago*, p. 25, note 22.

Miss McCoy, a niece of Isaac McCoy and teacher at the Baptist school in 1849, was anxious to secure a half-a-dozen French Bibles. "If the Board, or other benevolent person will not bear the expense, tell Mr. Dyer to take that much of my salary. There are a number of half-French and Indian Catholics who read French and have expressed a wish, indeed they appear anxious to have Bibles and say they want to know the truth and would believe the Bible. They were asked if the priest would allow them to read; they replied they would not ask him. . . . Our congregations are good, and notwithstanding the fierce array of enemies, we have many devoted friends, among whom are the chief and his counselors. But his life has been threatened by these Jesuits if he does not consent to their plans.[!]" Calvin McCormick, *The Memoirs of Miss Eliza McCoy* (Dallas, Texas, 1892), p. 74. Mrs. M. A. Lykins, appealing to Manypenny, February 27,

Far away in Rome John Roothaan, the Jesuit General, was not left uninformed as to the fortunes of the struggling little mission which his men had set up on the banks of the Kaw. To a communication from Father Verreydt, who in keeping with Jesuit custom had sent him a *Relation* of the mission, he replied appreciatively: "I have read with the liveliest interest the *Relation* which you addressed to me May 22 last on the Mission of St. Mary of the Lake on the Kansas River. I cannot tell you how interesting I found it. It is indeed just that a Mission which has endured so many trials should have none to suffer on our part. I shall lend you every aid as far as depends on me. Do not let yourself be discouraged, my dear Father; this mission, I hope, will not be ruined—like the others. Establish there solidly the devotion to the Immaculate Heart of Mary; it will be an effective preservative. I wish you to continue giving me from time to time details of your experiences and the results of your labors."⁴⁹

On September 29, 1849, Father Verreydt accompanied Fathers Elet and De Smet on their departure from St. Mary's at the close of the visitation made by the vice-provincial. He was assigned to parochial work in St. Louis and never afterwards returned to the Indian mission-field. His ministry among the red men had begun in 1837 when he relieved Van Quickenborne at the Kickapoo Mission. From the Kickapoo he went to the Potawatomi, among whom he opened the station at Council Bluffs, remaining there as superior during the few years the residence was maintained. From Council Bluffs he was transferred to Sugar Creek, still in the capacity of superior, and from the latter place made the chief preliminary arrangements for the opening of the Osage Mission. Finally, on the removal of the Potawatomi to their new

1855, for payment of a claim made by her husband, Dr. Lykins, for expenses incurred in allowing medicines to the Indians, maintains that earlier liquidation of the claim had been "suspended at the instance of base and corrupt men, the Ewings and foreign Jesuits." (F). The writer has met with no evidence, either in the files of the Indian Office or elsewhere, that the missionaries at St. Mary's protested against Dr. Lykins's claim. Apparently a heavy atmosphere of Jesuitophobia hung at all times over the Baptist Potawatomi Mission. The files of the Indian Office contain a copy of a spurious Jesuit oath forwarded by Dr. J. Lykins from Pottowatomie Creek, October 1, 1843, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, S. Hartley Crawford, "that you may judge for yourself of the motives which govern certain men now located in this section of the Indian country."

⁴⁹ Roothaan à Verreydt, August 20, 1849. (AA). The Potawatomi Mission, both on the Sugar Creek and Kaw River sites, was at times designated as "St. Mary's of the Lake" (*du Lac*). The significance of the name is not clear, unless it be an echo of "*Notre Dame du Lac*," a sometime name of Notre Dame University. The lake on the university grounds was a familiar spot to the Potawatomi of Northern Indiana. Roothaan's allusion to certain missions as having been ruined is apparently to the Kickapoo, Council Bluffs and Sugar Creek missions.

reserve, he followed them to open the Mission of St. Mary's on the Kaw. His residence among the Potawatomi lasted eleven years, during which time his efforts were directed to organizing and advancing the missions in a material way rather than to direct apostolic work among the tribe. Unlike Hoecken and Gaillard, he never mastered the language of the Potawatomi; these were missionaries, *in proprio sensu*, meeting the Indians in their own wigwams and conversing with them in their own tongue. But Father Verreydt had an equally difficult, if less striking, task to discharge. It devolved upon him to manage successively the temporal concerns of three Potawatomi missions, a duty which had few consolations to relieve its tedium and which, with the pitifully slender resources at his command, called for patience at every step.

On November 3, 1849, Verreydt's successor arrived at the mission in the person of Father John Baptist Duerinck, who was accompanied by the lay brother, Daniel Doneen, and a lay teacher, Ryan by name. Father Duerinck came from St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Kentucky, where he had filled the office of procurator or treasurer, after having held similar posts in the colleges of his order in St. Louis and Cincinnati. He was now forty years of age, gifted with excellent health and splendid energy and in the designs of Providence was to give his remaining years to the upbuilding of St. Mary's Mission. When a young professor he had achieved distinction as a botanist and his herbaria at St. Louis University and St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati, evoked appreciative comment from men of science. In Cincinnati particularly his work in scientific botany brought him to the notice of the Botanical Society of that city which not only conferred upon him a life-membership, but offered him a chair of physiological botany, a distinction which circumstances compelled him to decline. In his honor a newly discovered plant received the name *Prunus Duerinckiana*. Of more direct utility to his order was his talent for business management and this talent he was now to have ample opportunities to exercise as head of the important Mission of St. Mary's.

§ 6. CHRISTIAN HOECKEN'S LAST DAYS

In the spring of 1850 Father Christian Hoecken was busily engaged in carrying out his superior's instructions that two chapels be built for the convenience of the Indians living south of the Kansas River. In June of the same year he set out on a missionary trip to the Sioux country, from which he did not return to St. Mary's until January, 1851. To Father De Smet he sent a vivid narrative of this trip, which

was replete with hardship and almost had a tragic issue.⁵⁰ He had scarcely returned to St. Mary's from the Sioux country when he was unexpectedly called upon to make another journey, this time to Indiana, on a mission the nature of which appears from a letter addressed to Father Elet by Father Sorin, the founder of Notre Dame University:

Mr. A. Coquillard of South Bend has this day handed me a letter of the Rev. T. Hockan [C. Hoecken] dated December last from Bellevue and stating that he will likely go thence to St. Louis. Mr. Coquillard requests me to beg of your Reverence in behalf of the excellent above missionary, leave to come and assist him to gather and move down to the far West a number of Indians scattered around here and with whom he is well acquainted already. Mr. Coquillard has now a regular contract with the Government and will only wait for an answer to him in order to commence. I need not add how glad we should all feel in seeing again this good father, but I must not conceal from you that unless he comes and speaks himself to those good Indians, many will not move; and when I consider the extreme dangers to which they are just at this time exposed, I cannot hesitate in saying that his visit here must be attended by truly important results. If then in any way possible, I would entreat your Reverence to grant him and all of us the present favor.⁵¹

The Sugar Creek Potawatomi, at this moment settled around St. Mary's, had formerly occupied lands in northern and central Indiana. A remnant of the tribe was still to be found in their old haunts and an attempt to remove them thence to the Indian Territory was now to be made. De Smet being of opinion that the spiritual no less than temporal well-being of the Indians would be served by the proposed removal, an order was sent to Hoecken to repair at once to South Bend in answer to Sorin's appeal.⁵² Within some weeks the missionary was on the ground to lend his services to Mr. Coquillard, whose plan how-

⁵⁰ CR, *De Smet*, 4:1250. Other letters of Hoecken relative to the same journey are in the Mission Province Archives. Cf. also John F. O'Connor, S.J., *The Jesuits in the Kaw Valley: an Account of the Missionary and Educational Work of the Jesuits of St. Mary's, Kansas* (ms.), Chap. V, "The Last Days of Father Hoecken." Copy in St. Louis University Library: "You know, Rev. father my dispositions, dispose of me according to your good will and wish—I wish to work, to toil, to suffer as much as I can and as long as I live—I hope and trust in God to give me rest and repose, not in this side, but beyond the grave." C. Hoecken to Elet, Bellevue, December 23, 1856. (A).

⁵¹ Sorin to Elet, University of N. D. du Lac, January 20, 1851. (A). Alexis Coquillard, Indian trader and founder of South Bend, Indiana. Elmore Barce, *The Land of the Potawatomie* (Fowler, Indiana, 1919), p. 59.

⁵² "We all rejoiced to hear of this movement in favor of these Indians, fully assured that it will be for their happiness in this world and hereafter." De Smet to Sorin, January 30, 1851. (A).

ever for the removal of the Indians proved in the end to be abortive, either for lack of proper authorization from the government, as De Smet's correspondence seems to intimate, or for other reasons.⁵³ At all events, Hoecken, in answer to an urgent summons from Father Elet, returned to St. Louis in May, 1851, without having achieved the object of his mission. An incident of his visit to Indiana has been preserved. On the Sunday before Ascension Day he preached in the church of Notre Dame University in Potawatomi for the benefit of a group of Indians who sat before him, many of them having travelled a long distance on foot to listen to his words. "It was the first sermon in an Indian tongue that had ever been preached in Northern Indiana," wrote one who was present on the occasion. "Father Hoecken speaks the idiom of the Pottowatomies with surprising facility and rapidity. There was from beginning to end an uninterrupted torrent of speech that reminded the listeners of the eloquence of Ulysses whose hurrying words Homer compares to the rapid and countless flakes of snow in the wintry storm. It was interesting to watch the swarthy faces of the Indians beaming with an intelligence and enthusiasm seldom revealed by their apathetic and passionless features, as their sweetly flowing tongue, as mellifluous and liquid as the softest Greek or Italian, fell upon their eager and delighted ears."⁵⁴

Returning to St. Louis, Hoecken found De Smet preparing to leave for the Great Council of all the Indian tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, which was to be held in the neighborhood of Fort Laramie on the upper Platte. The government had enlisted the services of De Smet as intermediary with the natives, over whom he possessed acknowledged influence, and much good was expected from his presence at the council. Hoecken having been appointed by his superiors to accompany De Smet on the expedition, the pair took passage June 7 on board the steamer *St. Ange*, Captain La Barge, bound for Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, eighteen hundred miles northwest of St. Louis. A few days out from St. Louis cholera broke out among the passengers

⁵³ "I have arrived here safe, *Deo adjuvante et sic disponente*. May His name be honored and glorified by all. Since my arrival I have been continually at work, *ad maiorem Dei Gloriam* in instructing, preaching, hearing confessions, etc. . . . he [Alexis Coquillard] gets 55 doll. per head—he has dragoons at his disposal if necessary (he will not make use of them)—he has not the contract exclusively, he has a share in it . . . he has made a great many expenses already in buying horses and wagons, etc." Hoecken to Elet, April 13, 1851. (A).

⁵⁴ *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), May, 1851. That Hoecken delivered on this occasion the first sermon in Potawatomi ever heard in northern Indiana is very probably a misstatement of fact. The eighteenth-century Jesuits attached to the old Potawatomi mission close to the Indiana-Michigan line no doubt knew the language of their Indian flock.

of the *St. Ange*, many of whom fell victims to the epidemic, Father Hoecken among the number. The circumstances of his death were graphically recorded by Father De Smet.

The inundations of the rivers, the continual rains of the spring and the sudden transitions from heat to cold are, in this climate, sure precursors of malignant fevers. The cholera appears to assume an epidemic type in these regions. Disease in many forms soon appeared on board the *St. Ange*. From the moment of its advent a mournful silence took the place of the rude shouts and boisterous conversations of our travellers. Six days had hardly elapsed from our departure, when the boat resembled a floating hospital. We were 500 miles from St. Louis when the cholera broke out in the steamer. On the tenth a clerk [Louis Willcocks of New York] of the American Fur Company, vigorous and in the prime of manhood, was suddenly seized with all the symptoms of cholera, and expired after a few hours' illness. The following days several others were attacked with the same malady, and in a short time thirteen fell victims to the epidemic.

A bilious attack confined me to my bed nearly ten days. Good Father Hoecken devoted himself to the sick night and day, with a zeal at once heroic and indefatigable. He visited them; he assisted them in their sufferings; he prepared and administered remedies; he rubbed the cholera patients with camphor; he heard the confessions of the dying, and lavished upon them the consolations of religion. He then went and blessed their graves on the bank of the river, and buried them with the prayers and ceremonies prescribed by the Roman ritual. This beloved brother had naturally a hardy constitution, and was habituated to a life of privation; but the journeys and continued labors of the mission among the Indians had greatly weakened it, and his assiduous and fatiguing attentions to the sick completely exhausted him. In vain I warned him, begging him to spare himself; his zeal silenced every other consideration; instead of taking precautions against exposure, he seemed to delight in it. It gave me pain to see him fulfilling this heroic work of charity alone; but I was in such a state of debility that I was incapable of offering him the least help. On the 18th fears were entertained that my illness was assuming the form of cholera. I requested Father Hoecken to hear my confession and give me extreme unction, but at the very moment he was called to another sick person, who was in extremity. He replied, going, "I see no immediate danger for you; to-morrow we will see." He had assisted three dying ones that day. Alas! never shall I forget the scene that occurred some hours later. Father Hoecken's cabin was next to mine.

Between one and two o'clock at night when all on board were calm and silent, and the sick in their wakefulness heard naught but the sighs and moans of their fellow-sufferers, the voice of Father Hoecken was suddenly heard. He was calling me to his assistance. Awaking from a deep sleep, I recognized his voice, and dragged myself to his pillow. I found him ill, and even in extremity. He asked me to hear his confession; I at once acquiesced in his desire. Dr. Evans, a physician of great experience and of remarkable charity, endeavored to relieve him, and watched by him, but his cares and

remedies proved fruitless. I administered extreme unction; he responded to all the prayers with a self-possession and piety which increased the esteem that all on board had conceived for him. I could see him sinking. As I was myself in so alarming a state, and fearing that I might be taken away at any moment, and thus share his last abode in this land of pilgrimage and exile, I besought him to hear my confession if he were yet capable of listening to me. I knelt, bathed in tears, by the dying couch of my brother in Christ—of my faithful friend—of my sole companion in the lonely desert. To him in his agony, I, sick and almost dying, made my confession. Strength forsook him; soon also he lost the power of speech, although he remained sensible to what was passing around him. Resigning myself to God's holy will, I recited the prayers of the agonizing with the formula of the plenary indulgence, which the Church grants at the hour of death. Father Hoecken, ripe for heaven, surrendered his pure soul into the hands of his Divine Redeemer on the 19th of June, 1851, twelve days after our departure from St. Louis. . . .

The passengers were deeply moved at the sight of the lifeless corpse of him who had so lately been "all to all," according to the language of the apostle. Their kind father quitted them at the moment in which his services seemed to be the most necessary. I shall always remember with deep gratitude the solicitude evinced by the passengers to the reverend father in his dying moments. My resolution not to leave the body of the pious missionary in the desert was unanimously approved. A decent coffin, very thick, and tarred within, was prepared to receive his mortal remains: a temporary grave was dug in a beautiful forest, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Little Sioux, and the burial was performed with all the ceremonies of the Church, in the evening of the 19th of June, all on board assisting.

About a month after, on her return, as the *St. Ange* passed near the venerated tomb, the coffin was exhumed, put on board of the boat, and transported to the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Florissant. There repose the mortal remains of Father Hoecken, with those of his brethren. His death, so precious in the sight of God, saddened the hearts of the passengers, but for many it was a salutary sorrow. A great number had not approached the tribunal of penance during long years; immediately after the funeral they repaired one after another to my cabin to confess.⁵⁵

None of the Jesuits engaged among the Potawatomi since they came to Kansas had a firmer hold on their affections than Father Hoecken. The truth of the adage, *si vis amari, ama*, found obvious illustration in his career. He gave himself up wholeheartedly to the service of his Indian flock and they reciprocated by affectionate regard for and loyalty to his person. Mastery of Potawatomi was a factor, too, that made for the success of his ministry. It evoked the admiration of the Indians and won a hearing for the truths which he was able to

⁵⁵ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 640-643.

bring home to them with effective eloquence. A sometime Indian pupil of St. Mary's, Joseph Moose, portrayed Father Hoecken in these words:

Without interfering with the duties of his mission and [his duties] to God, he was among the Indians in their sports and hunts; and in the spring, when the Indians helped one another to plant corn, the most industrious figure in the crowd was the Jesuit Father, with a large plantation hoe, an apron sack full of seed corn and a big Dutch pipe in his mouth. He came, indeed, to teach the Indians civilization. He owned one yoke of oxen, poorly kept, going the rounds from one family to another to do the breaking. It is said that he was charitable to an excessive degree. Being in the company of Indians so much, he spoke their language with the fluent ease of a native.⁵⁶

Of the Jesuit Indian missionaries of the day no one was more intimately associated with Father Hoecken than Father Verreydt, the two being fellow-laborers at Council Bluffs, Sugar Creek and St. Mary's. In his memoirs Verreydt penned this tribute to his colleague:

As I well knew the good and zealous character of Father C. Hoecken, I was glad to be with him and he with me for we always did perfectly agree with one another. . . . I cannot but admire his ardent zeal. He was of a zealous disposition, not by fits and starts, but by a regular uninterrupted inclination to forward the glory of God as much as lay in his power. He had gained the confidence of the Indians. They dearly loved and respected him. Humble and simple in his manners, but vigorous and animated in his delivery in the pulpit, it was then that he truly appeared what he was, a man of God. His words flowed from his lips as if he were endued with inspiration. Truly, if he had had the chance our young scholastics have at present to further his education, he would have been an ornament to our Society. For I never knew one who surpassed him as to his memory. He would say the little hours of his Breviary almost without looking at them. The Pottowatomie and Kickapoo languages he spoke in a short time with ease, though not as well, as I understood, as Father M. Gailland. He knew the French and English languages well. He surely wrote Latin with ease, for, as I witnessed on a certain occasion, when we were in trouble and were obliged to answer a letter which we received from the general, he answered it in latin with not the least trouble. During Mass on Sundays F. C. Ho[e]cken, whilst he was preaching, exhibited all the true zeal of a missionary. He was truly a zealous Father, constantly occupied from morning till night with the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Indians. The sick were never neglected by him. It appeared to have been his glory to attend the sick, not only as a doctor for the maladies of the soul, but as a physician for body.

⁵⁶ *The Indian Advocate*, July, 1890, cited in *Dial* (St. Marys, Kans.), March, 1891.

We had some medical books which he now and then would consult and it appears that he had some knowledge of the medical art. Anyhow he was often occupied in preparing medicine for the sick since we had received from the government about \$300 worth of medicine for the sick.

Father Hoecken's position of influence in the missionary activities that centered around St. Mary's was destined to be filled by Father Maurice Gailland, the Swiss priest who had accompanied Father Verreydt up the left bank of the Kaw on the day that saw the founding of the mission. Presaging the fact that the mantle of the deceased missionary was to fall upon Gailland's shoulders was an incident that occurred during the first circuit of the Indian villages made by the latter after tidings of Hoecken's death had reached the mission. In one of the villages Gailland had announced to the assembled Indians the news of their pastor's death, but as he was fatigued with travel he called upon an Indian catechist to address the congregation in his place. The catechist, having delivered a eulogy on Father Hoecken, added by way of exhortation: "Our Father is dead—but another one has taken his place. Now you ought to look upon him as also your Father; we should have for him the same respect that we had for the other. He is deputed by the same Master, Jesus Christ, who has deputed both one and the other. The deputy has changed, not so the one who sent him or the prayers they taught us." Gailland's residence at St. Mary's was uninterrupted down to his death in 1877. His diaries, historical sketches and letters are a capital source of information for the history of the mission, while his Potawatomi dictionary, still unpublished, attests the mastery he acquired over the language of his spiritual children.⁵⁷

A letter of Gailland's written in the fall of 1852 describes condi-

⁵⁷ "The work which I undertook at the request of good Father De Smet will take time and will scarcely be finished before six or eight months: metaphysical words are difficult to render in Potawatomi, seeing that our good Indians have not yet gone to school in philosophy; already I have needed two weeks of reflection to find the expression corresponding to the didactic term, *to abstract*. But if I succeed in completing my work as I intend to do and in thus satisfying the excellent Father to whom the Indian missions owe so much and to whom I myself have a thousand obligations, I shall neither regret my time nor labor. It is not necessary to send me Father Hoecken's Grammar and Dictionary; it is too superficial a work and besides most of the rules given there are supposititious." Gailland à Druyts, October 11, 1857. (A). Gailland's English-Potawatomi dictionary (unpublished) is in the possession of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas. According to a letter, April 4, 1916, from F. W. Hodge to Rev. Charles Worpenberg, archivist of St. Mary's College, it appears that Dunbar did not collaborate with Father Gailland in the compilation of his dictionary, as stated in *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 10: 105. (F).

tions among the Catholic Potawatomi at this period. It was addressed to the directors of the French Association of the Propagation of the Faith.

Our neophytes show themselves more and more docile to our advice; their assiduity in attending church, in spite of the severest cold weather, their pious attitude in the house of God, their exactitude in approaching the sacraments, continue to afford us the greatest consolation. Their piety is so much the more praiseworthy as they have constantly before their eyes the sad example of some of the whites, whose whole study seems to be to pervert them by their perfidious advice and an unbounded laxity of morals. A certain number of families, to our great joy, not content with having cultivated good fields, are beginning to breed domestic animals for their own use and are already arrived at a state of comparatively easy circumstances, which makes them prefer their present life to that of hunting. One of the principal objects of our solicitude is to inspire them with a taste for labor and domestic life, at all times infinitely more advantageous than the precarious means to be derived from hunting, as well in a temporal as in a spiritual sense. When once you have carried this point, you have made a great advance and have obtained everything from the savage. This is the object of all our endeavors at the present moment; in the exhortations that we make to them from the pulpit, we always revert to these main points; that the Great Spirit made labour a law; that He expects from them an absolute renunciation of their savage customs; that unless they show themselves obedient unto His voice, their lot will still remain deplorable; that the American government will refuse them the right of citizenship and continue to drive them back from their states, until at length their race will become entirely extinct. The respect which they show to the Black-robe, in conjunction with past experience, enables them to understand that these lessons are not a mere display of words, but are averred truth, attested by their preceding misfortunes; hence, those who manifest dispositions of obedience are unable to find terms in which to express their joy at having adopted this new system of life which we recommend to them. "How foolish," they continually exclaim, "are those who live under tents and obtain a livelihood by such arduous toils. They might have hunting-grounds around their houses and lead a much more happy life in the bosom of their families."

To give you some idea of their docility in this respect, I will merely instance one example. In the Spring of 1851, while I was visiting the Indians of a village to the south of the Kansas, where we have a small church, one of them returned from his hunting expedition after an absence of nearly five months. Knowing him to be firm in his faith, I thought I might speak to him in more severe terms than I usually employ. I said to him, "How can you imagine that you serve the Great Spirit when you spend half of the year without once entering the house of prayer; you have now been five months without seeing the Black-robe, without hearing his word, making your confession, or receiving holy communion. Is this taking care of your soul and attending to the salvation of your wife and children? Is this the

fulfillment of your promises made at baptism? If death had surprised you in the distant forests, what would have become of your soul? Is it proper for a servant of the Great Spirit to associate with those who do not adore him? If all the Christians acted as you do, the Black-robe would have no business to remain among people who absented themselves almost entirely from his direction." "Father," he said, "all this is very true; but we have here only a few gourds and a little maize; would you have us die of hunger?" "On the contrary," I replied, "I want to see you in abundance. Let the red man follow the example of the white man and his house will never see want. Fence out a large field, sow plenty of maize, plant potatoes, and wheat if possible. Sell some of your horses; buy some cows and pigs, keep hens, and you will not need to have recourse to hunting for your livelihood." With these words I left him, resolving to await the result of the lesson I just gave him. About a month after this, as I visited this village, he sent to me one of his daughters to present me with some milk and butter as an announcement that he had already profited by my advice. He had watched the troops of emigrants on their way to establish themselves in Oregon, taking with them immense herds of cows. He had obtained three pair of oxen and several milk cows, by exchanging his horses for them. I expressed to him my great satisfaction for having done what every sensible Indian ought to do. Several others have followed his example. The village of St. Mary, in particular, has already acquired a name among the Americans, who speak highly of the progress our Indians have made in civilization.

I feel bound to admit, Gentlemen, that the situation of our Mission wonderfully facilitates the progress of our neophytes. The soil is exceedingly fertile along the rivers, and the immense prairies by which we are surrounded would supply abundant pasturage to thousands of cattle, if they would take the trouble to rear them. Moreover, we are situated on the road to Oregon and California; every spring crowds of emigrants pass through our territory; whoever has provisions or horses to sell, may easily procure the means of supporting a family. It is, indeed, morally certain that a military road will be formed through the middle of our village, which will afford to the Indians still greater facilities for trading with their horses and the produce of their fields. The advantage of our position, in this respect, is so well understood, that it excites the envy even of the white population, and gives us no little apprehensions for the future. It is proposed, even now, to sell the land to the government of the United States. Should this course be adopted, we are not sure that we may remain in possession of the locality. We may be compelled to seek an asylum among the savage tribes of the Rocky Mountains.

Whatever may be the impenetrable designs of Providence, we are determined to wander from desert to desert with our neophytes, and devote to them even the last drop of our blood; for we cannot abandon to the designs of the devil so many innocent victims. We trust they will continue to edify us in their misfortunes, as they have done in their prosperity. As a pledge of their future good conduct, we have the liveliness of their faith, which has enabled them but recently to undergo a rigid ordeal, to which

it pleased the Lord to subject them; I mean the ravages committed by the small-pox. This fatal disease declared itself, in the first instance, in the village of the infidels, about the end of the summer of 1851. We tried to prevent it by vaccinating all those who had not yet been operated upon; on two occasions we sent for vaccine matter from the United States, but the vaccination had no effect. At length, about the middle of December, the disease broke out in the village of St. Mary, precisely at the time when the cold is most severe. For two months it raged with the greatest virulence; five persons in one house were sometimes all attacked at once; scarcely a day passed without a funeral, often three or four. The dead and the sick were so numerous that we had difficulty in finding persons to dig the graves. Death has carried off the elite of the village. One thing, however, afforded us consolation in our affliction, and that was the patience and heroic resignation with which our neophytes endured their sufferings and met their death. . . .

During the whole time that the disease continued among us, those who escaped attended the church with redoubled assiduity. Some who had been accustomed to go hunting were unwilling to leave the village for fear of carrying away with them a germ of the disease and dying at a distance from the priest. We were apprehensive that after so fatal a blow to our village, it would be left deserted; but thanks to God, others have come to fill up the depleted ranks. Several pagans have embraced the faith, and our church is even better filled than before. The sacred hymns, religious ceremonies, the ornaments added to the church of St. Mary, have attracted several families to our village. The strangers who come here are delighted with the good dispositions of the Indians and at the order that prevails among them. This spring two or three young men had secretly introduced some spirits, and for two nights in succession had abandoned themselves to drunkenness and other shameful irregularities. On the following Sunday the chief held a council with the principal persons of the village of St. Mary, when it was unanimously agreed and enacted by a sort of penal code, that corporal punishment should be inflicted upon anyone who should be found in future introducing liquor into the village, who should be found drunk, playing cards, or carrying on criminal intercourse. These rules having been accepted, the chief resolved to give an example of vigor: "Although," said he, "we cannot inflict punishment for past faults, yet in order to intimidate those who will not submit to the measures which we have just adopted, as the chief, I order that an exemplary punishment be inflicted on my daughter, who has committed a serious act of immorality." The chastisement was at once inflicted. This law had the effect of reducing everything to a state of order, and drunkenness, by which we are, as it were, surrounded (for it prevails among all the neighboring pagans) has disappeared from our village.

I ought, also, Gentlemen, to speak to you of our schools; but that I may avoid a repetition of what I said of them last year, I will simply add that that of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart excites the admiration of all; it is of the greatest service to the mission. The girls brought up therein are models of piety; when they return to their homes, the majority of them

are equal to the white women in point of intelligence, and the management of domestic affairs. Two of the oldest pupils of their establishment have been so much edified by the examples of humility, patience and devotedness of their mistresses that they also have expressed a wish to become Religious of the Sacred Heart; this favor has been granted them, and last spring they went down to St. Louis to go through their novitiate.

I cannot either refrain from expressing to you the pleasure which we experienced at a visit of the Rev. Father [De] Smet, the founder of the Oregon Missions. After having ascended the Missouri as far as the Yellowstone and visited Fort Laramie, baptizing on his way hundreds of little children, he arrived at St. Mary, in the beginning of October, 1851. He had with him a numerous suite of Indians of different nations, Sioux, Crows, Cheyenne and Arapahoes. These savages remained three days at our Mission, during which they gave us a representation of their favourite dances, that of war and that of the hair. In preparation for these ceremonies, they painted their faces in various colours, which gave them a frightful appearance. They then visited and exhorted us, each in his own language, to come to their tribes; and to do for them what we have done for the Potowatomies: "*Parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui frangeret eis*" ("The little ones have asked for bread, and there was none to break it to them"). May it please heaven to send some zealous missionaries to enlighten these people seated for so many centuries in the shadow of death! ⁵⁸

§ 7. THE VICARIATE EAST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

In 1851 an event occurred that was to advance the modest little mission-post of St. Mary's at a bound to something like a place of importance in the ecclesiastical world. This was its selection as residential headquarters of a Catholic bishop.

The Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1842, brought about the erection of the American territory west of the Rocky Mountains, the so-called "Oregon country," into an ecclesiastical province with archbishop and suffragans. The Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1849, undertook the supplementary task of organizing the "Indian country," as it was called, the far-flung stretch of plain and prairie that lay between the Missouri River and the Rockies. Pius IX was accordingly petitioned by the council to erect all the territory flanked by the mountains and the western limits of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, into a vicariate-apostolic. Moreover, the names of three Missouri Jesuits, Fathers Bax, De Coen and Miège, were proposed to the Holy Father that a choice of one of them might be made to head the new vicariate, the incumbent of which was to be consecrated bishop. Miège's name, so it appears, was the first on the *terna*. "The Bishops

⁵⁸ *Ann. Prop.*, XIV, September 6, 1852. The translation of Gailland's letter is from a London edition (14: 274) of selections from the French *Annales*.

in council," Father Elet informed the General, "have resolved to propose one of our Fathers to the Holy See as a future vicar-apostolic. Father De Smet was proposed, but I answered that he would not suit. The Archbishop of St. Louis [Kenrick] then spoke to me of Father Miége and I answered that he would suit, but that I thought it my duty to refrain from pronouncing for or against the measure."⁵⁹

On August 1, 1849, the Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Fransoni, wrote to Father Roothaan: "I am already aware of the sentiments of your Paternity in regard to the promotion of subjects of the Society to ecclesiastical dignities; but there is question here not of an episcopal see, but merely of a vicariate-apostolic and a mission among savage tribes."⁶⁰ The prefect was thus at pains to point out the real character of the distinction which it was now proposed to bestow on a Jesuit; and he did so, it would appear, because only two days before he had received from Father Roothaan a protest against the reported nomination of Fathers Accolti and Mengarini to bishoprics. But the General had no objection to their appointment as vicars-apostolic, "in missionary countries in the strict sense and particularly in our Rocky Mountain missions."⁶¹ However, the proposed vicariate east of the Rocky Mountains did not appear to fall in this latter category, so Roothaan made known to Fransoni, September 5, 1849. "It does not seem to me that the same can equally be said of the new vicariate for the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, for it will not be long before this territory is invaded by the Americans [whites] . . . and it will not differ from the other civilized dioceses. I say nothing of the scarcity of means in these missions, one of which [St. Mary's among the Flatheads] after flourishing for five years has been almost destroyed by the proximity of the whites . . . and by the introduction of whisky and other liquors which are so deadly to the savages." Nevertheless, Roothaan concludes his letter to the Prefect of the Propaganda, if a Jesuit must be chosen for the new vicariate, then Miége may well be recommended for the post.⁶² De Smet, at this time socius or assistant to the vice-provincial, hastened to reassure the General that no harm could possibly befall the Society from its accepting a forlorn vicariate in the wilderness of the American West. "As to the Vicariate-Apostolic of Reverend Father Miége, he would in my opinion fill this post with considerable success. I know not whether I deceive myself, but I am firmly convinced that this dignity has nothing about it for the person invested therewith that

⁵⁹ Elet à Roothaan, June 13, 1849. (AA).

⁶⁰ Fransoni à Roothaan, August 1, 1849. (AA).

⁶¹ Roothaan à Fransoni, July 30, 1849. (AA).

⁶² Roothaan à Fransoni, September 5, 1849. (AA).

would not under every respect be in perfect conformity with the spirit of abnegation, mortification and sacrifice which the Society professes, for his life in short would be the life of the Indian with all its miseries and all its privations.”⁶³

John Baptist Miège, a native of La Forêt in Savoy, now only thirty-six years of age, had arrived in America in June, 1848, with Father Behrens's party of exiled Jesuits of the province of Upper Germany. He was himself a member of the province of Turin and his object in coming to the new world was to labor among the Indians of the Oregon Mission. But his hopes in this direction were not to be realized though he was assigned in 1849 to a projected Sioux mission that was never set on foot.⁶⁴ As things turned out, his actual duties in the vice-province became those of professor of moral theology in the seminary opened at Florissant to meet the needs of the refugee German scholastics domiciled in the Missouri vice-province in 1848. Later he was at St. Louis University where he took his turn with other members of the staff as prefect or supervisor of the large study-hall of the institution. Here in St. Louis on October 20, 1850, he received the brief of Pius IX under date of July 23 of the same year appointing him Vicar-apostolic of the Indian Territory. Father Roothaan, on being assured that the Holy Father was to insist on Miège's appointment, had inquired of Cardinal Barnabo, secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda, whether in place of a vicariate-apostolic with the episcopal character a prefecture-apostolic would not suffice; but he was answered by the secretary that, the Pope having approved the recommendation of the Propaganda, the matter would have to stand as it was.⁶⁵ The papal document which Miège now held in his hands constituted him vicar-apostolic “for the territory lying to the east of the Rocky Mountains and not included within the limits of the states of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota,” and made him bishop-elect “with the title of a church *in partibus infidelium*.” Moreover, it released him “from the obligation of not accepting any prelacy outside of the Society” and from “the law of not declining the counsel of the General”; and it said in express terms, “we inform you that while being Vicar Apostolic, you

⁶³ De Smet à Roothaan, June 10, 1849. (AA).

⁶⁴ Cf. Chap. XXVI, § 3. Though the form Miège is a common one, the Bishop usually signed his name Miège. For a scholarly account of Bishop Miège's career, cf. Mary Paul Fitzgerald, Sister of Charity of Leavenworth, *John Baptist Miège, S.J., 1815-1884, First Vicar Apostolic of the Indian Territory: a Study in Frontier History*, in *Historical Records and Studies* (United States Catholic Historical Society, New York), 24 (1934). Cf. also J. C. Garin, *Notices Biographiques sur Mgr. J. B. Miège, Premier Apostolique du Kansas* (Moutiers, 1886).

⁶⁵ Barnabo à Roothaan, August 20, 1850. (AA).

are also a Regular and the chief Superior of the priests of your Society in the Mission.”⁶⁶

As Father Miége had not at this time taken his final vows as a Jesuit, he was not under the obligation incumbent on the professed members of the Society to refuse ecclesiastical dignities unless imposed upon them by the Holy See. Young, inexperienced, and honestly diffident of his own ability to measure up to the requirements of the episcopal office, he was minded to decline the proffered dignity if it could possibly be done. He therefore straightway returned the brief to Rome, addressing it to the Father General and writing at the same time to the Prefect of the Propaganda. To Father Roothaan he declared that he was unwilling to be released from his vow of obedience and he blamed Father Elet for having proposed him, a thing, however, which the vice-provincial on his own witness had not actually done. “Did he have your approval? He should first have asked me. After all the vow is a thing which concerns me. Father Elet does not know me, having up to that time spoken to me only once or twice and then *en passant*.”⁶⁷ Evidently Miége was much distressed over the situation and the Father General hastened to tender him what consolation he could:

I have received your letter with the larger package for the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda. You would have done much better had you sent it direct to the Cardinal. How could I have added to or made any change in your letter to the Cardinal?

I sympathize with you, my dear Father. I knew for quite a while with what you were threatened; but I could not say anything to you. It was for your conscience to decide. If there was nothing in your brief except the *dispensation*, it is clear that it imposed no obligation. If there was a *precept* of his Holiness, and I fear that such may come for you, as for Father Van de Velde, there was nothing, there will be nothing to do except to obey. You understand that I shall not fail to defend you as far as I can.

I was under the impression, mistakenly, that there was question of the territory of Oregon, where missions of ours have been going on for several years, and that the erection of such a Vicariate was for the purpose of detaching these missions from the dioceses which have since been erected in that quarter. If such were the case, it was the only means of preserving these missions and the Society could not only agree to it, but even desire it, as was done in Madeira. But on the east of the Mountains, what is there in a Vicariate Apostolic that a Father of the Society ought to be invested with it? I could wish you had pointed this out in your letter to the Cardinal.

⁶⁶ The text of the brief is in Donald C. Shearer, O.M.Cap., *Pontificia Americana: a Documentary History of the Catholic Church, 1784-1884* (Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.), p. 266.

⁶⁷ Miége à Roothaan, October 23, 1850. (AA).

For the rest, my dear Father, await the issue *in peace* and pray, with confidence in our Lord.

Though you have not yet made the profession and consequently are not bound by the law [not to accept ecclesiastical dignities], it was equally in the spirit of your vocation to *refuse*, since there was no precept which obliged you to accept.⁶⁸

To Cardinal Barnabo Father Roothaan wrote without delay acquainting him with Miége's unwillingness to accept the brief of appointment. The Cardinal's answer of December 11, 1850, made known that Pius IX "ordered [Miége] to be given an absolute precept of obedience to accept the charge laid upon him."⁶⁹ A communication from the General to the Bishop-elect followed immediately:

What I gave you grounds for suspecting has actually happened. The Holy Father has expressed his formal, absolute wish that you accept the vicariate-apostolic with the episcopal character. Here, then, is the precept, the will of God. The Briefs which you sent back are returning to you—there is nothing for you to say. Submit and pray and think only of the manner in which you must conduct yourself in this new charge *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

Still there is a consoling side. 1. You continue to remain a member of the Society. 2. Perhaps we have a means now of keeping up and continuing our Oregon missions west of the Mountains, which missions might be annexed to your Vicariate of the East, perhaps the only means of avoiding the extreme measure of having to abandon them definitely after so many sacrifices and such happy beginnings. Courage, then, my dear Father, and confidence in God and His holy Mother! I sincerely hope you will succeed in keeping clear of a pitfall which has been the ruin of so many missions on the occasion of their receiving a bishop. The latter, namely, instead of setting himself before everything else to the shaping of living temples, begins by building a cathedral and episcopal palace, plunging into debts which one is at a loss later on to pay off, and creating an abyss that swallows up the resources which ought to serve all the first and urgent needs and, lacking which, God's work can absolutely neither advance nor even remain where it is. I am sure, too, that you will avoid the *dominans in cleris* ["lording it over the clergy"], that you will rather be *forma factus gregis ex animo* ["made a pattern of the flock from the heart"]. You will think not only of the mission, but also and above everything else, of the missionaries, so as to preserve them *in utroque homine* [i.e. spiritually and materially]. You will be also their religious Superior. See to it that your government be spiritual, mild, exact, *suaviter et fortiter*. Happily I can dispose in your favor of 5000 francs which I have placed to your account with Father Coué, our Procurator in Paris, recommending him to forward them to you as soon

⁶⁸ Roothaan à Miége, November 30, 1850. (AA).

⁶⁹ Barnabo à Roothaan, December 11, 1850. (AA).

as possible. Kindly let me know what are the missions of your Vicariate as I have no exact knowledge on this point.

Go slowly—*festina lente*—*chi va piano, va sano*. Enough for today. Once more, courage and confidence. *Domine da quod jubes et jube quod vis* ["Lord, enable us to do what Thou commandest and command what Thou wilt."].⁷⁰

On March 25, 1851, Father Miége received episcopal consecration as Bishop of Messenia *in partibus infidelium* in St. Francis Xavier Church, St. Louis, at the hands of Archbishop Kenrick, assisted by Bishops Van de Velde and St. Palais. No one could have taken upon himself the plenitude of the priesthood with more reluctance. "The 25th of March," he had written to Father Roothaan, "has been fixed as the day of my execution."⁷¹ To De Smet, on the other hand, the event was a most auspicious one, presaging as it did in his eyes the dawn of an era of prosperity for the Indians of the West. "About eight days ago," he wrote to Gaillard, "the Bulls of Reverend Fr. Miége were received by him with a mandate from Rev. F[ather] General—his consecration will probably take place on the 25th of next month—please offer up the Holy Sacrifice for him on that day and to draw down the blessings of God on the whole Indian Territory—it will indeed be a great day for all those benighted tribes, seated for ages in the shadows of death—the divine light, I hope, will soon dawn upon them and the true worship of the living God shall replace their dark and profound superstitions. You may expect Rev F[athe]r Miége during the month of next May and use meanwhile all your endeavors in preparing the people of St. Mary's to receive the sacrament of Confirmation—he will hence proceed to the Osage nation, after which he will penetrate the desert on his first visit to his flock. I shall in all probability accompany him and introduce him to the Upper Tribes."⁷² De Smet's thoughts were all taken up with the affair. In a letter to Father Di Maria he said: "The Bulls of good Fr. Miége have left Rome again, determined to reach the far western plains and to fatten on the far-famed Buffalo-grass. I shall have the happiness, the pleasure and honor to accompany his Jesuitical Lordship, either in quality of guide—perhaps as a Secretary, the Lord knows! perhaps as a Grand Vicar [vicar-general]. *Quidquid sit*, I will be happy under every circumstance to find myself once more in the midst of my beloved children of the Plains."⁷³ In the event De Smet did not accompany

⁷⁰ Roothaan à Miége, December 14, 1850. (AA).

⁷¹ Miége à Roothaan, March 1, 1851. (AA).

⁷² De Smet to Gaillard, February 26, 1851. (A).

⁷³ De Smet to Di Maria, February 12, 1851. (A).

Bishop Miége on his journey west. The government had secured his services for an impending council of the plains Indians and he left St. Louis for the upper Missouri Country in June, 1851, not, however, before discharging the duty that devolved upon him as procurator of the Indian missions to furnish Miége with the material equipment of his new office. "We are now scraping and begging," he informed Father Schoenmakers of the Osage Mission, "to procure a decent outfit to his Lordship."⁷⁴

At St. Mary's the news of the erection of the new vicariate-apostolic, with Bishop Miége as its first incumbent, brought joy to the mission-staff. A most cordial congratulatory letter from Father Gaillard to the Bishop-elect enlarged upon the advantages offered by St. Mary's as headquarters for the newly appointed Vicar-apostolic:⁷⁵

It is with a sentiment of profound joy that we have just learned of your nomination to the Vicariate Apostolic of the Indian Territory on this side of the Rocky Mountains. Father De Smet had conveyed to us this happy news and the American newspapers have already reproduced it in their columns. Although Reverend Father De Smet informs us at the same time of your intention to send the bulls back, we have no misgivings on that score. The Roman Curia, accustomed to these timid humilities, will find therein only a new reason for adhering to its choice and carrying out its plan. The rejected bulls, so we are convinced, will recross the spacious seas without delay, accompanied by an order in due and proper form to accept. Moreover, the Society of Jesus, so solicitous in interdicting honors to her children, is not alarmed to see their heads crowned with a glory which very few persons would have the courage to ambition. St. Ignatius himself, who exacts of his children a complete aversion for the honors which the world seeks after, made no difficulty about exhorting his own Nugnez to submit to the decrees which raised him to the Patriarchate of Ethiopia. The reason was that he saw there a burden rather than a dignity and truly it is in such circumstances if ever that one must say "*qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat*" ["he who desires a bishopric, desires a good work"]. To accept a bishopric among the Indians is to accept a life of sacrifice and abnegation.

I have announced to our Indians that the greatest of all the Black Robes was going to depute a great Black Robe to provide for the salvation of all the Indians on this side of the Great Mountain, and that this great Black Robe would probably not be long in coming to visit them. This news filled their hearts with joy. They look for his first appearance at the beginning of next spring on their return from the big hunt. A number of them have not been confirmed; they await with impatience the reception of the fullness of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. We shall profit at the same

⁷⁴ De Smet to Schoenmakers, March 7, 1851. (A).

⁷⁵ Gaillard à Miége, December 1, 1850. (A).

time by this circumstance to have the blessing of the three churches built by us and of a fourth which perhaps we shall shortly build at another point.

The Potawatomes as well as our Fathers and Brothers are strongly of the persuasion that the see of the Vicar Apostolic will be here. What inspires this persuasion is [that] the nation of the Potawatomes counts in its bosom a numerous and fervent community of Christians. Being the first Indians of the Territory to embrace the Gospel, they are tempted to believe that they have a right to this preference. There is here a small community of Ours and a community of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart of Jesus with two school buildings, one for boys, the other for girls. At the headquarters of the Mission is found the church, which, without being comparable to the fine churches of Europe, nevertheless deserves mention among the churches which are built or going to be built later on in the Indian Territory. One of our coadjutor-brothers here [Mazzella] has made an altar of marked beauty in the Indian country. This church deserves to be raised to the rank of a Cathedral.

Furthermore, this point is, so to speak, the center of the Vicariate; from here it will be easy to make apostolic excursions to all the savages of the Vicariate. On one side are placed the numerous nations of the Sioux, Pawnees, the Iowa, the Kickapoux, the Delawares, the Shawnies, the Sacs, the Foxes, the Kansas, the Miamies, the Peorias, the Courte-oreilles [Ottawa], the Osages, etc. Many of these people can be reached in a day's journey on horseback; in three or four days one can get to the flourishing mission of the Osages. Add to this that once acquainted with the language of the Potawatomes, one can easily understand the Sacs, the Foxes, the Kickapoux, the Courte-oreilles, and after some little labor the Miamies, the Peorias and the Piankishaws; with a little study the Pastor would then have the advantage of being able to deal directly with his flocks among the different tribes. Now there are in many of these neighboring nations numerous Christians entirely abandoned by reason of the small number of workers. The little tribe of the Peorias, for example, which is entirely Catholic, for want of assistance is going to fall back into infidelity. Now if the Bishop resided in their vicinity, he might the more easily lend them a helping hand, at first by the priests whom he would assign to these nations, and then by his frequent visits, which, I am sure, would soon restore life to these dying Christian groups. The nation of the Kansas, who are only sixty miles from our residence, has repeatedly urged a petition for French black robes. The [Indian] Agents have imposed Methodist preachers upon them and the Kansas have sent them off with disdain, adding that they wished the prayers of the French and none other. Moreover, if the Vicar Apostolic resides in this nation, he will be at once in the midst of the Indians and near enough to the whites to procure with ease from Europe and the United States the things which a thousand different needs might demand, a matter of no small importance in the Indian country. Finally, Father Hoecken, who has grown gray on the Indian missions and who, to use an expression glorious for an apostle, in his tastes, affections, ideas, and at need in his very manners, has made himself a savage to gain the savages to Jesus Christ,

would be of no small service to the Vicar-Apostolic in a land so strange to a man coming from civilized society. He would like to accompany him to the different tribes where his name is in benediction. He has just now left for the Sioux, a new precursor who is going to prepare the ways of the Lord and announce to that barbarous people the approaching visit of the great black robe; probably not before the beginning of Spring will he be back.

These blessings which God designs to grant to our labors, very Reverend Father, fills us with the sweetest consolations. He who condemns the Indian missions has not meditated the sweetness of those words, "*evangelizare pauperibus misit me*" ["he has sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor"]. Perhaps one will say we are enthusiasts. Well, yes, we have an enthusiasm for the Indian missions; but God far from condemning this enthusiasm wishes rather to cover it with his blessings. "Taste and see," *gustate et videte*. To those who claim we can do almost no good among the Indians we will answer: before pronouncing judgment, "taste and see," *gustate et videte*; meditate that saying of St. Ignatius inscribed on every page of the Institute, *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, and then say if our Holy Founder did not embrace in his zeal savage as well as civilized peoples.

Gaillard's fervent hopes of seeing St. Mary's the headquarters of the newly erected vicariate were not to be disappointed. In the May of 1850 Bishop Miége was on his way thither in company with Father Paul Ponziglione, who like the Bishop himself was about to make his first acquaintance with the Indian country. Some incidents of the journey to the West were recorded by Ponziglione:

On the 17th of May under the auspices of the Mother of God, to whom Father J. B. Miége was most tenderly devout, we left St. Louis in a steamboat for St. Joseph, Missouri, which we reached on the 24th and, having passed four days in that town, we started for St. Mary's Mission amongst the Potawatomie Indians.

Our party consisted of six persons, viz. Father John B. Miége, myself, Brother Sebastian Schlienger, Bro. Patrick Phelan, who was yet a novice, and two Creoles with a wagon, each one carrying furniture and provisions for St. Mary's Mission. At noon of the 28th of May we crossed the Missouri river and started for the western plains. Father Miége and myself were leading the march on horseback, the Brothers were following with the two teamsters.

About two o'clock p.m. the clouds began to gather over our heads, the wind began to blow a tempest, lightning and thunder-claps succeeded rapidly and at three p.m. a heavy rain began to pour down. As there was no way to reach any shelter, we kept on taking matters as easy as we could; yet the prospect was very gloomy and we thought better to recite some prayers. At the suggestion of Father Miége we said the Memorare and hardly had got through with it when lightning struck the ground so close to us that we

felt as if a log had struck us in a slanting way over the head. Our horses seemed affected by it more than we were, for both stumbled to the ground. But, as they soon got up, we continued our journey apparently with a stoical indifference. But I assure you that in our hearts we felt a little uneasy not knowing what might come next and so we went on repeating the *Memorare* more fervently than ever.

Spite of the storm roaring around us we kept advancing on our way till about one hour before dark, when we halted for the night. We chose for our camping-place a very high prairie where neither a tree nor a bush nor a stump could be found to which to hitch our horses. So we turned them out on the grass, which was plenty, and tried to make ourselves as comfortable as we could under the circumstances. There was no question of making fire for we could not see a stick of wood in the vicinity; so we took out what bread and dry meat we had and like the Jews of old, standing with staffs in our hand and hats on our head, eat our supper, the dark clouds supplying us plenty of fresh water for drink. The coming of the night did not put an end to the rain or improve any way our situation. That night we made a beginning in the life of a Kansas missionary. It was a long and sleepless night. But, thanks be to God! at day-break the rain stopped, the morning star made a brilliant show between the receding clouds and by sunrise the sky was bright and radiant.

We were now congratulating one another on the nice day which was rising when we noticed a good deal of perplexity on the countenance of Father Miége. "What is the matter?" said I to him. "Do you feel unwell?" "Oh, no," he replied, "but do you not hear?" said he looking around in a very suspicious way. We did not know what might be the cause of his trouble, when the two Creoles that were with us burst into a big laugh and told the Father in good French, "Monsieur, do not be afraid for the noise you hear is made by the prairie chickens grazing about this place." Good Father Miége had taken the cooing of these fowls for the voices of Indians coming, as he supposed, to attack us. Now that he found out how the matter stood, he quickly took up his double-barrelled gun and went for them. In about twenty minutes he returned with four heavy chickens and we had a very nice breakfast which soon made us forget all the inconveniences of the past night. We were two days on the road and at noon of the 31st of May we reached St. Mary's Mission.⁷⁸

The Potawatomie Indians were expecting us and had posted their sentries on different points to find out our approaching and having discovered us they quickly ran to bring the news to the Mission. A large crowd was soon at hand headed by Fathers J. B. Duerinck and Morris [Maurice] Gailland. At the arrival of the expected Bishop all knelt down to get his blessing. Next they accompanied us to the church. Bishop Miége prayed for a while and as soon as he came out all cheered him and followed him

⁷⁸ This is also the date of the arrival of the party at St. Mary's as stated by Gailland in his letter of November 13, 1851, in the *Ann. Prop.* The St. Mary's House History (*Historia Domus*) has May 24. (F).

to his episcopal palace, which consisted of a poor log-cabin, a little larger than a very common shanty.⁷⁷

On Sunday, June 1, the Indians marched in procession to the Bishop's house to pay their respects to the great black robe and receive his blessing. There were Indian horsemen in line and braves on foot and the little boys and girls of the schools; even the Indian mothers blanketed and with their papooses strapped to their backs marched with the others. The Bishop, on making his appearance, was saluted with a triple volley of musketry. Mass followed, after which the Indians came up one by one to kiss the prelate's ring. "It is here at St. Mary's," wrote Father Gailland, "that the Bishop has fixed his place of residence; our little church is filled with pride and astonishment, to see itself raised at a bound to the rank of a cathedral. A wooden house which in Europe would perhaps be called a cabin serves as palace for the bishop of the Indians."⁷⁸

In the January following his arrival at St. Mary's Bishop Miége in a letter addressed to the Father General entered into particulars about the mission:

One of these missions is located on the Kansas river (*Rivière des Kants*) in a pleasant enough situation and on highly fertile soil. Cholera, fevers of every kind, and small-pox, which have made great ravages among our Indians this year, deprive this site of a good part of the advantages which nature seems to have lavished upon it. It is feared, perhaps with reason, that malignant fevers abide here permanently. If these fears are verified, our Indians will sell their lands again and, after having built houses, made farms, and incurred expense for three years, shall be obliged to go and begin the same work over again elsewhere until some other displacement, voluntary or forced, should come to renew all these toils and disagreeable circumstances. Henceforth, this is the necessary condition of all the savages whose lands border the United States on the west. The Potowatomie tribe comprises 3500 Indians dispersed in small villages over thirty square miles of land. We count among them 1500 converted Indians distributed between three villages, the first and largest of which is considered to be the headquarters of the reserve and is called St. Mary's. Here are found the schools, the farm, and the big folk of the countryside, namely the doctor, the horse-shoer, a few traders and a certain number of mixed-blood families who know a little of reading and writing. The Indian families who surround us have each their log house (this is the style of the country), their little herd of live-stock and a field sufficient for their support. They hear Mass,

⁷⁷ Ponziglione, Memoirs. (A).

⁷⁸ Gailland aux MM. etc., November 13, 1851, in *Ann. Prop.* Tr. from the English (London) edition of the *Annales*.

most of them, every day, approach the sacraments regularly at least once a month and practice with admirable fervor all the other exercises of piety which the Church has established to increase the devotion of her children. Quarrels, theft, family dissensions are completely unknown among them and no one would want to leave the village before having asked permission of the missionary and told him where he was going and how long he would remain away. It is a real and substantial good which has been done and is being done every day in the midst of these 600 or 700 simple and truly pious savages.

In the two other villages which are located only three miles from one another and twenty miles from St. Mary's, there is also a good number of zealous and fervent Christians; but, as up to the present the missionary has been able to visit them only once a month, there is a lack of instruction among them and so cases of drunkenness are frequent. The arrival of Father Schul[t]z, whom Father Provincial has had the kindness to send us, will soon afford a remedy, as I hope, for these miseries. These poor Indians are precisely like children. They fear the priest as much as they respect him; as long as he is not in their midst to watch, reprimand, encourage and console them, their good resolutions soon fail before a bottle of whisky or other pitfall more dangerous still. When they have taken one of these false steps, it is not rare to see them leave their village and go to intermingle with the heathens so as to avoid meeting the priest; then they give themselves up to all their primitive excesses. For these scandals, which fortunately are not very numerous, the most effective remedy would be to put a father among them with a brother to help him; but this cannot be done until Father Schulz knows enough of the language to relieve him of embarrassment. He is at the work now with all the ardor of a good apostle.

At Soldier River [Creek], twenty-five miles from St. Mary's on the confines of the Delaware [Indians], we have another village, which can also be called Catholic. It is composed of half-breeds, nearly all of them Canadians, rangers of the mountains and plains, who have ended by marrying one or more Indian women. With the exception of one or two families who lead a good life, the rest are a perfect *canaille* in the matter of immorality, drunkenness, bad faith, stupid ignorance, indifference to all instruction and of that gross impiety which must necessarily arise from this singular amalgam of all the worst passions. Happily those of our Indians who are good Catholics have nothing but contempt for these wretched individuals; but it is to them that the bad and the heathen [Indians] go to renew their supply of liquor at enormous prices and so reduce themselves and their families to the most frightful misery. I truly believe one cannot realize the extent of this [abuse] except by seeing its sad effect. It has been impossible so far to do anything for these poor half-breeds. As we are rich in one man more a chapel is going to be built for them and one of us will go at least every month to say Mass for them and give them catechism.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Miége à Roothaan, January 1, 1852. (AA).

In another letter of 1852 Bishop Miége gives additional particulars about the Christian Indians of St. Mary's:

Our Catholic Indians, without doubt, still have room for improvement, but such as they now are, they appear to me to be noble characters, when compared with those of their tribe who still remain infidels. A Pottowatomie idolator is, like the great mass of the savage nations, haughty, independent, proud, licentious and deceitful, thinking of nothing but hunting and sporting, paying no attention to anything but the colours with which he smears his face, the eagle feathers which serve as an ornament to his turban, the four or five red silk handkerchiefs which hang from his head or his shoulders, his blanket, his horse and gun. This to him is life, the height of his ambition, and is considered by him as an ideal perfection.

Our people have been rendered, by the favour of Divine Providence, of a somewhat whiter nature, as the Americans term it; they are submissive, peaceful, sober; they cultivate their little fields, which supply them with their provision of maize, potatoes, gourds, beans and melons; provide wood for the winter's fire, and divide their time between God and the care of their families. Peace and tranquility are the objects of such paramount importance to the Pottowatomie, that, if his neighbour takes it into his head to subject him to annoyance, he will abandon or sell his field and house, and seek another place of abode, where he may live in undisturbed repose.

The piety of my dear Christians is displayed in every circumstance attending them; but their conduct is most particularly edifying at the procession of Corpus Christi. This is a day of jubilee for the whole country; and on no other festival is there so rich a display of silks, ribbons, moccasins, guns and horses. At the hour announced by the bell of my rural cathedral, cavalry and infantry are at their post; powder and flags are distributed and the officers equipped with the best military habiliments that our depot can supply. The horsemen, not less than two hundred, each wears an oriflamme, with a cross in the centre. Our foot-soldiers carry their guns on their left arm and the rosary in the right hand. When everything is ready, the procession advances, the cavalry moving at the head, followed by the little girls, and after them, the boys of our schools, singing as they move along. Then follows the military band (a tambour accompanying a fiddle). The children forming the choir precede the Holy Sacrament, carried between the two lines of infantry under a sort of canopy, the four corners of which are borne by the principal persons of the country. The rear-guard is composed of the whole of our good Indian women, carrying on their backs the little children, wrapped in the blanket which forms the dress of their mothers, . . . and making a considerable addition to our music. The removal of the Sacred Host from the church is announced by three discharges of musketry, and the procession then advances towards the declivity of a hill, situated at the extremity of the village, where a poor, but decent and clean altar, has been erected for the solemn benediction. During the march of the procession, which occupies nearly an hour, we have alternately singing, prayers, and discharges of musketry; but everything is conducted with the greatest

order and reverential decorum, that do honour to the faith of our humble Pottowatomies. The black robes, on their part, cannot help experiencing a lively emotion at the reflection that St. Mary is the only place in this immense desert where anything is done in reparation of the insults offered to our Divine Master in the sacrament of His love.⁸⁰

§ 8. FINANCING THE MISSION

The finances of St. Mary's Mission during the period 1851-1855 were in the hands of Bishop Miége in his capacity of superior of the Jesuit missionaries working east of the Rocky Mountains. At the same time a concurrent control of the finances, with dependence on the Bishop, was exercised by the Jesuit father in immediate charge of the mission. The question of material support was a teasing one always and never quite satisfactorily settled as long as the mission lasted. The sources of revenue were, in the rough, threefold: government subsidies, private contributions and the mission-farm. During the period 1838-1855 the money spent on the Catholic Potawatomi mission amounted to \$58,577.83. Of this sum, \$43,837.52 was furnished by the Indian Office, while the remainder or \$14,740.31 came from private funds. For every child educated in the mission-school the government annually allowed fifty and after 1855 seventy-five dollars. This money was paid in quarterly installments to the procurator of the vice-province of Missouri, as general superintendent of the Catholic Indian schools, who kept it on deposit in St. Louis as a fund upon which the superior of the mission was entitled to draw for the purchase of supplies and other needs. For school-buildings and farm improvements at St. Mary's the government in 1849 made a special grant of five thousand dollars. A detailed account of the expenditure of the money thus granted had to be rendered by the mission authorities to the Indian Office. For this purpose vouchers signed by the superintendent of the school and the resident Indian agent were required to be forwarded to Washington.

The post of procurator of the vice-province of Missouri and superintendent of the Indian missions, filled for many years by Father Van de Velde, became vacant in 1849 on the latter's appointment to the episcopal see of Chicago. Father De Smet was immediately assigned to the vacant post. The appointment was intended to be a temporary one only; as a matter of fact, it proved to be permanent, and the duties thus laid upon him he discharged with occasional temporary interruptions to his death in 1873. As procurator of the Indian missions De Smet was brought into constant communication in matters of a financial and busi-

⁸⁰ Miége, St. Mary of the Potawatomes, November 6, 1852, in *Ann. Prop. Tr.* from the English (London) edition (14: 285 *et seq.*) of the *Annales*.

ness nature with their local superiors. As a result his correspondence with them is replete with minute and authentic data regarding the Jesuit Indian missions of the West for the period 1849-1873. A career of adventurous missionary travel among the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountains, such as he had previously followed, would not seem to have been the best preparation for a successful keeper of accounts. As a matter of fact De Smet displayed in the discharge of his new office an industry, accuracy and minute attention to details which are remarkable in one whose previous occupation appeared to offer no adequate preparation for the work in hand. He was a conscientious stickler for the observance of government regulations in all that pertained to monies settled on the mission schools and was zealous in reminding superiors of their duties in this regard. Thus he wrote to Father Verreydt at St. Mary's:

Let us avoid the difficulties in which Bishop Van de Velde finds himself at present of being called upon to refund 4491 dollars to Government—all the vouchers sent to Government in the name of Father Truyens and others have been rejected. Father Van de Velde having received the monies and being alone recognized by Government as Superintendent of our Indian Schools should have signed the vouchers—from this neglect proceeds the difficulty. Whilst I hold his place (which I sincerely hope will not be long) let us endeavor to observe the little rules and regulations prescribed by Government.

The difficulty over Van de Velde's vouchers, it may be added, was satisfactorily adjusted through the courtesy of John Haverty, chief clerk of the St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs, who succeeded in remedying the technical shortcomings of the papers.⁸¹

If De Smet was a faithful observer of government regulations in regard to appropriations made to the mission, he was likewise a faithful observer of instructions received from his superiors with regard to the mission-funds. He was particularly insistent on the prohibition against going into debt. "I am preparing the objects you asked for," runs a letter of his to Verreydt, "guessing at same the best way I can. I am paying down cash for every article I buy and I will soon let you know the full bill of the expenditures and of the monies remaining in your favor. Your Reverence will then know exactly how high your drafts may go. Beyond it, dear Father, I must acquaint you again and counsel you not to go, for Father Provincial, in my opinion, will not remain responsible for debts contracted without his permission and against his orders, and I most assuredly will not and cannot remain responsible."⁸² Another letter of De Smet's to the same superior touches on the subject

⁸¹ De Smet to Verreydt, July 2, 1849. (A).

⁸² Same to same, ———, 1849. (A).

of credit: "Your Reverence had expressed his desire to buy the goods on a long credit. I believe I have written already on this subject, to acquaint you that the credit system has been condemned by high Superiors and that on entering on my present office I was requested not to allow anyone to go beyond his actual deposit."⁸³ At the same time De Smet showed no disposition to be narrow. "I am glad to see that you are proceeding prudently and according to your means," he says in a letter to Father Duerinck; "we on our part have stretched things in your favor as much as we could, and we intend to continue the same as far as we shall be able."⁸⁴

A considerable part of the supplies for St. Mary's as also for the Osage Mission was obtained in the St. Louis market. The duty of purchasing and paying for these supplies and directing them to their proper destination fell upon De Smet, who discharged it with never-failing good humor and conscientious attention to details. The goods were shipped by steamer to Kansas, as Kansas City was known at the time, or Leavenworth, whence they were transported overland by ox or mule-team to the mission. Thus, in August, 1849, a consignment of goods for St. Mary's was sent by the steamer *St. Ange*, Captain La Barge, to Kansas, where they were to be stored in Menard Chouteau's warehouse until sent for from the mission.⁸⁵ Supplies, at least in certain lines, could be obtained even at this early date in Kansas itself. De Smet inquired on one occasion of Father Schoenmakers of the Osage Mission whether, in view of the money saved on transportation and storage, it would not be cheaper for him to obtain his supplies in the nearer market than in St. Louis. No item of the orders, sometimes formidably long, sent to De Smet in St. Louis, was overlooked by him though the vague terms in which the orders were sometimes couched might have served a less zealous agent with an excuse for discharging only a part of his commission.

From these [letters] I gathered that you [Father Verreydt] stand in need of Mass wine (how much?), that you asked for music (church music, I suppose; please to name the Masses and other kind). You wish to have a cannon, (of what calibre?), Brownson's Quarterly Review, (I will subscribe for your Reverence) and Emerson's Arithmetic. I see on the Ledger of Vice-Province that your Mission is credited for a sum of about two thousand dollars received from Government. Please to let me know, as soon as possible, what you want in the provision line, in clothing, tools, etc. I am requested by Rev. Father Provincial to caution your Reverence against exceeding, by draft or otherwise, the sum in your favour, as we would have

⁸³ De Smet to Verreydt, Aug. 18, 1849. (A).

⁸⁴ Same to Duerinck, January 12, 1851. (A).

⁸⁵ Same to Verreydt, August 18, 1849. (A).

no means of paying beyond. Truly these are hard times—the Vice Province has been drained to the very dregs—it has to maintain a great number of Swiss and Italians, and has no prospect of obtaining anything from the French Association for this and perhaps the following years on account of the disturbed state of Europe.⁸⁶

Father Verreydt was written to again:

I am sorry indeed that your list is not more positive and clear—it is hard for me to guess exactly what you may require or wish, with regard to the amount you may need and the objects you may require—for instance, *sugar and rice* is mentioned—*how much do you wish?* 2^{ly} *Stuff to make coats—what stuff and for whom are the coats intended?* 3^{ly} *How many shoes of No. 11, 8 and 7?* 4^{ly} *How many straw hats? Are they for the F.F. [Fathers] and Brothers or for the boys?* 5^{ly} *How much shall I send?* 6^{ly} *What kind of books must I send you? Please to specify them and the number you may require.* 7^{ly} *How many boxes of wine shall I send? To whose care shall I consign the things either in Kansas or at St. Joseph's? All I have sent to Fr. Schoenmakers I send to Kansas, care of Menard Chouteau. Whilst I am expecting a speedy answer to the above queries, I will send you all the specified articles in your list and do my best with regard to the other not specified articles.*⁸⁷

Father De Smet sometimes took advantage of the market and bought without a direct commission. "I bought over two thousand pounds of fine sugar in N. Orl. [New Orleans] for the use of your mission and which I shall send early in the spring," he informs Father Duerinck. "Sugar will rise high this year."⁸⁸

The government subsidies did not by any means suffice for the support of the mission. Alms were solicited with some degree of success from generous benefactors in Europe and America. The Lyons Association of the Propagation of the Faith, "a second Providence for the needy church in America," as Bishop Rosati described it, contributed in 1849 six hundred dollars to the Potawatomi Mission.⁸⁹ De Smet appealed to the association again in January, 1851, on behalf both of St. Mary's and the Osage Mission, where there was great distress among the Indians on account of the drought of the preceding year. "The slender allowance granted by the American Government for the support of four schools, two for boys under the direction of our Fathers and two for girls under the direction of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and the Loretto Sisters, is inadequate of itself to meet our needs. You

⁸⁶ Same to same, March 16, 1849. (A).

⁸⁷ Same to same, June 25, 1849. (A).

⁸⁸ Same to Duerinck, January 12, 1851. (A).

⁸⁹ De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries*, p. 330.

realize, then, the painful extremity to which these poor missions find themselves reduced. The Vice-Province of Missouri has disposed in their favor of the slight surplus of its meagre resources—but this is far from relieving the pressure.”⁹⁰ The Association of the Propagation of the Faith was particularly anxious to secure for the *Annales*, its official organ, accounts of the progress of Catholic missionary work throughout the world. As a consequence De Smet often urged the Indian missionaries to send on readable reports from their respective fields, intimating on one occasion that the allowances made to the Jesuit Indian missions of America were to be reduced as a penalty for the meagre news about them that reached the central bureau of the association in France. “Please tell Father Gailland,” he appealed to Father Duerinck, “to send on some interesting items regarding the nation and Indians. I translated his long and interesting account which will soon be published. Encourage him greatly to it as it may be the means to obtain alms for your mission.”⁹¹ Some noteworthy subsidies were received by St. Mary’s from the Lyons association through Bishop Miège.

Contributions from the laity to the Jesuit Indian missions were generally addressed to De Smet, whose relation to these missions as promoter and official solicitor of funds was generally understood by the Catholic public. The alms thus collected were apportioned by him between the various missions in which he was interested. “I just now received an alms of a Lady,” he wrote to Duerinck, “just the amount you ask towards the building of the little chapel at Soldier’s Creek (\$50.00), which I place to your credit.”⁹² Again, “I expect daily a box from Philadelphia from Miss Gartland, left at my disposition, of which I intend a good share for you.”⁹³

Though supplies for St. Mary’s were frequently ordered from St. Louis, it was possible even in the early fifties, as already noted, to secure them from points nearer to the mission. Among the firms

⁹⁰ De Smet aux MM. de l’Association de la Propagation de la Foi, January 31, 1851. (A).

⁹¹ De Smet to Duerinck, September 7, 1850. (A). “His Paternity desires me to send him as soon as possible a statement of the Indian Missions (Potawatomi and Osages) . . . it is the means to obtain something from the Association of Lyons . . . so please to induce F. F. Hoecken and Gailland, Mme. Lucille [Mathevon], etc. to send in some interesting accounts regarding the Mission and Indians.” De Smet to Verreydt, May 21, 1849. (A). “The Association of Lyons needs information and letters and begs for them in order to obtain support for that great and noble institution which appears at present to be fast failing from a general neglect of missionaries all over the world, who have almost ceased corresponding . . . they promise that they will cooperate with you by sending monies.” De Smet to Schoenmakers, May 25, 1849. (A).

⁹² De Smet to Duerinck, September 7, 1850. (A).

⁹³ *Loc. cit.* (A).

patronized at this period by Father Duerinck were M. L. Young, D. Macmiecken and Cody and Baker, all of Weston, Mo., Waldo & McCoy, Independence, Mo., J. B. Martin, Platte City, Mo., and Boone and Bernard, Westport, Mo.⁹⁴ Goods purchased in these places had to be freighted by ox- or mule-team to the mission. Brother McNamara is recorded as having gone on one occasion to Weston with an ox-team to bring a load of flour from M. L. Young's mill. More often the hauling was done by freighters, as when Francis Bourbonnais hauled for the mission from Weston at ninety cents a hundred pounds, paying his own drayage and ferrying over the Missouri. This appears to have been the usual rate, as indicated in Duerinck's diary, August 20, 1851. "Sold to Thaddeus E. Robbin of Weston, \$145.00 of cattle. Robbin is to pay either in hauling from Weston at 90c per 100 lbs. or in breaking prairie land at \$2.75 per acre." On October 6, 1858, eight wagons with five ox and three horse-teams started from the mission for Leavenworth to obtain flour. A particularly interesting item finds mention in the records. March 10, 1852 Cody & Baker of Weston received an order from St. Mary's for a "grass-mowing machine, propelled by horse-power; said to cost \$100.00. It is manufactured in Chicago." With this McCormick mower Father Duerinck cut his sixty acres of oats in five days. "This implement," he comments, "is the wonder of the country—the Indians are lost in admiration when they see it work."⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Duerinck's Diary I. (F).

⁹⁵ Duerinck's Diary I. There are two Duerinck diaries in the St. Mary's College Archives: (I) an account-book with incidental entries about the day's happenings and (II) a formal diary (July 5, 1854—January 23, 1863). There are entries in the latter regarding the mower. "1855. January 4. Informed C. H. McCormick, Chicago, Illinois, that I want one of his mowing machines for 1855 for which I will pay cash on delivery. Will use it with 4 horses. Want the fingers to have bearings. Could wish to have no less than three sickles, three drivers and plenty of sickle segments to repair. Advised him to send at least 12 dozen mowers to his agent in Weston, E. Cody." "1855. April 6 [?]. Requested Mr. Cox Soldier Creek to order two mowing machines (mowers only) of the Patent recommended and approved by him last summer as operating in Missouri etc. One for S. D. Dyer at the Bridge of Blue [River], the other for Mr. Henry Rodierke Rock Creek. Have them shipped to Kansas [City] or up the Kansas River St. Mary's Landing."

"1857. March 30. Informed Mr. C. H. McCormick that we did not know whether any house in Leavenworth such as Major and Russell, Rees and Keith, J. Moll and Co. would take the agency for his machine. Recommended Mr. Manning R. Roll to C. H. McCormick and tried to prevail on Mr. Roll to take the agency. Written to M. R. Roll through Th. Ryan, St. Louis." (Duerinck's Diary II).

In the McCormick Historical Association Library, Chicago, are a number of letters written by Father Duerinck to Cyrus H. McCormick. "I claim a slight acquaintance with you, having been introduced to you several years ago in Cincinnati. I happened to be in the office of the Ploughboy and the Editor, Mr.

The transportation of supplies to the mission was obviously a big drain on its meagre funds. The Kaw River would have solved the problem of excessive freight charges if navigation on it had proved a success. As a matter of fact, steamers carrying both freight and passengers were plying the Kaw during the years 1854-1864 and as far upstream as Fort Riley, fifty-one miles above St. Mary's.⁹⁶ The first steamer to ascend the Kaw was the *Excel*, which in April, 1854, made a run up to the Smoky Hill and Republican Rivers, where Major E. A. Ogden, U.S.A., was engaged under instructions from the war department in building the new military-post of Fort Riley. The *Excel* carried a cargo of eleven hundred barrels of flour for the fort. It was a staunch little stern-wheeler, drawing about two feet of water, with a cargo of a hundred tons and had remarkably strong engines. "We were two days on the trip from Weston to Fort Riley," wrote one of its passengers in later years, "and found no more difficulty in navigating the Kansas than we did the Missouri. Our pilot ran by surface indications altogether, and never ran the boat on a snag or a sand-bar. We were obliged to land several times a day to get wood, and as we had to fell trees and chop them up, we were considerably delayed. We occasionally

Randall, an honest Quaker, presented Mr. McCormick the inventor of the Virginia reaper to Professor Duerinck of St. Xavier College. . . . I believe that I have been the first man that has introduced your mowing machine in these prairies. We have met with success. One of your machines of 1852 used to be the wonder of this country: people have come 25 miles to see it in operation. Last year I bought one of your machines for 1853 which has done a fine business after we had received the new castings which you have sent to your customers. A good number of your machines have been purchased by my friends and acquaintances, who were induced to buy your machines at my recommendation. They have generally given great satisfaction. One of your machines of 1854 has cut at Fort Riley this season 700 tons of hay. My own of 1853 has cut at least 500 tons of hay and oats during the present season without any material break." Duerinck to C. H. McCormick, October 10, 1854. McCormick asked Duerinck, November, 1854, to take the agency of his machine for Kansas Territory, an employment which the father declined. "I feel willing to recommend your machine and to bear you the best testimony in my power, but the multiplicity of my weighty and responsible duties would prevent from taking an agency." Duerinck to C. H. McCormick, January 5, 1856 (1855?). Father Duerinck in his correspondence with McCormick made a number of apparently worth-while suggestions for the improvement of the mower.

⁹⁶ "Our Kansas river has proved to be a fine navigable stream in the rainy season, May and June. The facilities for steamboat navigation up to Fort Riley will benefit the settlers in the Kansas Valley and adjacent districts." Duerinck's report in *RCIA*, 1854. St. Mary's took advantage of this water service for the hauling of supplies. In 1855 Father Duerinck, ordering two mowing machines, directed that they be shipped "to Kansas [City] or up the Kansas River, St. Marys Landing." Later, June 23, 1859, Father Schultz noted in his diary: "Steamer Col. Gus Linn arrives at St. Marys from Kansas City. Freight from St. Louis to M[ission] \$460.00." (F).

1854 March 1 st	Received from Mr. J. J. Jones against to let him have a black of the hay at Wilkeat at Colt. reported him to Sam Gorman to let him have that money. Requested J. J. Jones to let Sam Gorman have the time bread with a crop, appeared to belong to Mr. Fennimore. Better Mr. J. the time is spent. & while, poor condition, not over old not long, & in.
1854 March 1 st +	Mr. G. W. Egan's horse lately, at Union has been taken up by a Mr. Martin on Wilkeat. 2 miles above Eubank's & when requested Mr. W. Egan to send me an order for the horse.
1854 March 2 ^d X	Mayer G. W. Clarke wants me to deliver to him at Leavenworth two hundred and fifty dollars worth of stock, say, 3 good mules worth \$30 each & common cows and calves @ \$25 each + 90.00 Common cows & calves @ \$15 each + 75.00 Bake young cattle say yearlings, + 85.00 \$ 250.00 The expenses of delivering the cattle to be paid by Mayer Clarke.
1854 March 3 ^d X	Mayer G. W. Clarke finished the evening his payment at the Mission. He returned the balance on the receipt of laying hold of it through, and being unanimous in their movements. They shall also of the Mission: they expressed their dissatisfaction with the mission on the south side of the Kansas river and gave credit to St. Mary's Mission, and stated that they would be sorry if the missionaries should ever leave them. The Perry is given up: A Missionary who is proposed is not accepted yet. A wagon-maker attached to the Mission shop is asked for and given granted.

Page of diary of John B. Duerinck, S.J., superior of St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission. Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas.

Now, Sir, your friend, if you will consider him as
 stock raiser in Kansas Territory, as the Potawatomi Catholic
 Mission, where he presides over a Manual Labor School
 for Indian boys and girls. We live 75 miles west of
 Fort Leavenworth on the Kansas River.
 I believe that I have been the first man that has introduced
 your mowing machine in this Territory. We have met with
 success. One of your machines of 1852 was taken the owner of
 this country; people have come 25 miles to see it in operation.
 Last year I bought one of your machines for 1853 which has
 done a fine business after we had received the new castings which
 you have sent to your customers. I good number of your machines
 have been purchased by my friends and acquaintances who
 were induced to buy your machines at my recommendation.
 They have generally given great satisfaction: one of your machines
 of 1854 has cut at Fort Riley this season 700 tons of hay.
 my own of 1853 has cut at least 500 tons of hay & oats during
 the present season without any material break.
 We admire your machines: they are plain and strong and easy

Part of letter of John B. Duerinck, S.J., to Cyrus H. McCormick, October 10, 1854. McCormick Historical Association Library, Chicago.

appropriated rails from the Indians' truck-patches, but most always cut down trees for our fuel. At St. Mary's Mission, Father Duerinck heard that we were coming, and hauled up two loads of rails and had them chopped up, ready for our use on our arrival."⁹⁷ On April 26, 1855, the year after the *Excel* ascended the Kansas for the first time, the *Hartford*, a flat-bottomed stern-wheel steamboat, left Cincinnati, Ohio, "for the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers." On June 3 she ran aground at the mouth of the Big Blue, some miles above St. Mary's. Here she lay for a month, until the river having risen high enough for her to move, she was headed downstream. At a point opposite St. Mary's Mission, she ran aground again and while lying here undergoing repairs was set on fire by some Potawatomi Indians and totally destroyed. The crew of the *Hartford* as it passed through the Potawatomi reserve was guilty of selling liquor to the Indians.⁹⁸ Steamboating on the Kaw received its death-blow in 1864 when, through the influence of the railroads, the Kansas legislature declared that river and its tributaries to be non-navigable streams and accordingly authorized the railroads to bridge them.

St. Mary's Mission was largely dependent for its upkeep on the farm.

We have raised this season [1855] sixty acres' oats, forty corn, six potatoes, the oats very heavy. . . . The corn and potatoes bid fair to yield a good crop. Our horned stock consists of two hundred and fifty head; say, eighty cows, fifteen yoke of oxen, forty two-year old steers,—the balance is young cattle of our own raising. We derive no inconsiderable part of our support from our stock.⁹⁹ There is also a good demand for corn, potatoes, oats, which the mission as well as the Indians can sell at fair prices. The Government is establishing a new military post, Fort Riley, on the Upper Kansas, fifty-one miles above the mission; the Pottowatomie settlement is the nearest point from which the fort can draw its supplies. If our Indians were thrifty and enterprising, they would find a ready market for all the produce they can raise; but, unfortunately, the greater part of our people are glad when they have enough to supply their own wants. The Indians in

⁹⁷ Albert R. Greene, "The Kansas River—its Navigation" in *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9:322.

⁹⁸ The incident is referred to by G. W. Clarke, Potawatomi Indian agent, in his report for 1855. Cf. also *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9:329.

⁹⁹ "We have raised this season forty acres of oats, seventy of corn, and seven of potatoes, which have all produced a good average crop. Corn sells at seventy-five cents per bushel, potatoes, one dollar. We have on hand some 280 head of cattle, fair stock, for which we have cut some 230 tons of prairie hay to carry them through the winter. We have killed thirty for beef, and sold eighty-five, mostly cows, for which the institution has received \$2,173.50, which is purely the fruit of our labor and industry." Duerinck in *RCIA*, 1856.

our immediate vicinity are not in want; they have raised good crops of corn, potatoes, pumpkins, and beans, without giving themselves much pains to do it.¹⁰⁰

Such was Father Duerinck's report on the condition of the mission farm in 1855; it was cited as an example of the success which attended farming operations in Kansas by Edward Everett Hale in his *Kansas and Nebraska*, which he compiled as a guide to the emigrant aid companies that helped to colonize Kansas from the New England states.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ RCIA, 1855.

¹⁰¹ Edward E. Hale, *Kansas and Nebraska* (Boston, 1854), p. 101. According to Cora Dolbee, "The First Book in Kansas: the Story of E. E. Hale's 'Kansas and Nebraska,'" in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 2:150, the data on St. Mary's Mission in Hale's book were furnished directly to the author by Father Duerinck. The surplus products of the farm were disposed of for the benefit of the mission. California emigrants, government explorers and army officials frequently obtained supplies from this source. "October 29, 1852. Delivered to order of Major E. E. Ogden, now at the mouth of the Republican, the following articles: 60 bushels shelled corn; 45 bushels in ear, etc. etc. J. B. D.[uerinck] furnished 41 sacks for the corn and potatoes. Major E. E. Ogden, 10 sacks." October 27, 1853, Col. John C. Frémont, the "Pathfinder," while on his way west to survey a route for the Pacific Railroad, bought at the mission twenty-five dollars worth of provisions in corn, flour, sugar and beef, which he paid for in cash on the same day. The marketing of the mission produce was greatly facilitated by the new military road laid out in 1852 between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley. This road ran only about one hundred and fifty feet south of the mission buildings. "On September 6, 1852, Lieutenant Woodruff, escorted by Captain Buckner with a party of six soldiers and some teamsters and wagons, reconnoitered the new road from the Mission to Rock Creek. Menard Beaubien and [Brother] Thomas McNamara acted as guides." "Lieutenant Woodruff, U. S. A. returns today from his reconnoitering expedition to mouth of Republican river and Fort Atkinson. From the Mission to mouth of Republican river, forty miles; to mouth of Clarke Creek, which will be recommended for the location of a new depot, 38 miles." (Duerinck's Diary I.)

It happened at times that government mules broke their traces or in other ways got free of their drivers and wandered over the prairies. In this connection Duerinck's Diary I has some interesting items. "Advised Captain Martin, Leavenworth, that the following is my account for delivering two public mules at the fort:

1852	Oct. 23	To apprehending and redeeming two mules	32.00
	Dec. 24	" wintering the same at 3.00 each	6.00
		" delivering same at fort	15.00
			<hr/>
			53.00

Paid an Indian two dollars for apprehending a second time and bringing mules back. Delay in delivering on account of incessant rains, high water, intense cold weather. Two men on horse-back deliver the two mules . . . 5 days @ \$1.50 each, \$15.00." A similar entry regards the reclaiming of cattle lost on the California trail. "1851, Messrs. Colcord, Dutton & Co., of Sibley, Jackson Co., Mo., have left me a written instrument to claim any cattle they have lost on the Upper

It was an ambition of Father Duerinck, as he declared more than once in his reports to government, to make the mission farm a "model farm" so that the Indians might have before their eyes a never-failing object lesson in the ways and means of successful farming. In pursuance of this policy he gave great attention to the live stock, which he sought constantly to improve and raise to a high standard of quality. The "mission herd," as the cattle belonging to St. Mary's came to be known, acquired in the course of time a reputation for superior breeding. It was built up gradually and largely from what would seem to have been unpromising material, namely, the weak and disabled cattle left behind on the California Trail by outgoing emigrants and convoys. "1851. Bought also of Russel and Jones' train, Oct. 25, '51, eight broken down oxen @ \$5.00 per head." "1852, June—Bought bacon, flour, steers from Californians." "1854.—the first Californians passed here on 22nd April." "1854, May 12. The Californians are driving a great deal of stock. We have bought of them some forty-five head of cattle." Cattle was also bought from Col. G. Douglas, Fort Scott and Col. Arnett, Westport. "Requested Col. Thomas B. Arnett, Westport, Mo., to let me know what kind of stock he intends to drive up this way and to deliver it when the grass is up."¹⁰²

The day of the packing-houses had not arrived at the period when Duerinck presided over the destinies of St. Mary's Mission. The mission had to kill and prepare the meat required for table and this explains in part the numerous purchases of cattle which have been noted. The nature of Duerinck's commercial transactions was on one occasion misunderstood. Charges were preferred against him of bartering with the Indians in contravention of federal laws. The matter was referred to John Haverty, chief clerk of the superintendency of Indian affairs in St. Louis, who, on hearing Father Duerinck's explanation decided there had been nothing irregular in his proceedings.¹⁰³

Kansas about this neighborhood and remit proceeds of sale of two cows and calves supposed to have been lost by Messrs. Colcord, Dutton & Co., while on their way to California last August." Father Duerinck in partnership with others was under contract to supply Fort Riley with dressed meat. For extracts from his Diary II pertinent to these transactions cf. Donohoe, "A Western Catholic College" in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 11: 291 *et seq.* "The mission teams and Fort Riley wagons were used in the transportation. As many as ten wagons formed these freight trains, each wagon carrying from five hundred to six hundred pounds of fodder (p. 294)."

¹⁰² Duerinck's Diary I. In 1858 the mission-herd numbered two hundred and fifty-eight head.

¹⁰³ Duerinck's intentions in his absorbing business affairs were of the best, to make the mission self-supporting. At the same time Bishop Miège thought he was taken up beyond measure with the temporal concerns of the mission.

§ 9. PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN SCHOOLS

The most remarkable feature of St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission was undoubtedly the schools. But it required a man of Father Duerinck's energy and general resourcefulness to maintain them with the scanty resources available for their support. "At no period," he wrote in September, 1854, "has the institution been more popular and prosperous, though we are free to confess that our prosperity is dearly bought with toil and hardships, with temperance and economy. But we deem it cheap even at that price; we thank our stars for our good fortune. We see around us Indian Missions and schools broken up or in a failing condition, whilst others have their ship all the time in such stormy seas that escape appears impossible."¹⁰⁴ The winter of 1854-1855 bore heavily on the mission. The crop failure of the preceding season together with the uncommonly high price of provisions put it in so uncomfortable a position that Duerinck was on the point of closing the schools. The subsidy of fifty dollars per annum allowed by the government contract for each pupil was such an obviously inadequate allowance for what was expected from the mission in return that he felt justified in petitioning Commissioner of Indian Affairs Manypenny to raise the subsidy:

The undersigned begs leave to state that there exists a contract for the education of Pottowatomie boys and girls between the Indian Department and the Rev. James Van de Velde on the part of the Catholic Association and that he has presided over that institution in Kansas Territory during the last six years.

The Department is acquainted with our efforts and our success, as may be seen from the annual reports. The school receives the small consideration of fifty dollars (50) per annum for every boy and girl we educate, which is only at the rate of fourteen cents (14) per day for board, tuition, clothing, lodging, washing and mending, stationery and the use of school-books. Now fourteen cents per day would not pay for a breakfast! We keep a decent school and respectable people to aid us; we have competent teachers; our pupils, male and female, are well dressed and comfortably lodged and have plenty to eat and drink. We are well acquainted with our business and enjoy many advantages which would enable us to sustain ourselves if there were any possibility of doing it.

The general failure of crops last year and the consequent scarcity and high prices of all kinds of produce and provisions, joined to the continual increase of wages and transportation of freight, have not only seriously embarrassed the establishment, but have brought it into distress and a failing condition. We have met with no reverse of fortune; we have not engaged in any speculation that has proved disastrous; everything at the Mission

¹⁰⁴ *RCIA*, 1854, no. 40.

appears to work right. The whole secret of our embarrassment lies in this: we are engaged in a sinking business. The crisis has come in our camp and here it must be met. We must give up the ship or receive an increased compensation for our services. Under the present pressure of high prices, toil and labor, industry and economy cannot make up the deficiency; the exigencies of the time place it beyond our control to continue the Manual Labor School on the old terms. We therefore respectfully submit it to your sense of justice to agree to a change in the contract and to allow us seventy-five dollars per annum instead of fifty dollars, taking effect from April 1, 1855, or soon after. This petition for relief, when gratified, will enable us to continue our schools and will free us from our present embarrassment and anxiety. The school is yet in full operation and when the pupils in my absence learned that the schools probably would be suspended, the good children went almost distracted; they said to one another, what will become of us; we have nothing to eat at home and our black-gowns and mistresses who have done so much for us and for our people are going to abandon us. St. Mary's Mission, the home of our childhood and where the priests teach the people to plough the land is going, it is feared, to be shut up. All these yards, buildings, etc. will be overgrown with bad weeds and will soon be a heap of ruins.

If we should be suffered to sink, we will endeavor to meet our fate with resignation; although we have spent several thousand dollars for additional buildings without aid from government, we shall not deem ourselves particularly unfortunate if we meet with no favor. Our toils and labors are so incessant, our task is so difficult, our burden so oppressive and our remuneration for all our trouble so inadequate, that the best of men are inadequate to the task. Your humble petitioner, who is in the strength of manhood, could wish almost to see the end of it. At times we are overwhelmed with troubles and sorrows and feel like giving up the ship; but as our claims to your sympathy are reasonable and fair, we will cheer up our spirits and resume our work with fresh vigor, hoping that you will lend a favorable ear to our request.¹⁰⁵

This petition of the superior of the Catholic Potawatomi Mission was clearly a reasonable one and needed, one would suppose, only the most casual presentation to the Indian Office to elicit a favorable answer. As a matter of fact Father Duerinck was put to the necessity of traveling to Washington to urge his petition in person. On his way through St. Louis he met the former Potawatomi agent, Colonel Cummins, now at the head of the central superintendency of Indian affairs. Cummins gave Duerinck every encouragement and indorsed his petition in a letter to Commissioner Manypenny. "It is manifest that the compensation now allowed is wholly inadequate and I am of opinion that not less than \$75 per annum will save them from loss." If the increase of sub-

¹⁰⁵ Duerinck to Manypenny, undated but belonging to 1855. (H).

sidy is not granted, so Cummins urged, the school will be closed; and that would work mischief to the Indians, as it is at present the only school among them.¹⁰⁶ It was only in September, 1855, two or three months after Duerinck's return from Washington, that action was at length taken by government on his petition. The case having been referred to Secretary of the Interior McClelland, that official allowed the increased allowance asked for with the qualification, however, that the new rate would be subject to recall April 1, 1856.¹⁰⁷

The difficulties which Duerinck had met with in the upkeep of the mission-schools did not by any means disappear with the little additional help he was now to receive from Washington. He reported to Major Clarke, the Potawatomi agent, October 1, 1855:

We have an extensive establishment to support; we are every day in the year about 140 persons in family, which we have to provide with butter and bread. Our means are limited and bear no proportion to our expenses. Our school is a real paradox; the more scholars we have the harder times we see, for the simple reason that we are engaged in a losing business, a sinking concern. If we only had four scholars we could make money, whereas 120 keep us constantly in hot water. We illustrate our position and assume the fact that we lost \$25 on every scholar; then the loss on four would be \$100 and on 120 \$3000. Now, if a man can make up losses at all, it is an easy matter to make up \$100, but when he has to make up \$3000, then his energy and financiering may be taxed beyond endurance. It is at all times a hard thing to manage a numerous boarding-school, but when the pressure of the times, failure of crops, high prices of provisions came upon us last winter, we found ourselves so much straightened in our circumstances that we had at one time resolved to dismiss the school. (H).

¹⁰⁶ Cummins to Manypenny, May 25, 1855. (H). Cummins, on being advanced to the higher position, was entitled, according to custom, to a titular colonelcy.

¹⁰⁷ Col. Manypenny was on friendly terms with Father Duerinck and was, besides, acquainted from personal observation with conditions at St. Mary's, having visited the mission in the autumn of 1853. "St. Mary's Mission is under many obligations to you for the interest you have taken in our behalf." Duerinck to Manypenny May 12, 1856. (H). Manypenny was a severe critic of government policy in its dealings with the Indians. Thus in his book *Our Indian Wars* (Cincinnati, 1880), pp. 133-134: "The precipitate legislation by which the country was thrown open to the occupation of the white race in the face of the plighted faith of the government was a crime and the whole country has suffered the penalty. . . . It is believed that there are but few instances in which perfect good faith in all respects has governed in the removal of a tribe from an old to a new home. In numberless instances removals have been brought about, not because there was a necessity for them, but with a view to the plunder and profit that was expected to result from the operation." T. Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, criticizes Manypenny's views on the Indian question as extreme.

Within a month or two of the date of his report to Major Clarke, Duerinck made a proposal to his superior in St. Louis to conduct the mission schools for day-scholars only. He wrote November 28, 1855, to De Smet:

St. Mary's Mission, thanks be to Heaven, is in a flourishing condition but we cannot expect to keep it so for many years. We must effect a change, a radical change, a permanent change in our terms with the Government. The country has changed and we must change with it or be involved in ruin.

The Baptist Mission is overboard and St. Mary's Mission is in possession of the field, but we will go down too, unless we know how to rescue our concern. We have been paid at the rate of \$50 per annum since last April and up to April 1, 1856, our allowance has been \$75 per annum. Now this is all patchwork and will not save our skin. We cannot continue the Manual Labor School as a boarding school on any terms, i.e. on any reasonable terms which the Government would be willing to pay. Here are my reasons:

1st. The Mission is a large establishment and we cannot get in winter the firewood we want. The timber fails for rails etc.

2nd. Provisions are too high, wages too high, freight too high.

3rd. As the country settles up competition increases and our farming does not pay. We get our work done by hired hands and it is almost a business. Crops were bad last year and they are far from being good this season.

If we must stay in this country at all, it must be on the footing of a day-school with a certain annual allowance for our support. This would require a good deal of electioneering, log-rolling, council holding etc. I could wish Very Rev. Father Provincial to give me *carte blanche* to settle this matter and to bring it home in a right position. But I declare beforehand that I will soon try to bring things to a crisis, as soon as next April, 1856. I would suspend the school, etc. I would get the chiefs and headmen to sign my petition and would take it to Washington; let the Department know our circumstances and endeavor to obtain my object.

Please favor me with a line for answer.

Duerinck's proposal failed to commend itself to the vice-provincial, Father Murphy, or to De Smet, the latter of whom wrote on the subject to Fathers Schultz and Gaillard jointly:

I wish you both a most happy New Year. Some time ago Revd. F[ather] Provincial received a letter from Duerinck dated November 28 in which he expressed his apprehensions for the continuation of the schools among the Potawatomes on the old plan—his reasons no doubt are very weighty, for a great change has come over the Indian country. My answer to him was rather vague. Revd. F. Provincial is of opinion that no steps are to be taken, by the Superior and his Consultors, except after having

previously consulted the Bishop [Miége] and with his consent and approbation. The month of April is yet far distant—there is of course time enough to refer the result of your consultations to the Provincial and to await his answer. This business of breaking up the schools is a serious matter and requires great reflection. The schools may not be as prosperous as heretofore; however, much good may be obtained from them. The Baptists and other enemies of the church would certainly rejoice at their being closed. The continuation of the schools for one or two years longer may probably obtain grants of land for their continuation—such is the opinion here of Mr. Haverty, Secretary of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in St. Louis.¹⁰⁸

The advance of the school subsidy from fifty to seventy-five dollars had been granted by the Indian Bureau only for one year. There was a possibility that the old rate would be resumed April 1, 1856. The prospect alarmed Duerinck and he pleaded with Colonel Manypenny for a continuance of the rate temporarily allowed:

No change has taken place in our favor and appearances seem to indicate that low prices have fled from the land forever. The Pottowatomie Manual Labor School is the largest school in the Indian country. We carry it on *bona fide* and in earnest and mean to benefit the Pottowatomie tribe. Our people have good board; we furnish them good clothes, lodging and competent teachers. We are one-hundred miles from the river and our expenses for provisions and freight are enormous. . . . We could wish you to take the trouble of looking into this business and see what the institution receives.

Estimates:

For clothes, tuition, washing, stationery, school-books, lodging and bedding, per day, say, . . .	.04	For clothes, washing, teaching, etc. per day . . . . .	.05
For dinner . . . . .	.05	Breakfast, coffee, meat, bread, etc. . . . .	.05
For breakfast . . . . .	.02	Dinner, meat, vegetables, fruit and bread . . . . .	.06
For supper . . . . .	.03	Supper, tea, milk, meat and bread . . . . .	.05
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	.14 a day		.21
	or \$50 per annum		per day or \$75 per annum

Now these calculations are based on fact and they show how unreasonable a burden the mission has to bear. We try to get along in the world; we work hard to support ourselves and our friends assist us too, but we sink under the difficulty. We have seen the time when we could manage to make out; not because \$50 per annum for every scholar was ever adequate

¹⁰⁸ De Smet to Gailland and Schultz, January 2, 1856. (A).

pay, but because the material aid of our friends joined to our unceasing exertions prevented us from becoming insolvent.¹⁰⁹

The petition of Father Duerinck eventually met with a favorable answer and the seventy-five dollar rate was thenceforth maintained as long as the mission schools continued to be subsidized by the government.

One thing greatly encouraged the mission-staff at St. Mary's in the midst of the adverse financial conditions against which the schools had to struggle from first to last; this was the success in an educational way which attended them. Father Duerinck wrote in reference to the crisis of the winter of 1854-1855, which almost forced him to suspend the schools:

A ray of hope made us continue the work. We have made great sacrifices to make our pupils comfortable, and we now see several signs to encourage us. May Heaven bless the Pottowatomie boys and girls; their gentle manners, their cheerful countenances and contented looks have won them our approbation; we no longer observe in them that uncouth behavior, that haughty temper, that fondness for their Indian ways which used to mortify us and cut us to the quick; they are now content to stay at school and withal willing to please us. The girls, especially, are remarkable for their industry and personal cleanliness. Distinguished visitors who have on several occasions been shown through the establishment never fail to admire that part of the house and pay the ladies in charge a compliment to that effect. There is also a marked improvement on the score of going and coming, leaving and returning to the school. At present the parents bring their children to the school, and leave them to their studies, without paying them those incessant visits that used to cause us a great deal of annoyance and expense.¹¹⁰

Though the mission school was officially known as the Pottowatomie Manual Labor School, circumstances made it impracticable to introduce manual labor on any considerable scale, at least into the boys' department:

But, although we have facts to state that win us the applause of our friends, we cannot conceal from you that we stand in a false position before the Government. Ours is a manual-labor school for boys. Now the supposition is, or at least ought to be, that the scholars will spend part of the day in the field and part in the school-room; or, as it is practiced in the States, work in summer and study in winter.

When our lads grow up and bid fair to render us some assistance in the

¹⁰⁹ Duerinck to Manypenny, February 22, 1856. (H). On February 9, 1857, Duerinck pleaded with Col. Cummins of the St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs for a continuance of the seventy-five dollar rate. (H).

¹¹⁰ Duerinck to Clarke, October 1, 1855. (H).

field, they are taken home to work and return no more; we only get raw recruits, undisciplined Philistines, hardly willing to learn to work and unable to handle a tool. There lies the difficulty. It is some trouble to make an Indian fall in love with work, who deems labor a disgrace and who looks to his squaw to hoe the corn. The old and the young, the father and the son, are all equally averse to work. An Indian is frequently heard to utter this foolish complaint, that it is a pity he cannot plough his corn in winter when the weather is cool; he says it is too hot to work in summer. There are many exceptions to this rule; but the generality of Prairie Indians live up to it. But if we cannot carry out our plan to its full extent, we are not idle. We have set up our mark, and the little Indians must have their bow and arrow and shoot at it. If they cannot help us to raise corn and pumpkins, they must peel potatoes, mind the gap and be somewhere *in pomorum custodiam* ["on watch over the apples"].¹¹¹

The success of the girls' school is again commented on by Duerinck in his report for 1856:

This branch of our manual labor school has more attraction than any other institution of a similar character in the country; the premises have an air of neatness and comfort that strikes the beholder with surprise. If you enter the house during the work hours, you will find the inmates all at work with order and regularity, detailed in small parties under a mistress—some sew or knit, some spin, some cook and eat, others wash, clean up the rooms, milk the cows in the yard, or work in the garden, &c. If you meet them all in one of the rooms, you wonder at their number, as frequently eighty of them will rise at once to greet you. If you happen amongst them during their playtime, you will see them all merry and happy, full of innocent sport and mischief, which on account of their sweet humor is never taken amiss. These girls are of a tame and modest turn while at school; but when they grow up and return to their people, the young men find them very sociable, talkative, fond of dress, and yet of a stern character when they foolishly presume to take undue liberties with them. We train these good children and these young maids to do all sorts of housework, because, whilst we do our own work, we show them every day how work is to be done. At the end of the year there is an examination and a distribution of premiums both for the boys and for the girls, when perhaps some twenty-five of them receive each a new book for their distinguished merit and unwearied application. It would do you good to attend this ceremony, and to witness the joy and exultation they manifest on that occasion. It is considered a favor to be allowed to come to school to the ladies; a great many have made application for admission, but could not immediately be received for want of room.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Duerinck to Clarke, September 25, 1854, in *RCIA*, 1854. The Douay (Catholic) version renders the Latin "*in pomorum custodiam*," as "a place to keep fruit." The expression is from Psalm LXXVIII, v. 1.

¹¹² Duerinck to Clarke, October 20, 1856, in *RCIA*, 1856.

§ 10. FATHER DUERINCK AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM

Aversion to manual toil is ingrained in Indian nature. The Potawatomis displayed this trait in ample measure. The "Prairie" or pagan portion of the tribe shrank from labor as a disgrace to their nation and denounced the Mission Indians for tilling the soil. The Mission Indians themselves had constantly to be encouraged to keep them from slipping back into their native indolence. Father Duerinck was remorseless in his efforts to bring the Indians to a better point of view with regard to the need and the dignity of honest toil. The whole tribe, according to William E. Murphy, the Potawatomis agent, was the beneficiary of the lessons of thrift, industry and hard work which he steadily inculcated. "The principal of the school at St. Mary's Mission, Rev. Mr. Duerinck, appears to be the man for the times and the place, possessed as he is of the most unbounded energy, indomitable perseverance and a desire at heart to advance the interests of the Pottowatomie Indians. In truth, the intelligent portion of them know full well that, apart from his admirable management of the school, it would be hard to estimate the benefit he has been to the whole tribe, by instilling into their minds the importance of industry and cultivating the soil."¹¹⁸

The views of Duerinck on the Indian's supreme need of hard labor and the methods he employed in bringing the lesson home to his Potawatomis charges are set forth with characteristic vigor in his report for 1856. The sturdy Fleming expresses himself with trenchancy, despite the colloquialisms, improprieties of diction and mixed or otherwise infelicitous metaphors that clog his pen:

We are very anxious of [*sic*] showing up our St. Mary's Mission farm as a model establishment, and we spare neither exertions nor expense in order to produce the desired effect upon the Indians. We could wish them to follow our example, to work for their living and not to lead a life of starvation, when they can have plenty if they would only bestir themselves. We avoid inconsistency in this matter.

We have no right to scold an Indian for having a weedy cornfield when ours is no better; but when our farm is clear and trim and his smothered with weeds and brambles, then we feel warranted in throwing cold water on his farming. If we show him a large field full of fine growing crops, stacks of oats and hay, herds of cattle, lots of poultry and garden stuff, and defy him to show the like in a spirit of emulation, he seems to be satisfied that he is an Indian and that we are white people, as if he could not aspire to possess what labor can procure, and what every farmer ought to have to make his family comfortable. If we express the delight we feel in possessing labor-saving machines, such as corn shellers,

¹¹⁸ Murphy to Haverty, September 15, 1857. (A).

cultivators, rollers, horse hay-rakes, mowing machines, corn crushers, &c. &c., and expatiate on the wonderful utility of these implements, they wind up by begging us to come and do their work. This invitation is, of course, declined, on the plea that we do not profess to hire ourselves to work, but that we show them practically how work can be done to advantage when a fellow is up to the tricks.

It would be worse than folly to work for a man who is too lazy to work, and too poor to pay for it when it is done. We lay down the principle that labor is honorable and that it is a shame for a man to let his family starve with hunger when moderate labor would keep them in easy circumstances. We frequently tell some of the poorer sort, that it is with them as with the "starved pig," either root or die. Plant corn and pumpkins, raise potatoes and beans, cease to beg, cease to be idle, cease to be a burden to others, make a garden and eat the fruit thereof, &c. Suppose it makes you sweat; well, what of it? A poor devil ought not to be so nice; a little sweat would not kill you. Some of our gentry have a grudge against us for boldly telling them these things; but in spite of the members of this lazy club, our flag waves in the breeze, and we insist on their making a field and a garden, facilitating them in the way of obtaining a cow or other domestic animals—helping the poor of good will, stimulating the sluggish, rebuking the vicious, reproving the improvident, praising the meritorious, and encouraging the industrious amongst them. We care not for the opinion of those red rovers, and we mean to keep up the fire from the walls of our fort as long as there is a man in arms against us. Their demonstrations and alarms give us but little trouble. We must have patience with them, watch our opportunities, and try it again; we are, all of us, people of good humor, little accustomed to complain, and we believe ourselves the happiest mission in the country. It is a source of unfeigned gratification to us to see so many of our "mission Indians" improve in their temporal condition, advance in civilization, and bid fair to become an agricultural people. Some of these had lived from time immemorial in poverty and destitution, but at the present day they live in ease and plenty, with moderate work. The march of the Pottowatomies, except the prairie bands, is onward, and we will soon have great results. A large number of boys and girls, young men and young women, are growing up in our schools, who are now kept in reserve, but who will soon join in the busy scenes of life and help to promote the good cause. We deem it no small favor to be continued so long in charge of this mission, with the personal aid and advice of so many good persons, who had proved themselves ever true to their vocation and engagements. Verily, we can bear testimony to the truth of the proverb, that "a brother helped by a brother is like a strong city." Although our days are made up of toil and labor, of care and solicitude, yet we are in love with our position—not because things work so well, but because our friends commend our exertions and approve of our management. It is true that our friends who watch over and pray for us, have no great interest at stake, for we have none that pour money into our lap, and give us any material aid. As we are rather hard-shelled fellows, we tell them plainly that as long as we

have nails to our fingers, we shall endeavor to earn our bread in the sweat of our brow; but we liked, of late years, to repent of our cavalier-like independence, for times have been so hard and provisions so high that we found it necessary to implore their assistance or else give up the ship.¹¹⁴

All during Duerinck's administration at St. Mary's the sectionizing of the Potawatomi reserve was a living and warmly debated issue. The Mission Indians favored the division of the lands among the individual members of the tribe, while the Prairie or unconverted Indians held for the most part to the existing system of joint proprietorship by the collective tribe. In the autumn of 1853 Colonel Manypenny, commissioner of Indian affairs, met the Potawatomi in council and proposed to them on the part of the government the purchase of their superfluous lands, at the same time authorizing them to sectionize the unsold portion. The Potawatomi rejected the proposals made by the commissioner, declaring themselves unwilling to sell or divide their lands or exchange them for other lands. Manypenny readily acquiesced in the stand taken by the Indians as he had no intention of urging them to an acceptance of what was distasteful to them, and, in their judgment at least, prejudicial to their interests. "He is a man of great integrity," noted Father Gailland, "and would not in any way trifle with the rights of the savages. He even defends them boldly in spite of obloquy and censure." Notwithstanding the failure of the Potawatomi on this occasion to take any step away from their traditional status, the better portion of the tribe were eagerly looking forward to the day when they should be able to live under the laws of the United States and enjoy their protection. "We entirely concur," concluded Gailland, "in these views and only long for their speedy fulfillment."¹¹⁵

The views of the fathers of the mission with regard to Indian land-tenure are ably set forth by Duerinck in his report for 1855:

We beg leave to say a word on the Indian policy. The system of possessing lands in common, one hundred and twenty individuals claiming an acre as their own property, is replete with evil and bad consequences that will frustrate the best hopes that the friends of the Indians have conceived. I am bold to maintain that no Indian, no half-breed, no white man living amongst them, will ever feel encouraged to make his premises a comfortable home as long as he labors under the fear that his improvements

¹¹⁴ Duerinck to Clarke, October 20, 1856, in *RCIA*, 1856. "1858. January 2. We have seventy boys on the school list and as many girls. Half-breeds more than ever. Widow Jude Bourassa has sent her three boys and two girls because urged by her brother-in-law." Duerinck's Diary II. (F).

¹¹⁵ Gailland, *History of St. Mary's Mission* (ms.). Original in Latin; English translation by some unknown hand. (A).

are liable to be sold for the benefit of the nation at large. Give them a title to the land, and you will soon see them vie with each other in their improvements. Interest, emulation, and a laudable degree of pride, which are innate in everyone of us, will do more to carry them honorably through the world than all the penalties and coercions now in force amongst them. At the present time the industrious, frugal, good-natured Indian is to be pitied; he is the scape-goat in every tribe. When Bonnehomie has, during the summer, summoned his wife and family to share with him the toils and labors of the field; when he has secured his crops, and might expect to enjoy the fruits of his industry, then, day after day, week after week, you will see a gang of lazy neighbors, relatives and acquaintances, all indiscreet intruders, visit that family, eat and drink with them to their heart's content, and eat that poor man out of house and home. We tell the Indians that the first step towards civilization is to give up their wandering life, to settle down, and to till the soil. When they go to work and raise good crops they say it does them no good, because their hungry, half-starved neighbors hang round them and eat them up. This miserable custom, this aversion to work, this eternal begging, disheartens the willing Indian, and he becomes at last so reckless that he feels disposed to abandon our advice, and he concludes that it is far better for him to live and to die as an Indian after having vainly endeavored to live like a white man.

After supporting his "proposition," namely, "that the great measure which the emergency of the times seems to require is the division of the land," with what he calls "a string of reasons," fourteen in number, Father Duerinck concludes:

The subject under consideration is one of weighty importance; if my zeal for the welfare of the red man has carried me beyond the boundaries of discretion, you are at liberty to disregard my views, and to hold them for the spontaneous effusions of a heart that feels their misfortunes. We have lived seven years amongst them, and have observed their manners and customs, their strong and their weak points, and we feel as if our advice could benefit them. The best part of our Indians, and especially our mission Indians, have learned to make their living by cultivating the soil, and they are impatient to see the day of emancipation dawn upon them. Help them out of Egypt, and guide them to the land of promise, where everyone can build on his own land, and enjoy, without envy or molestation, the fruits of his labor. It would be impolitic to discourage them in their aspirations, for it is seldom you find a body of Indians so well disposed as they are, and they ought to be met with the cheer of, God speed the work.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Duerinck to Clarke, October 1, 1855, in *RCIA*, 1855. Duerinck's contention that the Potawatomi lands should be divided up among the Indians is also set forth in an article entitled "Indian Politics," which seems to be from his pen. It appeared in the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, March 21, 1857, and is reproduced in *Mid-America* (Chicago), 17:88-93. William E. Connelly, "The Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians," in *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 14:499 *et seq.*, takes Father Duerinck

The granting of the Potawatomi reserve in severalty to the Indians was desired by the Christian Indians generally, including the little group attached to the Baptist Mission. Dr. Johnston Lykins, as repre-

to task for his efforts to have the Potawatomi reserve allotted in severalty to the Indians. "The report of the Superintendent, J. B. Duerinck, was somewhat harsh and was evidently written to correspond with the demands of the political powers then in the ascendancy demanding the extinction, according to custom, of Indian titles through allotment of lands in severalty. . . . His [Duerinck's] plans would have afforded temporary relief. In fact his plans were, in effect, adopted by the treaty of 1861 and resulted in making every Potawatomi except the Prairie Band a homeless outcast. . . . Superintendent Duerinck was a vigorous, competent man and a good director of the school. He was only mistaken as to how to get the Indian to help himself. He was influenced by those conditions most in evidence about him every day. He did not reflect deeply on what produced those conditions. He had no patience with them. He did not see clearly that the Indian was incapable of competition with the white man. . . . They [the Prairie Band] have the true conception of what is the best form of Indian life. . . . Community life is the only life by which the Indian survives as a people. He is an enemy of the Indian who advocates any other mode or form of society for him (pp. 504, 506, 511, 515)."

While Father Duerinck may have overrated the Indian's capacity for self-support, it can be said in explanation of his policy that it was the one generally advocated not only by federal officials but also by the missionaries, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. Cf. letter *infra* of Doctor J. Lykins of the Baptist Potawatomi School near Uniontown. The unfortunate result of the policy as it affected the Potawatomi was not due to an inherent defect in the policy itself, but to the circumstance that the government did not surround its application with the necessary safeguards. Such safeguards have since been devised with the result that the principle of allotting Indian lands in severalty continues to find favor with religious and missionary bodies generally. Thus G. E. Lindquist, *The Red Man in the United States* (New York, 1923), which embodies the results of an inter-church survey concluded in 1922: ". . . the Dawes Act [1887], whereby reservations were to be broken up and the land allotted in severalty to be held for a period of 25 years as non-taxable, following which a patent in fee simple was to be issued and the surplus sold and opened up to white people for settlement. This was a far-sighted and benevolent policy, the purpose of which was to prepare the Indian for full citizenship during the period of probation and insure him economic independence and self-support (p. 36)." Cf. also Warren K. Moorehead, *The American Indian in the United States*: "The Indian must ultimately be merged into the body politic, as has been affirmed (p. 434)." Francis E. Leupp, *The Indian and his Problem* (New York, 1910): "The system of common property was fatal to all legitimate enterprise on the part of any individual Indian (p. 27)." James McLaughlin, *My Friend The Indian* (Boston, 1910): "So soon as the proper official declares that an Indian is competent to administer his own affairs, let that Indian have his portion of the fund, also a patent in fee for his allotment and let him shift for himself (p. 403)." But without proper safeguards in its application the policy of individual ownership, as experience proves, works to the detriment of the Indian. "When the government adopted the policy of individual ownership of the land on the reservations, the expectation was that the Indians would become farmers. Part of the plan was to instruct and aid them in agriculture,

senting the latter, wrote as follows to Commissioner Manypenny in 1854:

Mr. Jude Boursissa [Bourassa], a half-breed Putawatomie, arrived here on the same day of the decease of Major Brown, the late agent for that tribe. The object of his visit was to have their agent inform you that a majority of their tribe now wishes to cede their country to the United States.

In the absence of an agent and at his earnest solicitations I communicate their wishes. The request for an opportunity to enter into a treaty is presented by J. W. Bourissa [Bourassa] (a reliable man), Pategoskik[?] and various other chiefs.

They represent that the whites are now pressing on their lines and in some instances perhaps crossing them—that steamboats are now running to Ft. Riley, requiring warehouses and other accommodations along the river and which can only be obviated by a treaty etc. From my own knowledge of the Putawatomes I am satisfied a majority of them are desirous to sell their country and adapt their conditions to the new order of things. And I would suggest that it is the only means of preventing serious difficulties between them and their white neighbors. Their lines in the main cannot now be ascertained by either whites or Indians without a survey and will be crossed by settlers.¹¹⁷

The views thus expressed by Father Duerinck and Dr. Lykins on what was by all odds the most vital issue confronting government in its dealings with the Potawatomi met with ready indorsement from all concerned in the welfare of the tribe. The Potawatomi agent, W. E. Murphy, insisted in all his reports on the sectionizing of the reserve as a measure imperatively demanded in the best interests of the Indians. His report for 1857 throws light on the status of the land-question at that date:

It is a pleasure to me to be able to report that a large majority, probably two-thirds, of the Pottawatomes are engaged in the cultivation of the soil; they have a rich and beautiful country, the soil well adapted to the

but this vital part was not pressed with vigor and intelligence. It almost seems as if the government assumed that some magic in individual ownership of property would in itself prove an educational civilizing factor, but unfortunately this policy has for the most part operated in the opposite direction." *The Problem of Indian Administration: Summary of Findings and Recommendations*. From the report of a survey made at the request of the Honorable Hubert Work, secretary of the Interior, and submitted to him February 21, 1928 (Washington, 1928), p. 7.

¹¹⁷ Lykins to Manypenny, July 1. (H). For contemporary press-notice of the movement in favor of sectionizing the Potawatomi reserve, cf. E. Harold Young, "Some Contemporary References to St. Mary's Mission," in *Mid-America*, 17: 84-103 (1935).

cultivation of corn, oats, potatoes, wheat, tobacco, &c.; and all that is required to make them a prosperous and a happy people, with the benign influence that the United States Government exerts in behalf of their education, is to avail themselves of that advantage, which nature has placed in their hands, in the cultivation of the soil. I shall continue my exertions to stimulate them in their laudable ambition to excel in this art, by directing their attention to the advantages the farmer has over all other professions.

The Pottawatomies have held several councils within the last two months in regard to sectionizing their land, but it seems that, notwithstanding this once powerful and mighty tribe have dwindled down to the insignificant number of about three thousand, it is composed of such discordant elements that they cannot unite upon a plan to save themselves from that destruction which will inevitably befall them if they fail to have their land sectionized, and thereby rendered to them permanent homes. The industrious and intelligent portion of this tribe, composed of the "Wabash" and "St. Joseph's" bands, see the importance of getting the government to adopt such measures as will protect them in the enjoyment of their homes, and save them from being driven before the tide of emigration which is rapidly flowing into Kansas. The "Prairie band" appear to despise the principles of civilization, look upon work as a disgrace, and when they hear those Indians who cultivate the soil speak of sectionizing they immediately denounce them, and charge them with endeavoring to swindle them out of their land. The "Prairie band" constitutes about one-third of the Indians within this agency. When I see the industrious portion of this tribe show such uneasiness of mind in regard to holding their land, see them manifest a disposition to earn their bread in the sweat of their brow, and hear them express the wish to have permanent homesteads for themselves and their children, I am induced to appeal to the Indian department in their behalf to sectionize their land, give each one a homestead of one-hundred and sixty acres, and let them sell the balance of their land, and with the proceeds build stone fences and make other permanent improvements.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Murphy to Haverty, September 15, 1857. An able address of Murphy to "my Potawatomi friends," dated Potawatomi Agency, K.T., November 1857, urging them to unite in petitioning the government to sectionize their land is in the files of the Indian Office. He advised against sending two delegations to Washington, one for and one against sectionizing, as the Indians were proposing to do, and suggested their selling the part of their reserve south of the Kaw. "In advising you to give up a part of your land, my children, you may rest assured that I have kept steadily in view your true interests. You must remember that your number is a great deal less now than it was in 1846, when you obtained by treaty this country, that your land is situated in the center of a territory rapidly settling up with a white population, which will in a short time be admitted as a State into the Union, that from the fact of your reserve being so large, containing as it does 576,000 acres, public sentiment is against your retaining it all, and I am of the opinion that if you can effect an arrangement by which you can hold in peace and security two-thirds of it, you ought to do so." Murphy appears to have conducted the business of the agency with efficiency though there was long-continued opposition against him on various grounds, among others, that of alleged favoritism to the Catholic

The movement for the breaking up the Potawatomi reserve was to come to a head in the treaties finally negotiated between the Indians

Indians. Andrew Jackson to Acting Commissioner Wise, Uniontown, March 6, 1858. (H). Jackson, evidently a non-Catholic, suggested that the Catholic and Baptist schools be allowed each a half-section, as was subsequently done in the treaty of 1861. Supporting Murphy were Chief Joseph Lafromboise, Madore M. Beaubien, Topenebee and John Tipton; against him and petitioning Washington for his removal were Amable A. Bertrand, Joseph N. Bourassa, Anthony F. Navarre, Louis Ogee, and William M. Rice, all Potawatomi half-breeds, with the possible exception of the last. In a letter of December 11, 1857, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Denver, (H), Murphy again discloses his views on the sectionizing issue: "Having just received information that a Delegation of the Bluff or 'Prairie Indians' of this Agency, are congregated at the Baptist Mission School, for the purpose of starting on tomorrow morning to Washington City, I deem it my duty to address you a few lines in order to let you know the true position of said delegation. 1st, In their opposition to sectionizing the reservation they represent the views of only about six hundred members of the nation, and that number composed of that class of the Pottawatomies who are opposed to Educating their Children, and to cultivating the soil. 2ndly, Said delegation after agreeing with the intelligent and industrious portion of the Pottawatomies to decline going to Washington, as you will perceive from the inclosed note, were induced to forfeit their word and thus unexpectedly start off, by one Anthony Navarre a half-breed Pottawatomie, who has for two years past, preceding last summer, been living in Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, and whom I was forced to have arrested, and confined in jail several days, to prevent his preaching mormonism, and advising the Indians to go to Utah. Said Navarre has a Father living in Indiana, and in order to obtain his release, promised me that he would go to Indiana, instead of doing which he took up his residence entirely amongst the poor, unfortunate band of 'Prairie Indians,' to whom he has been a great injury, by instilling into their minds his foolish mormon doctrine, and prejudicing them still more against the intelligent and Christian portion of the Pottawatomies. I have laboured with the most untiring energy to get the 'Prairie band' of this Agency, friendly and united with their brethren, and to follow the example of those who were tilling the ground, and Educating their Children. God knows that I felt an interest in their welfare and had a great desire to accomplish with them, what all former Agents had failed to do, but so far I have only succeeded in getting a promise from them, to send their Children to school. The delegation now enroute for Washington go there contrary to the wish of four fifths of the Indians under my charge, and consequently have no right to propose, or make any arrangement with your honor, for the Pottawatomic nation; hence it is, that I felt it due to myself, and due to the Intelligent, Christian and Civilized portion of my Children, to take the liberty of making to your honor the statements which I have thus made. The Mission Indians contemplated sending on a delegation, but in accordance with my advice have deferred it until spring. Congress being now in session, I was of the opinion that it would better suit your convenience then, to talk with them, than at this time." Murphy to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Gen. J. W. Denver, Potawatomi Agency, K. T., December 11, 1857. (H).

A letter of P. H. Waterman, Mill Creek, Potawatomi Reserve, July 26, 1859, has this item: "Again, there are a few agitators in the nation who are continually running to St. Louis or Washington on pretended business for the nation, but

and the federal government. Meantime, amid the rapidly changing conditions around it, St. Mary's Mission went steadily on. The impression made by it on competent and impartial observers is freely expressed in the annual reports of the Potawatomi Indian agents, who as residents on the reserve had ample opportunities to study at close range the practical workings of the mission. A few extracts follow:

G. W. Clarke, October 17, 1855: By the school report of Mr. Duerinck, it will be seen that the missionary labors at St. Mary's are divided into two establishments. The boys are under the charge of the "fathers" of the institution, whilst the girls are under the kind care of the "Ladies of the Sacred Heart." I cannot speak in terms too highly of the condition of these establishments. Besides the ordinary literary course, the girls are taught sewing, knitting, embroidery, and the various other branches of house-keeping. In connexion with the institution is a manual labor school, where the boys are taught the practical and useful departments of farming, gardening, &c. Mr. Duerinck is a man of great energy and business habits, united with a devotion to the welfare of the Pottawatomie Indians, to whom he has proved a father and friend, and by whom he is highly esteemed. I have no hesitancy in expressing my conviction that this institution is of great service to these Indians. This influence is seen in the neat cottages and little fields of the "Mission Indians," and the air of comfort and good order apparent throughout the neighborhood.¹¹⁹

G. W. Clarke, September 25, 1856: The annual report of the St. Mary's mission establishment has not been sent in. It has doubtless been sent direct to the Indian Office. This institution is of the highest order of mission schools and merits my warmest commendation. The labors of the reverend gentlemen and the ladies conducting it are not only improving the rising generation and preparing them for civilized society, but the influence of their example and counsels is manifestly to the advantage of the adults.¹²⁰

W. E. Murphy, September 15, 1857: The neatness and cleanliness of the school yard and buildings at St. Mary's give to it an air of comfort that is the admiration of all passers by. The female department of this school is under the management of nine Sisters of the Sacred Heart, with Madame Lucille as superior, and is frequently visited by distinguished strangers, who, after seeing the amiable manners, cleanly appearance, and cheerful looks of the Pottawatomie girls, and the fine order, system, and regularity with which the school is conducted, not only express their appro-

whose action the nation knows nothing about and who draw money from the national fund to pay their time and expenses, besides running the nation into debt. Our excellent agent [William E. Murphy] is doing his best for the nation. I hope he will be sustained. I understand there is a petition out got up by these agitators." (H).

¹¹⁹ *RCIA*, 1855, no. 38.

¹²⁰ *Idem*, 1856, no. 34.

bation, but wonder at seeing so fine an institution of learning within an Indian reservation.¹²¹

No little success had thus attended the efforts of Father Duerinck to build up the Catholic Potawatomi Mission. Materially it was on a solid basis, despite the difficulties that its upkeep entailed; morally and educationally it was rendering undoubted service to the tribe. Having lived long enough to see his work prosper, Duerinck was now to be carried off by a premature death. In the fall of 1857 he received instructions from the vice-provincial, Father Druyts, to repair to the

¹²¹ *Idem*, 1857. Side-lights on Duerinck's activities in his frontier environment are afforded by his Diary II. Extracts additional to those cited in the text follow: "Received July 5, 1854 a letter from Francis Arenz, Arenzville, Illinois, enquiring about the Kansas Territory. Answered him July 15, 1854."

"Lawyer Branscom from Massachusetts came up on his way to Fort Riley, July 24, 1854 to examine the country."

"Requested, July 28, 1854, Bishop Loras to make a claim opposite Bluff City on the Half Breed land near Sarpy's at Bellevue for Bishop Miege." [Probably a question of securing a church-site.]

"Bishop [Miége] has contracted May 8, 1855, with Mr. James Dixon for the stonework of a building of the following dimensions at Pawnee 32 feet 16 feet wide 22 feet high the front to be of cut stone as well furnished as the best work at Fort Riley. The other sides to be rubble stone work. The building is to have the necessary openings; all work, material, sand, limestone, etc. to be furnished by said Dixon and to be finished by 15th Sept. next for the consideration of 600 dollars which is to be full [free?] of all account."

"1856. Informed Father Druyts, Provincial, that St. Mary's Mission, will subscribe 1000 francs to the monument of St. Ignatius at Rome."

"1856. October 27. Forwarded also to the Editor Ohio Cultivator a golden dollar for my subscription for 1856."

"1857. February 4. Forwarded to Col. S. D. Harris, Columbus, Ohio, six dollars to pay in full for a club of ten to subscribe for the Ohio Cultivator from February 1857-1858. Henry Rodierke, Louis Vieux, Francis Bergeron, Doctor L. R. Palmer (Louisville P. O. Rock Creek), Ferryman Smith, J. B. Duerinck, Mrs. Joseph Bertrand, Joseph Laframboise, Medard Beaubien, L. R. Darling (St. Marys Mission P. O.). Requested to send the copies put up in good wrappers."

"1857 March 30. Col. Isaac Winston, Mitchell's Station Culpeper Co. Virginia leaves today for Washington. He will take a copy of Indian Politics to the Indian Office at Washington and recommend our plans to the Dept."

"1857. July 18. Today July 18, 1857 is the hottest day we have ever experienced on the Kaw River. The thermometer stands at 112° at ¼ before 5 o'clock P.M. in the shade."

"1859. April 20. Today John Riffel on his way to Pike's Peak left with me [Schultz] some deeds enclosed in a portfolio which he intends to take back on his return. Should he not come back he wishes that the whole should be forwarded to Mrs. Jane Riffel living in Summit, Cambry [Cambria] County, Pennsylvania. (It has been returned in summer of 1860)."

Duerinck's Diary II was continued after him by Fathers Schultz and Diels. It will continue to be cited under the same name.

novitiate at Florissant and there make his tertianship or third year of probation as a preparation for his final vows as a Jesuit. A letter from him dated November 24, 1857, announced to Druyts his intention of complying at once with the order. "I intend to go to Leavenworth and thence to St. Louis in the course of this week. The chiefs of the tribe, the warriors, the medicine-man, and old men and young have agreed to send a deputation to Washington, or rather two deputations, one composed of Prairie Indians, unconverted Potawatomi, and the other of Mission Indians. These last have me on their list to accompany them to Washington with a view to advancing the interests of the Mission and helping them to attain more surely the object of their negotiations with Government. It will belong to the Superior, to decide what I shall have to do; whatever be his decision, whether I am to go or remain behind, I shall be equally satisfied."¹²²

This was the last word from Father Duerinck to reach St. Louis. On December 14 De Smet was visited at St. Louis University by an old acquaintance of his Rocky Mountain days, Captain Mullan, U.S.A., who brought him the sad intelligence that Father Duerinck had in all probability been drowned in the Missouri on his way to St. Louis. The circumstances, as narrated by the captain, are embodied in a letter which De Smet dispatched on the following day to Bishop Miége in Leavenworth:

I write in a great hurry and am most uneasy in mind. Yesterday late in the afternoon Captain Mullan paid me a visit and stated the following to me,—“he met Father Duerinck at your Reverence’s house—he saw him leave Leavenworth by stage for Kansas City and on his way to Liberty—when below Wyandotte City, the Captain heard it stated, that the day previous, the 8th or 9th, a flatboat had left Wyandotte ferry with six gentlemen, one of them a priest—above Independence Landing the flatboat struck a snag, was upset, three out of the six were drowned, the priest being one of them.” The Captain fears that the priest, whose name was not mentioned, might be Duerinck. Knowing from a letter received that he was on his way down, we are all in the greatest uneasiness of mind. I said Mass for him this morning. I hasten to communicate this melancholy and sad news to your Reverence, however, with as yet, a little glimmering of hope. May the Lord have saved him—his loss will be severely felt indeed. We will immediately institute inquiries—please do what you can in this regard.¹²³

¹²² Duerinck à Druyts, November 24, 1857, in *Précis Historiques* (Brussels), 7: 102.

¹²³ De Smet to Miége, December 15, 1857. (A). “Nov. 30 [1857] Fr. Duerinck has left the Mission to make his tertianship—he took along for traveling expenses fifty-eight (58) dollars.”

Dec. 18. Sad news of Fr. Duerinck’s death received at 8 P.M. by a letter

Letters similar to the above were sent by De Smet to Father Bernard Donnelly, the Catholic pastor at Kansas City, and to William Jarboe, a merchant of the same city, asking them to make inquiries and, if Father Duerinck had really perished, to endeavor to recover the body and have it sent to Florissant. The story told by Captain Mullan appears to have been confirmed in a few days and by December 21 De Smet had written to Duerinck's parents in Belgium acquainting them with their son's untimely death. As the river was too low for steamboats to ascend beyond Kansas City, Duerinck had started off in a small skiff with five or six other passengers with the intention of going downstream as far as Liberty, where they expected to find a steamer for St. Louis. A short distance below Independence the skiff struck a snag and upset. Two of the men were saved by clinging to the sides of the boat until it ran on a sand-bar; the others, including Duerinck, fell into the water and were drowned. The priest's body was never recovered, though De Smet undertook a trip up the Missouri as far as Kansas City in the hope of finding it. "A few days after this unfortunate accident, a steamboat captain had seen a corpse upon a sand-bar near the place of the shipwreck and had caused it to be buried. At the news I set out to visit this solitary grave dug on the banks of the Missouri, in the vicinity of the town of Liberty. The occupant of the grave was not my confrere and dear friend, for whom I was searching. His accoutrement indicated a deckhand from some boat. I felt sad over the outcome."¹²⁴ De Smet notes that his prayers on this occasion to St. Anthony were left unanswered.

The death of Father Duerinck was a stunning blow to St. Mary's Mission. It was in great measure owing to his successful business management amid peculiarly trying circumstances that the mission had grown to its existing prosperous condition, while his persevering efforts to teach the Indians sobriety and thrift had met with visible success. Agent Murphy in his report for 1858 rendered testimony on the point. "It is due to the Pottawatomies as a tribe that I should state a large majority of them are sober people, and that many of them have used every exertion in their power, to aid me in keeping liquor out of their

from Bishop Miége care of Mr. Clark, U.S. Army. He got drowned between Kansas City and Liberty. He had bought in Wyandott [Kansas City, Kansas] a skiff in company with four other gentlemen. They struck a snag. Three got drowned and two saved. Dr. Smith of Leavenworth City, one of these two, wrote his wife who told it to the Bishop. Next day Col. Murphy started to Leavenworth.

Dec. 23. Requiem Mass sung for F. D. A letter read by Mr. Stinson in presence of Jos. Bourassa and Med. Beaubien relates differently the Father's death. A traveller tells Mrs. Jos. Bertrand, Fr. Duer. had been seen in St. Louis. Hence doubts and suspicions." Duerinck's Diary II (continued by Schultz). (F).

¹²⁴ De Smet to Parmentier, February 24, 1858. (A).

reserve. The credit for sobriety and industry which a portion of the Pottawatomies are entitled to is in a great measure due to the late Rev. John B. Duerinck, former Superintendent of St. Mary's Mission, whose melancholy death cast a gloom over the entire reservation; the poor, honest Indians looked to him as children to an affectionate father; he warned them continually of the great change which would soon take place amongst them, the nature of the elements with which they would soon be surrounded and the great necessity on their part of honesty, industry and sobriety to counteract the dangerous influences to which they would be exposed. Truly may it be said that in his death they lost a friend and a benefactor."¹²⁵

At De Smet's request, Fathers Gaillard and Schultz, the remaining priests at St. Mary's, drew up a joint tribute to the memory of Father Duerinck. After noting that the father was put to the necessity for many years of maintaining the schools on the pittance of fifty dollars annually for each pupil, the document goes on to say:

Thanks to the intelligence and activity of Father Duerinck the Mission met all expenses and triumphed over all obstacles. But how much pain and trouble it cost him to put his big family, his dear Indian children, under cover from indigence? To traverse great deserts in order to purchase animals at a low price and bring them to St. Mary's; to go many hundred miles up and down the Mission; to be continually on the alert to find a favorable occasion for getting together and disposing of the products of the farm; to make every possible exertion to find the means of subsistence; to be constantly thinking out new resources, forming new plans and executing new projects to provide for the needs of the large family committed to his care; all this is what Father Duerinck so nobly undertook to do in favor of the Mission and with perfect success.

The Father had a strongly tempered character; rather had he a soul

¹²⁵ Murphy to Robinson, August 13, 1858. *RCIA*, 1858. "There has been during the month of December an increase in the number of the scholars at both of the schools within the agency and notwithstanding the model school at St. Mary's Mission moves on with its usual system and regularity, without intermission or interruption under the management of the former teachers, there is at present a melancholy gloom surrounding the mission and neighborhood caused by the sudden and unexpected death of the Superior Rev. Father Duerinck, whose mortal remains are still in the Missouri River and whose irreparable loss I regard as among the greatest calamities that could have befallen the Potawatomi Indians, for he was to them truly a friend and a father. It is one of the decrees of an all-wise Providence to which we must humbly bow and fortunately for the school at St. Mary's Mission the place of Father Duerinck may be filled, for it is the full grown Indians who will miss his advice and example, more than the little boys and girls at school, for they will continue to receive from the Rev. gentlemen over them the same kindness and instruction." W. E. Murphy to John Haverty, December 21, 1857. (A).

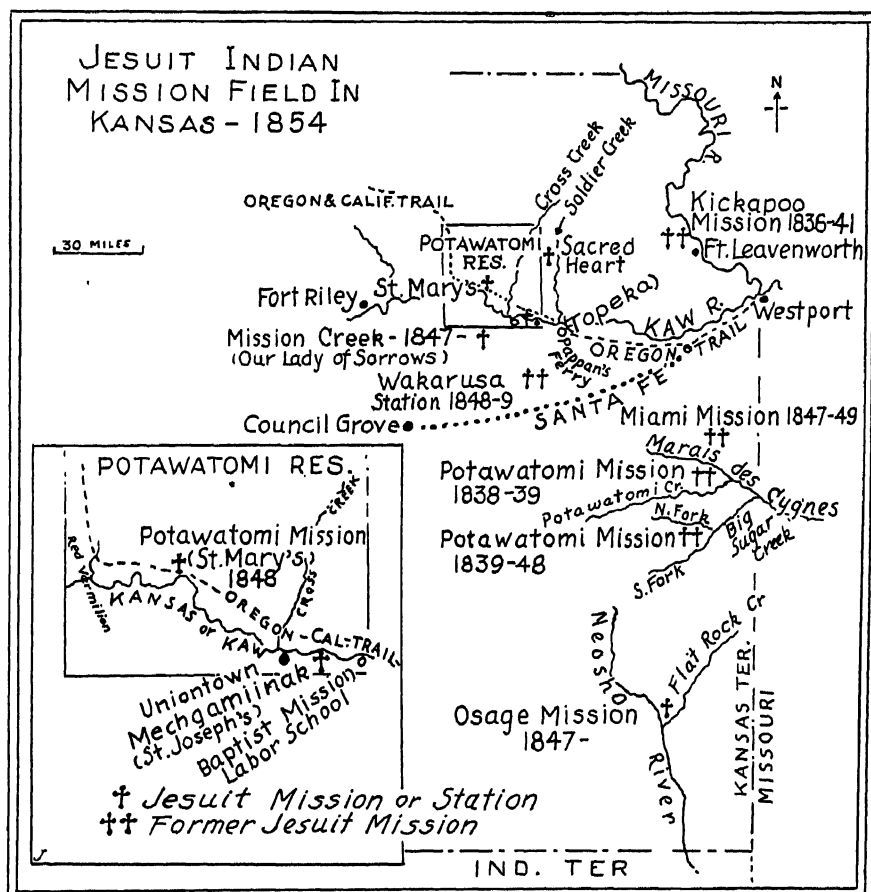
that was virtuously courageous. The infirmities to which he was subject never forced any complaint from him nor produced the least alteration in his manner. For him the winter seemed to have lost its icy rigors and summer its stifling heat. Without respite he braved the inclemencies of the seasons. We have seen him start out on a long journey in the coldest weather and continue it in the face of a freezing north wind, with the result that on arriving at the house where he intended to lodge, he found some of his members to be as hard as stone, having been stiffened by the cold; not to lose the use of them altogether he had to bathe them in ice-cold water. He neglected his sleep, he forgot his meals; he was ready for every sacrifice in the interests of his savage children. Amid so much labor and fatigue he was ever of an even temper, ever of untroubled countenance, ever patient, ever affable. Neither the pecuniary difficulties nor the embarrassments of every kind which beset him at all moments could trouble his peace of soul. The practice of humility was, so to speak, natural to him; never was pretence or affectation remarked in his manner; never did he speak a word which smacked even remotely of vanity. He knew nothing at all of those subtle allusions by which self-love seeks at times to lend importance to its personality. Although a Superior and held in high esteem by all who knew how to appreciate nice manners, he found his greatest pleasure in setting himself as the least of the domestics to the most menial tasks.¹²⁶

§ II. THE MISSION UNDER FATHER SCHULTZ

As a substitute for Father Duerinck during his expected temporary stay at Florissant, the vice-provincial had made choice of Father John Schultz, a native of Alsace, who had in his favor as a qualification for his new post a missionary experience of some six years among the Potawatomi.¹²⁷ Immediately after Duerinck's untimely death in De-

¹²⁶ *Précis Historiques* (Brussels), 7:189.

¹²⁷ John Schultz, born at Niedermorschwiller, Upper Rhine, February 2, 1816; entered the Society of Jesus, October 7, 1837; died in St. Louis, August 25, 1887. Though Father Schultz at first experienced difficulty in learning Potawatomi, he eventually mastered the language, compiling even a grammar of it, which is preserved in the Missouri Province Archives. "It looks also as though my brave Father Schultz is discouraged before the difficulties of the Potawatomie language; and verily if I were not obliged to put on a good face and inspire in him a courage which sometimes forsakes myself, I should long ago have cast to the winds any hope of learning that hopeless Potawatomie. This is altogether an occupation for the winter when we can do but little. Most of the time it is impossible to go out on account of the icy wind, which is almost constantly blowing across our prairies; moreover, the Indians for the most part are gone away, scattered in all directions on the hunt. So the rest of us during this time study, read a bit of everything, try our hands a little at all trades, mason, teacher of penmanship, arithmetic, plain-chant; each has his share and sometimes the whole business together." Miège à Beckx (undated). (AA). "The sad news of F. Duerinck's death reached us on Friday last, 18th inst. The Lord has sent a hard trial to St. Mary's



In the fifties and sixties the Jesuit Indian missionaries of Kansas operated at and from two centers, St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission and the Osage Mission. Compiled by G. J. Garraghan; drawn by J. V. Jacobsen.

ember, 1858, Father Schultz was duly constituted superior of the Potawatomi Mission. His first report to Father Beckx on conditions at St. Mary's, which is dated March 1, 1859, revealed the fact that Duerinck's business methods, though on the whole successful, left something to be desired. Father Schultz begins his report by declaring himself a novice in the art of managing a farm. There was much confusion as a result of Duerinck's sudden demise, as he died without a will. The most serious embarrassment was that resulting from the bankruptcy of a merchant with whom he had placed eight thousand dollars on deposit, money received from the government for live stock sold to the commissary department of Fort Riley. Of this sum he had withdrawn only twenty-one hundred dollars and this not in cash, but in provisions bought at prices far above their value. Another source of trouble was a steam-mill installed by Duerinck at an outlay of thirty-seven hundred dollars. Running expenses being in excess of the receipts, his successor disposed of the mill on credit, as nothing else could be done with it. The rash purchaser was now in straits and it was impossible to say when he would be able to pay for it. Father Duerinck had sold considerably to men of little or no business credit or honesty with the result that Father Schultz had to resort to law-suits to recover sums due to the Mission.

These embarrassments have led me to follow a different course from that followed by my predecessor, namely, to sell nothing on credit unless to perfectly reliable persons. Moreover, it seems to me that the money furnished by Government ought to suffice. Last year my bill to the Bureau of Indian Affairs was \$10,453.62, a modest sum when one considers that the children must be fed, clothed and instructed at the expense of the house, and yet sufficient with the resources which we derive from our live-stock, three hundred horned cattle. These are raised at little expense thanks to the great prairies which furnish rich pasturage in abundance for three seasons of the year and hay enough to keep the animals for the winter. But are we to enjoy this advantage long? Probably not. The Indians will soon have to divide part of their land and sell the surplus. Then we shall have to maintain the cattle on our own land, if we are given any, and reduce them to a number insufficient for our support. When we shall have to buy meat, the money furnished by Government will not suffice. This made my predecessor think that we should be unable to continue the schools, which are as it were the life of the Mission, unless we are given \$100 instead of

Mission. I asked Bishop Miège to send up Fr. Converse to take F. D.'s place until your Reverence sends another Superior. I feel entirely unqualified for the task—unknown to me are money and farm concerns—I am too much a foreigner to write to the Gentlemen of Washington as Superintendent of an American school—my accent is too french or german to please native ears etc." Schultz to Druyts, December 21, 1857. (A).

\$75 a year [for each pupil]. Shall we get this? It is difficult to say. If the Indians were united in our favor, yes. Unfortunately, they are neither united nor all in our favor. Some, under the influence of a Mormon minister, favor the Baptist school; others favor district-schools, as in the United States. And yet it is just that the Government accede to the demands of *our* Indians, who form the civilized and industrious part of the nation. It is not likely that the Mission will last many years. The Potawatomi are only three thousand and their number decreases yearly. The future has nothing promising for them. Hemmed in closely by the whites, they must perforce choose one of two evils, either retire to the Rocky Mountains or become farmers. In the one case they will fall in with the Sioux and Arapahoes, their enemies, and be exterminated; in the other, they will remain where they are and so be among scoundrels, who in exchange for trifles will buy their houses and farms and so reduce them to beggary.

The schools were on excellent footing. The nuns, nine in number, were doing a distinct measure of good, not only to the children, but to other persons of their sex. To find young girls neat and clean and quick to learn how to read, write, sew, crochet and embroider was not such a marvel in itself; but to find them among a people accustomed to idleness and squalor was a thing that astounded even the non-Catholic clergymen that came from time to time to visit the mission. The boys were taught to read, write and cipher. A good number of them learned to read and write well and some were able to answer rather satisfactorily questions put to them in history, geography, grammar and arithmetic. The chief obstacle to their progress was that their parents, who were exceedingly attached to their children, took them from school for weeks and months at a time. Most of the boys were too small for manual labor. To cut wood and assist the cook in winter and in summer to help the brothers who have charge of the garden and live-stock, was about all they could do. The mission-staff numbered eleven, three being priests and the rest brothers. One priest served the Indians and one the whites, who were the Americans, Irish, French and Germans residing around the mission. The third priest, the superior, helped the other two in their ministry and directed the work of the brothers. "If the good we do is modest," concludes Father Schultz, "we console ourselves with the thought that we are members of a Society whose labors are appreciated by the Vicar of Jesus Christ."¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Schultz à Beckx, March 1, 1859. (AA). "Good Father Duerinck was considered a clever man in temporal concerns—and as such he acted pretty much on his own hook, keeping his plans to himself—no doubt he has managed well,—but under the circumstances his death will bring along much trouble in the settlement of his affairs. We would like to be informed whether he had a last will? Whether you know of any payments he had to make for monies collected for others? What arrangement had he made in regard to the steam-mill? From the very start I

Somewhat over a year later, May 12, 1860, Father Schultz again reported on conditions in the mission. The Indians were fast diminishing in numbers. Game, formerly their chief means of subsistence, was lacking in the reserve and the resultant change of diet to which they were now subjected was perhaps one of the causes of the malignant fevers that decimated them. Another cause was drink. "How right were our Fathers of old in trying to forbid the whites all access to the Indian lands. Drunkenness had made frightful progress among the Indians, especially the young, since the whites had surrounded the Mission. At the same time an appreciable number of the Indians were proof against temptation and remained fervent. The church was frequented, but less than formerly, especially on week-days, since the Indians were living more scattered than ever as a result of the scarcity of food. The dispersal of the Indians also led to a reduction in the number of communions. Last year only about seventy-five hundred were counted. The baptisms of children fell in a year from two hundred and thirteen to one hundred and thirty-five. The government continued its kindly attitude towards the mission. Supplemented by a successful harvest and the revenue from the herd, the subsidy of seventy-five dollars per pupil was sufficient to meet expenses. "We try as far as possible to conform to the customs of the Society. Last fall I introduced reading and penances in the [Jesuit] refectory, previously quite neglected owing to the presence at table of strangers." Father Schultz concludes by saying that the position of the Potawatomi is after all less critical than that in which Providence has placed the Father General, reference being made

have looked upon that steam-mill speculation as out of the usual way of the Society—my candid opinion on the subject is,—sell it as quick as possible and to the best advantage to the Mission—you may find it necessary, perhaps, to bring the mill to the Mission and watch an opportunity to sell it." De Smet to Schultz, January 9, 1858. (A).

"1858, January. Trip to the saw mill on Rock Creek (Louisville). The saw put up in a wrong way and place. Cannot work. The miller has left. The engineer can but grind few bushels of corn meal to support himself. New expenses to be made." "February 9. Mill sold to Louis Vieux for \$3,378." Duerinck's Diary II. Louis Vieux (November 3, 1809—May 3, 1872), of French-Potawatomi blood, born probably near Chicago. Moved with the Prairie Potawatomi to Council Bluffs, thence to Indianola (North Topeka) and finally settled in 1847 or 1848 about fifteen miles northwest of St. Mary's on the Oregon Trail a short distance east of where it crossed the Vermilion River. Here he operated a toll bridge, furnished hay and grain to travellers, and had a stable for passing stage-coaches. He was employed as business agent and interpreter for the Potawatomi and made several trips to Washington on behalf of the tribe. He owned nearly the whole town-site of Louisville, which was named for him. On his tombstone in the old Indian cemetery about a hundred yards north of his log-cabin near the Vermilion is the inscription: "For many years one of the leaders of the Potawatomes, influential in their councils." Smith, "The Oregon Trail through Potawatomi County" in *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 17:454.

to the contemporary persecution of the Holy See by the Italians of the Risorgimento. "May the Lord keep away the storm which threatens the city of our Holy Father. We do not cease to pray to this effect and our Indians pray with us." ¹²⁹

From all accounts Father Schultz appears to have acquitted himself with more than ordinary credit as head of the mission, which continued to maintain a high level of efficiency and success. "At no former period since my connection with this Agency," reported Murphy in 1859, "has St. Mary's mission given more favorable indications of growing prosperity and future usefulness to the Indians than the present. The Superintendent, Rev. Mr. Schultz, has been connected with this mission for the last eight years; he is a gentleman possessed of energy and business habits, united with a great devotion to the true interests of the Indians, and is unremitting in his exertions to advance their spiritual and temporal welfare." ¹³⁰

In April, 1861, Father John Diels, a Belgian, then in his fortieth year, took up his duties as superior of St. Mary's in succession to Father Schultz, who in July of the same year was called to the presidency of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati. ¹³¹ In his scholastic days Diels had seen service at Sugar Creek and he came to his new charge direct from Florissant where, being in feeble health, he was carrying some light duties as instructor to the scholastics. Writing to Father Beckx, January 28, 1862, he expressed the satisfaction he felt to find the status of the mission, both spiritual and economic, *satis bonus*, a description which indicates probably a more satisfactory condition of things than the literal equivalent of the Latin terms might suggest. There were few Potawatomi around the Mission, most of the tribe being settled from seven to twenty-five miles away. Hence a difficulty in visiting and instructing them. Additional tasks had to be imposed on the coadjutor-brothers. The mission without the schools would be impossible; but these unhappily were now in danger, as the Indians in the treaty they recently made with government did not properly safeguard them. ¹³²

¹²⁹ Schultz à Beckx, May 12, 1860. (AA).

¹³⁰ Murphy to Robinson, September 10, 1859, in *RCIA*, 1859.

¹³¹ John F. Diels, born at Turnhout in Belgium, October 10, 1821; entered the Society of Jesus, October 30, 1842; died at Milwaukee, Wis., December 17, 1878.

¹³² Diels ad Beckx, January 28, 1862. (AA). "1862. April 20. Easter Sunday. Today there was an unusually large congregation. It was thought there were between 2 and 300 communions and more than 500 people at High Mass. They said there never had been a larger crowd in the church than on this happy day." "1862. July 4. Today all our school boys went on a picnic in grand style bearing the stripes and stars with drums and trumpets. They were all in good spirits and seemed to assume [*sic*] themselves perfectly well." Duerinck's Diary II. (F).

§ 12. THE COADJUTOR-BROTHERS

As in other Jesuit missions among the aborigines the successes achieved at St. Mary's were due in a considerable degree to the services rendered by zealous and devoted coadjutor-brothers. From the opening of the mission down to the seventies their roll-call includes among others the names of Andrew Mazzella, Daniel Doneen, John Duggan, Peter Karleskind, Sebastian Schlienger, Louis de Vriendt, Henry Dickneite, John Murphy, John Patton, Martin Corcoran and Peter Goodwin. Father Diels observed in his initial report to the Father General, January, 1862, that the brothers were carrying a rather excessive load of work, and yet, he added, "their great readiness for labor and prompt obedience have been no slight consolation to us." There was no tailor, shoemaker, baker, butcher, gardener, and scarcely a blacksmith in the vicinity of the mission, i.e. within a radius of twenty miles. The government subsidy was not adequate to the upkeep of the mission and many things had to be provided by the labor of the mission-staff. Hired help, especially for the farm and herd, was difficult to obtain, the Civil War being in progress at the period of Father Diels's letter, and an undue measure of labor was consequently thrown upon the brothers. "Brother Dickneite almost single-handed has to cook and bake for Ours and the domestics and the boys and all that in one and the same place and a highly uncomfortable one at that, especially in the summer time. Brothers Karleskind and Murphy superintend and watch over a large number of boys day and night besides combing and cleaning them and teaching them in school. They give the boys lessons in manual labor, generally accompany them to their tasks, and take care of their clothing and beds. And all these duties the [two] Brothers discharge with such an amount of zeal as to put our schools under great obligations to them." ¹³³

Peter Karleskind, whose important services to the mission Diels thus commended to the General, was personally known to Father De Smet, who wrote that to this fervent brother could be fittingly applied the words spoken of St. John Berchmans by his superior, "*omnia bene fecit*," "he did everything well." ¹³⁴ Whether employed as gardener, baker, refectorian, sacristan or teacher, he threw himself without reserve into the duties assigned him. He began his career as a teacher in St. Joseph's parish school in St. Louis, and continued it at St. Mary's, where for fourteen years he was prefect and teacher of the Indian boys.

¹³³ Diels ad Beckx, January 28, 1862. (AA).

¹³⁴ Peter Karleskind, born in the diocese of Nancy, France, July 10, 1803; entered the Society of Jesus, March 18, 1837; died at St. Mary's, Kansas, September 3, 1862.

He was acquainted with Latin, but was at pains to conceal the fact from others. He taught the boys during the day and took his rest near them during the night. Father Gailland, who knew Brother Karleskind intimately from long-continued association with him at St. Mary's portrayed him in a letter to De Smet:

From the class-room he accompanied them [the boys] to the playground, then to the refectory, then on their walk. Next he followed them to the dormitory. His bed-room was a little closet set in between the two children's dormitories and so narrow that he could scarcely move about in it; moreover, it was so cleverly placed that, more often than not, instead of fresh air he breathed effluvia which a squeamish person would not have endured. Further, his sleep was frequently interrupted by the cries of sick children, to whom he promptly went to bestow on them all the cares of a tender mother. He combed them, washed them, tidied their beds, rendered them services the most repugnant to nature. In his position as schoolmaster what did he not have to suffer? He was a German by origin and had to teach English and this to lads who for the most part desired nothing less than to learn.¹³⁵ How many humiliating remarks made by Ours as well as strangers on the bad pronunciation of the lads did he not have to swallow! And yet the good Brother suffered it all with patience. Not a sharp word, not a reply by way of excuse ever escaped his lips. His face wore always an expression of unalterable serenity. Asked by his superior if he were not tired of teaching, if he did not desire a change of place or office, "my only desire," he replied, "is to live and die in the place and employment to which it pleases holy obedience to assign me." His only complaint, if indeed he had any to make, was that he scarcely found time for his spiritual exercises. In conversation he never let slip a word that smacked of self-love. He received the sharpest reprimands not only without showing the least agitation, but with the liveliest sentiments of humility. Recollected, modest, mild, affable to all, the good Brother gained the esteem and affection of all who knew him. At table his moderation was extraordinary, so that one marvelled how he could keep his strength with so small an amount of nourishment. Following the counsel of St. Ignatius, he always loved poverty as his mother; one might say that he died in its arms in that little closet, which had no other ornament than the poverty of Jesus Christ.¹³⁶

Peter Karleskind was in his sixty-first year when he died at St. Mary's in the fall of 1862.

¹³⁵ The official registers of the Society enter Brother Karleskind as "a native of Lorraine."

¹³⁶ Gailland à De Smet, February 20, 1863. (A). For many years Brother Karleskind was the only teacher of the Indian boys. "Br. Peter Karleskind is an excellent man and religious, but he cannot give what he has not himself—an accurate pronunciation." Schultz to Druyt, January 4, 1858. (A).

Four years later, in 1866, death claimed two of the mission's most devoted brothers, Daniel Doneen and Sebastian Schlienger.¹³⁷ Brother Doneen, born in Ireland, was the efficient superintendent of the mission farm. He was without education, but, according to Gailland, "was endowed with a superior mind." His manners were affable to a degree and all that made his acquaintance gave him their friendship. After languishing under a protracted illness he passed away on June 7, 1866, with great peace of mind and a serene countenance.

Brother Sebastian, as he was familiarly known to his Jesuit brethren, was a Swiss who had seen service in the French army and had also been under arms in defence of his beloved Switzerland. He carried into the Society of Jesus the same ready and unquestioning obedience to which he had been trained in his military days. Father Gailland seizes upon the analogy between his career under the banner of Mars and his career under the banner of Loyola. "As formerly in his soldier life the tap of the drum found him at his post, so here at the sound of the bell he was ready for his task. The voice of the Superior stirred in him the same spirit and strength as formerly did the trumpet calling him to battle." For years Brother Sebastian was charged with the duty of giving the signals for the various community exercises. So meticulous was he in discharging this duty that he was said never to have rung the bell a minute too late. Even in his death agony he made the usual responses to the evening prayers, not forgetting to admonish the attending brother when it was time to sound the bell for one of the common exercises of the day. He lay on his deathbed, a detail that seemed significant to Gailland, not as a man about to pass away, but rather as one merely taking a casual rest.¹³⁸

Of the brothers serving St. Mary's during the mission days Andrew Mazzella was the most remarkable. From his arrival in the West in 1836 up to his death thirty-one years later, he was stationed uninterruptedly among the Indians, first among the Kickapoo and then among the Potawatomi in their successive homes at Council Bluffs, Sugar Creek and St. Mary's. He was a native of Procida, a small island in the Mediterranean, where he was born November 30, 1802. He entered the Neapolitan province of the Society in his twenty-first year and in 1833 was assigned by Father Roothaan to Maryland.

¹³⁷ Daniel Doneen, born at Carrick Well, Munster, Ireland, December 25, 1813; entered the Society of Jesus, July 31, 1841; died at St. Mary's, Kansas, June 17, 1866. Sebastian Schlienger, born at Aargau in Switzerland, January 23, 1803; entered the Society of Jesus, October 27, 1838; died at St. Mary's, Kansas, August 8, 1866.

¹³⁸ Gailland, *History of St. Mary's Mission*. (Ms.). (A.)

"Father Vespre," so the General wrote September 28 of that year to Father Dubuisson of Georgetown, "will leave the day after tomorrow together with Father Gabaria and Brother Mazella, a good Neapolitan cook, who will prepare macaroni for you in a way you never saw before. He is a good religious who for a long time has been eagerly desiring the missions, especially the difficult missions. I don't know whether Maryland will be enough for him."¹³⁹ To McSherry, the Maryland provincial, Father Roothaan wrote on the same day, informing him that Mazzella had first been destined for the mission of Mt. Lebanon in Syria and had accordingly been put for some months to the study of medicine and surgery. "For the rest, a good cook and, what is the capital thing, an excellent religious. He is granted by me to America, where he can first lend his services in the kitchen of the college [Georgetown], for the college needs help in this regard. But afterwards, in due time, when some or other Indian mission shall have been started, it is my mind that the Brother be put at its service."¹⁴⁰

When in 1836 Father Van Quickenborne solicited recruits from Maryland to enable him to begin his long-deferred mission among the Indians, he was fortunate enough to obtain two coadjutor-brothers, one of them being Mazzella. The dream of years thus realized, the brother gave himself up to the cause of missionary endeavor among the red men with a patience and zeal that never flagged. His knowledge of medicine now stood him in excellent stead and among his Jesuit associates he became known as the doctor. Gailland, who knew him intimately at St. Mary's for almost twenty years and wrote his obituary, records that he passed his long period of service among the Indians without any sign of tedium. "It would scarcely be possible to find a man more suited to this manner of life. For to a robust body he joined an eager and fervent soul and one completely subdued by divine grace. This mastery over himself he did not acquire without considerable labor. That he might come off victorious he made use of the yoke of mortification and accordingly made war upon his flesh by hair-cloth, sharp disciplines and frequent fastings. Not merely frugal in the use of food, he constantly abstained from what was most palatable." Nature had not made Andrew Mazzella mild-mannered and meek; that he became so was the result of long years of patient self-restraint. Sometimes nature got the better of him and he lapsed into faults of temper, on which occasions he would straightway break into tears and sue for pardon. "There was," so Gailland pictures him, "a noble gravity in his countenance which was stamped with a mildness that death itself

¹³⁹ Roothaan à Vespre, September 28, 1833. (AA).

¹⁴⁰ Roothaan ad McSherry, September 28, 1833. (AA).

could not efface." And so the good brother cultivated and with conspicuous success acquired the virtues that are ordinarily taken to be the hall-marks of holiness of life; patience, humility, self-sacrifice, love of prayer, other-worldliness and union with God.

As infirmarian both to the Indian boys and the mission-staff, he acquitted himself with distinction. So far above the average was his prudence and composure of mind, that, so Gailland declared, he could do the work of two, and as a matter of fact did so. He nursed the sick with the utmost devotion and tenderness. In critical cases he was with them day and night, his mere presence, his very countenance, which beamed always with kindly sympathy, almost alone sufficing to alleviate their sufferings. He himself was not without infirmities of his own, at least in the latter years of his life; but he mentioned them to no one except to superiors and never showed himself on their account less zealous in the duties assigned him. One of the brothers associated with Mazzella at St. Mary's wrote in glowing terms of his unfailing charity. "To requests on him for assistance or accommodation he was never heard to say 'no.' He was never heard to say, 'I have no time now, could you come some other time?' or 'have you leave?' He complied with each request as if he had nothing else to do at that time. The same care and attention was given to the least Indian child as to the greatest in the house, that is, the best that could be done for anyone. To see that man of noble stature and of qualities that [would] admit him to any society, stooping with a mother's care over those little abandoned children of the forest, was touching in the extreme."¹⁴¹

Such was Andrew Mazzella, whose virtues blossomed into fruit amid the Indian environment which he chose and persevered in through thirty years of his Jesuit career. Three months before it came, he predicted his approaching end. The day before he died he earnestly besought one of the brothers to watch by his bedside the following night, insisting that it was to be his last. As the night wore on, he asked repeatedly whether the clock was not soon to strike three. And so precisely at three in the morning of May 9, 1867, he passed away. "He was," concludes Gailland, "an excellent man and time shall never dim our happy memories of him or weaken the fragrance of his virtues."¹⁴² Even the little outside world that had grown up around the mission with the coming of the whites had caught favorable impressions of the personality of this humble coadjutor-brother. When the town of St. Mary was laid out, one of its streets was named Mazzella.

From the early fifties up to his death in 1883 Brother Louis De

¹⁴¹ Anonymous ms. accounts of Father Diels and Brother Mazzella drawn up by some unidentified coadjutor-brother at St. Mary's in the early nineties. (A).

¹⁴² Gailland, *op. cit.* (A).

Vriendt, a native of Belgium, knew no other place of residence than St. Mary's.¹⁴³ Probably none of the lay brothers identified by long years of service with the mission was in more intimate touch with the colorful life that ebbed and flowed around it as a center. In a manuscript biography of Father Gailland written by De Vriendt are to be found curious side lights on the history of St. Mary's available in no other source.¹⁴⁴ The brother was no master of the language of his adopted country and his literary output abounds in whimsicalities in spelling and syntax; but his data come fresh from the pen of one who know pioneer conditions at St. Mary's from actual contact and not from hearsay or otherwise at second-hand. He records his opinion, probably an unduly severe one, of the half-breeds: "no good to be expected of them; they turn their backs on Father Gailland and on Ours." He tells of the Potawatomi couple who had come up from Sugar Creek and spent their days in virginity after adopting an Indian child and rearing her until her first communion when she died in baptismal innocence. He tells, too, of the Indian brave, Old Wolf, who had fought with the British against the Americans in the War of 1812. He relates naively the career of Father Laigneil, who was one day seen in the library at St. Mary's (there was a library among the Potawatomi in the sixties) conning a book that bore the title, *Travels to California*. The next day the father was a fugitive from his community leaving his breviary behind him and a little note informing those whom it might concern that he had gone to Vermilion. And yet, comments De Vriendt, what other lot could be in store for a Jesuit who in an instruction to the brothers at St. Mary's had told them that if the rector came into the kitchen and gave orders to the brother-cook to prepare the dinner in this kettle and not in that, the brother-cook was under no obligation to obey him.^{144a} Then there is the story of Antemaso, the Indian woman whose services Gailland had utilized to correct his mistakes when he was learning Potawatomi. She could scarcely bring herself to discharge the painful task through reverence for the father. Antemaso had adopted a girl

¹⁴³ Louis De Vriendt, born at Ghent, Belgium, February 24, 1820; entered the Society of Jesus, November 12, 1840; died at St. Mary's, Kansas, April 8, 1883.

¹⁴⁴ The ms. is preserved at St. Mary's College. Numerous verbal alterations have been made in the passages here cited from the document.

^{144a} Father Aloysius Laigneil, born in Belgium in 1835, was sent by Father Murphy to St. Mary's, where he soon began to preach and hear confessions in Potawatomi. "He is a little Father full of zeal and good will, who, like the Fathers and Brothers of this house, manifests an excellent spirit." Coosemans à Beckx, May, 1863. Laigneil became disaffected for some or other reason and left the Society abruptly as is told by Brother De Vriendt. He later returned to Jesuit obedience and was stationed for a while at Leavenworth, but subsequently, about 1869, withdrew again from the Society.

by name Towcique or "Ottowa woman," "because she got her from an Otowo Indian to raise her." Now, when the girl in her maiden innocence lay dying, Gailland went to prepare her for the end. "Coming to the house he was received with great respect by the old woman. A table in the middle of the house with lighted candles, holy water, the table nicely dressed. And the old woman said 'Towcique is very sick, Father, and I hope she will die soon. I have done all that I could to raise her well for heaven and I would rejoice [if] she could die now.' " The day following Gailland's visit Towcique passed out of this life with a smile after exclaiming with uplifted hands, "heaven is sweet! I go to heaven."

On July 16, 1864, Father Francis Xavier De Coen, a Belgian, died suddenly at St. Mary's in his fifty-fourth year, having arrived at the mission only a short time before.¹⁴⁵ He had begun his missionary career in the West among the Potawatomi of Sugar Creek and now in the dispensation of Providence was also to end it among the Potawatomi. From Leavenworth, where he had been in residence with Bishop Miége at the cathedral, he went to St. Mary's in broken health to see what the environment of the mission could do to restore him. Saturday, July 16, after returning from a ride over the reservation, he withdrew to the parlor, which was next to Father Diels's room, to recite the office of the day. Having asked De Vriendt to bring him his breviary and *ordo* (or calendar for the recitation of the divine office), he remarked to the brother as he opened the latter, "what a happy day, feast of our Lady of Mount Carmel!" Only in the light of the tragic happening of the following day did the significance of the words come home to De Vriendt. On the morrow, a Sunday, as Gailland came out of church after saying the half-past six o'clock Mass, he was accosted by an Indian woman, Mrs. Lasley by name, the wife of a Canadian trader. "Is there a strange priest at the mission?" she inquired of the father. "Yes," replied Gailland, "but why ask me such a question?" "Well, last night," explained Mrs. Lasley, "when my husband and I were fast asleep, little Mary, our daughter, woke us up crying out, 'look, father and mother, the American priest at St. Mary's Mission is going up to heaven.' " Father Gailland understood at once that it must be Father De Coen. Turning to De Vriendt and some other brothers who were standing by, he bade them hurry at once to the father's room. They found it unoccupied; but entering the parlor they saw that Father De Coen had fallen over a chair with his face on the ground. The features were already turning black with the rush of blood to the

¹⁴⁵ Francis Xavier De Coen, born at Ninove in East Flanders, Belgium, December 19, 1811; entered the Society of Jesus October 19, 1843; died at St. Mary's, Kansas, July 16, 1864.

head and no signs of life could be discerned. When Diels came in after his Mass and realized that the father was dead, he broke into tears, for mutual esteem and affection in Christ had bound the two very closely together. Gailland could scarcely be consoled; but "remembering the revelation of little Mary, he said, 'the Father is happy in heaven,' and then retired to his breakfast, and so did we all." The Potawatomi turned out in numbers for Father De Coen's funeral, weeping aloud in true Indian fashion for one whom they had learned to love long years before at Sugar Creek. According to De Vriendt's account, when the news reached Bishop Miége in a letter delivered to him at Leavenworth by Brother Patton, he threw the letter on the ground, so great was his emotion to hear that one whom he called his dearest friend had been called thus suddenly. When the prelate some time after visited St. Mary's, his first wish was to be shown to De Coen's grave. Little Mary Lasley, at this time only three or four, was examined closely by Gailland as to the alleged vision; according to De Vriendt she "answered everything without agitation just like she had said to her pa and ma at the first time she saw it." The child lived to be only six, dying holily at an age when most children have scarce attained to the use of reason. There is a pen-and-ink sketch by Brother De Vriendt of the Lasley cabin, which was of logs and located about a quarter of a mile south of the mission on the road to the river.¹⁴⁶

How Father Gailland saved the lives of a band of Pawnee Indians who had been taken prisoners while attempting a horse-stealing raid on the Potawatomi reserve is told by De Vriendt with graphic detail. One Sunday evening, while the Potawatomi braves were at church, the Pawnees, some twenty in number, with bows and arrows and lariats of hide with which to secure their expected booty, made their way stealthily to the vicinity of the mission. Luckily they were discovered by a stalwart six-foot Potawatomi named Enepia, whose cabin stood on the brow of a hill about a mile and a half from the mission. A Pawnee was seen to enter a stable, come out of it with a horse and then advance unsuspectingly towards Enepia's cabin. When he was about to pass it, the Potawatomi and his son, also a stout specimen of manhood, seized him, tied him fast with his own lariat and cast him into their stable. Then the rest of the Pawnee as they filed one by one at intervals in front of Enepia's cabin were captured in turn by the two Potawatomi, until the whole band was coralled in the stable, which was then securely locked. The incident became almost immediately known at the mission, probably before the Indian congregation had dispersed after the evening services. Gailland, fearing that the extreme penalty would be

¹⁴⁶ The sketch is in the brother's ms. biography of Father Gailland. (F).

visited upon the captives, pleaded with the Potawatomi chief, Wewesa, to show them mercy. The chief, so De Vriendt describes him, measured only four and a half feet in height, and "about eighty pounds in weight, for I weighed him myself, . . . his little hands being nothing but skin and bones." "He was an exemplary Christian; he was every day at Mass, said his beads on the road and communicated twice a week." To Gailland's plea the chief rejoined that, if he consulted his own wishes, he would pardon the culprits; but the Pawnee had broken their treaty with the Potawatomi; if they came to steal, they might at another time come to kill. In a word, the lives of his people were not safe at their hands and his tribesmen might demand that an example be made of the captured Pawnee. He must therefore as chief be guided in the matter by the verdict of his councilmen and braves.

On Monday the culprits were arraigned before the council, which assembled directly in front of the chief's cabin. The verdict was for death. During the proceedings Father Gailland, mounted on horseback, was hiding behind the cabin, but in a position where he could hear distinctly what was going on. The death-sentence was no sooner pronounced than he quickly rode from behind the house and appeared in front exclaiming *bo jo!*, which is Potawatomi for "how do you do!," whereat the whole council broke into a laugh. Then he asked the chief, "on whom have you pronounced sentence of death?" "On these Pawnee Indians," replied the chief. "They have trespassed on our lands and property, they have stolen our horses and broken the treaty we have made with them; we have decided to pardon them no further; they must die." "Wait a while," spoke Gailland, "and listen to me. You are all my children and so are they. Who will say that I am not your Father and theirs? You shall not kill any of mine. If you take a hair from their heads, you take it from mine; if you hurt them, you hurt me. Remember you have many times broken the treaty you have made with Almighty God by offending Him much worse than by stealing a horse. Perhaps you have stolen many a soul from Almighty God by committing sin and by giving scandal. Have you not trespassed often on God's property and has He not always pardoned you?" There was a pause, after which in a loud and trembling voice Gailland made a solemn plea for mercy: "I ask you to pardon them." On the instant the council with one voice answered back, "we pardon them." "Then," continued the priest, "untie them, give them something to eat and let them go." Then addressing the Pawnee, he said: "I have delivered your bodies from your enemies. Go home and tell your chiefs what I have done for your bodies, but tell them to come and see me that I may deliver their souls and yours from our enemy, the devil, and say also to your chiefs that they must come and make up with the chief and

councilmen of the Potawatomi." Having knelt and bowed their heads in token of gratitude to the father, the liberated Pawnee were off in high spirits to their homes.

Some time later the Pawnee chiefs came to the mission and were received with great hospitality by Father Gailland. They were particularly pleased with their visit to the school and marvelled that so many children could be kept quiet under a single chief, as they called the teacher. The outcome was that some thirty Pawnee children were soon entered in the mission school, one of the number, a boy, being adopted by the Potawatomi chief, whose example was followed by other of the mission Indians. Four Pawnee chiefs and six or eight children of their tribe at the school were subsequently instructed and baptized. All in all it was a signal triumph for Father Gailland, whose previous efforts to get into touch with the elusive Pawnee had come to nothing.

§ 13. THE MISSION IN THE LITERATURE OF TRAVEL

The oldest road through central Kansas, Indian trails apart, was probably the one laid out by John C. Frémont, "the Pathfinder," in the course of his western expedition of 1842.¹⁴⁷ He and his men crossed the Kaw at the site of the future Uniontown, below St. Mary's, on the only rock ford on the river, and passed up the north bank to the mouth of the Vermilion, where Louis Vieux, the pioneer white (or rather mixed-blood) resident of Pottawatomie County afterwards settled down. Frémont's road formed part of the Oregon Trail and when California travel started over it in 1849 it became known also as the California Trail. The military road laid out in 1852 between Forts Riley and Leavenworth followed the California Trail up to Louis Vieux's place at the Vermilion, where the government built the first bridge in Pottawatomie County. In 1856 Thomas H. Gladstone, a correspondent of the London *Times*, passed over the Fort Riley Road. "It may be, however, that the traveller wishes to strike for the West, in which case he may follow upward the course of the Kansas River by old Fort Riley Road, passing St. Mary's Catholic Mission, crossing the Vermilion and Big Blue Rivers and glancing at a few small villages founded by Free-State settlers until he reaches Pawnee and Fort Riley at the confluence of the Smoky Hill and Republican Forks."¹⁴⁸ Known successively as the Oregon Trail, the California Trail and the Fort Riley Military Road, this most historic of the western highways of middle Kansas bears today the name Bertrand Avenue as it runs through the

¹⁴⁷ *Record* (Westmoreland, Kans.), July 18, 1906. The statement has not been verified.

¹⁴⁸ Thomas H. Gladstone, *Kansas; or Squatter Life and Border Warfare in the Far West* (London, 1857), p. 164.

prosperous little town of St. Marys. It passes directly in front of St. Mary's College on a line parallel with the façade of the faculty building and distant only about two hundred feet from the college infirmary. Its course at this point is identical with that which it took when first laid out and along its beaten path have passed explorer, trader, prospector, homesteader, gold-seeker and missionary, all contributing their measure to that vast output of human enterprise and effort that has gone to the making of the Great West.¹⁴⁹

Set thus on a highly traversed trail between the Missouri River and the Far West, St. Mary's Mission came to meet with frequent notice in the literature of pioneer Kansas travel. Probably the earliest mention of it by a transient was penned by an English traveller, William Kelly, who passed through the Potawatomi reserve in 1849. The "minister" referred to in his account was apparently Father Verreydt or Father Gailland. "There is a French Catholic Mission at the extremity of the vale—the most advanced post of Christianity on the prairie, where the worthy minister has established a school in the little log chapel and as I entered I found him in the midst of his half-tamed scholars, laboring to impart the blessings of education with a fervid zeal emanating from the purest sources of philanthropy without any worldly incentive to feed it or any reward but the consolation of a happy conscience."¹⁵⁰ In October, 1853, John C. Frémont was a visitor at St. Mary's as he records in his memoirs:

¹⁴⁹ "1849. May 9. Since the beginning of this month countless wagons, horses, and men have passed by [St. Mary's] on their way to new California, spreading about counterfeit money, stealing horses, etc." Gailland's Diary (Latin). (F). "On went the wagons through the present Rossville, where they were joined by those that crossed at Uniontown; and then to St. Mary's where in 1847 [1848] the Catholics established a Mission. Here the trail left the river, and running northwestwardly reached the Little (or Red) Vermilion, 119 miles from Independence, at [near to] the present Louisville, where in later times after Fort Riley was built the Leavenworth trail ran off to the Southwest." Ghent, *The Road to Oregon* (New York, 1929), p. 125. Cf. also W. E. Smith, "The Oregon Trail through Potawatomi County" in *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 17: 534-464. Besides the Oregon-California-Fort Riley Road, another road known as the "Parallel" was laid out through Pottawatomie County in the early fifties. It formed part of the Pike's Peak Trail.

¹⁵⁰ William Kelly, J.P., *An excursion to California over the Prairie, Rocky Mountains and Great Sierra Nevada with a stroll through the diggings and ranches of that country* (London, 1851), 1: 62. Kelly has a description of Uniontown (1: 59). "The trading-post is a small hamlet composed of some half-dozen shops and a little straggling suburb of wigwams. The shops are kept by white men, licensed to supply the Indians around with the flimsy, fantastic and trumpery articles they require, liquor being specially interdicted, and properly so. But the same kindly solicitude that prohibits the sale of spirits should take some measure to protect those unsophisticated people from the gross extortions, the vile impositions practiced on

In the fall of 1853 on an overland journey I spent a day at the Catholic station of St. Mary's on the Kansas River among the Pottawatamie Indians. Under the impression of what I saw I wrote then in my note-book as follows:

October 25. Went to Uniontown and nooned. This is a street of log-cabins. Nothing to be had here. Some corn for our animals and a piece of cheese for ourselves. Lots of John Barleycorn, which the men about were consuming. Uniontown is called a hundred miles from Kansas.

October 26. High wind and sleet. Clouds scudding across the sky. About two o'clock we reached the pretty little Catholic Mission of St. Mary's. The well-built, white-washed houses with the cross on the spire showing out above them was already a very grateful sight. On the broad bottoms immediately below are the fields and houses of the Pottawatamie Indians. Met with a hospitable reception from the head of the Mission [Father Duerinck]. A clear sky promises a bright day for tomorrow. Learned here some of the plants which are medicinal among the Indians. Among them *Asarum Canadense*—jewel weed—a narcotic; and *Oryngium Aquaticum*, the great remedy of the Pottawatamies for snakebites.¹⁵¹

October 27. White frost covers the ground this morning. Sky clear and air still. With bowls of good coffee and excellent bread made a good breakfast. We already begin to appreciate food. Prepared our luggage, threw into the wagon the provisions obtained here and at ten o'clock took leave of the hospitable priests and set out. I was never more impressed by the efficiency of well-directed and permanent missionary effort than here at this far-off mission settlement, where the progress and good order strike forcibly as they stand in great contrast with the neighboring white settlement [Uniontown].¹⁵²

Max Greene, traveller from the East, noted in the mid-fifties how the very name, St. Mary's, lent a poetic charm to the wilderness. "Near the last named locality stands the Catholic Mission, a not ineffective institution. Its farms are in a flourishing condition. This is known as St. Mary: the one golden word of poesy; sacred in art as in religion and beautiful wherever the beautiful is adored. It is meet that the chime of Sabbath bells should give the music of that holy name to the winds."¹⁵³

them in those establishments, into which the whole of the Indian pension money finds its way. Gaudy patterns of flimsy calico, rating as high as the richest satin; saddles, bridles and spurs of the very commonest kind fetching a higher price than padded quilted articles of the same manufacture; and beads, rings, whistles and little looking-glasses, all selling on the same rates. They give them out on credit till the quarter-day comes around, when the poor Indian punctually hands over his pension to those unconscionable harpies."

¹⁵¹ Father Duerinck was an accomplished botanist.

¹⁵² John Charles Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago, 1887), p. 28.

¹⁵³ Max Greene, *The Kansas Region* (New York, 1856), p. 45. Greene has another allusion to St. Mary's (p. 140): "St. Mary's on the Kansas, fifty-one miles

Travellers' guide-books of the period necessarily made mention of the mission. It is enough to quote from one, Redpath and Hinton's *Handbook to Kansas Territory and The Rocky Mountain Gold Region*: "St. Mary's Mission is in this reserve. It is under the charge of Father Duerinck and is conducted by the Jesuits. It is a noble monument to them. The Indians whom they have instructed in the arts of agriculture and civilized life are as intelligent and have as comfortable homes as the pioneer whites. The Catholic Mission Farm in one year cultivated sixty acres of oats, forty of corn and six of potatoes. Their horned stock number 250 head—eighty cows, fifteen yoke of oxen, forty two-year old steers; the balance, young cattle raised at the Mission. The uncivilized portion of the Pottawatomies live in the rudest style, are filthy, lazy and ignorant; but they claim, as we are informed by the Indian interpreter, that they are the lineal descendants of the lost tribes of Israel [p. 49]."

The Hon. Grantley F. Berkeley, an Englishman who went out to shoot buffalo on the plains, was a visitor at St. Mary's in the summer of 1859. He was well equipped for the business as he had with him, according to his account, "baggage-wagon, ambulance and dog-cart." "A bed to sleep on being far preferable to a wagon and having heard from the officers' ladies at Fort Riley that there was a very nice, clean and attentive female at Pottowadomy, who kept a lodging-house on the hill," he decided to share her hospitality. He made a call on Father Schultz, presented him with some cans of preserved fish, asked his blessing, and invited him to pay him a visit at his lodging. He thought the mission a quite characteristic piece of Catholic enterprise as he noted down in his journal on reaching St. Louis. "In St. Louis the Roman Catholics are numerically powerful and very rich and nothing proves more the never-failing desire of those religionists to push the interests of their faith wheresoever they can obtain a footing than the fact of their French Indian settlement on the prairies, 'Pottowaddami,' so pronounced, at which I rested one night on my return from Fort Riley." ¹⁵⁴

below Fort Riley, is the largest Catholic school in the territory and is under admirable regulations. It aims at the evangelizing of the Pottawatomies." Cf. also Duerinck in *RCIA*, 1853: "The Catholic Mission is said to be the most lovely spot in the Indian country. The mission-buildings, with the adjacent trading houses, groups of Indian improvements and extensive corn fields, all give it the appearance of a town. Some people think that if Nebraska be organized as a Territory, St. Mary's ought to be the capital. Steamboats will certainly ascend the Kansas next spring, come up to our landing, discharge freight and make us forget that we live in the Indian country."

¹⁵⁴ Grantley F. Berkeley, *The English Sportsman in the Western Prairies* (London, 1861), pp. 321, 374.

on this occasion was an occupant of the first stage to run from Leavenworth to Denver. The stage, drawn by four mules, was a Concord coach, and made the distance of 687 miles in what was considered the remarkably short time of ten days. Greeley and other journalists of the party were given free transportation, the occasion being the inauguration of the Butterfield Overland Despatch Route.¹⁵⁹

§ 14. POTAWATOMI NOTABLES

Not a few of the Indians of St. Mary's Mission could show some or other link of association with events of interest in western, and particularly Chicago history. Two main groups, as has already been indicated, made up the tribe, the Council Bluffs or the Prairie band, sometimes, even officially, designated as the Chicago Potawatomi, and the Michigan-Indiana or Wabash and St. Joseph bands. "It is an interesting reflection that the Society of Jesus, which gave Chicago its first priest in the person of Father Marquette and its first resident pastor in the person of the Miami missionary, Father Pinet, found itself for years the spiritual guardian [at St. Mary's Mission] of the Potawatomi Indians, the immediate predecessors of the whites in the occupation of the Chicago terrain and a picturesque factor in the pioneer social life of the future metropolis."¹⁶⁰ The site of Chicago had in fact been ceded by the Potawatomi to the federal government in the Treaty of Greenville, 1795. Belonging to the so-called "Chicago" group were Half Wolf, who had fought on the British side in the War of 1812 and was given the last rites of the Church by Father Gailland; Half Day, who with Joseph Lafromboise signed the Potawatomi petition of 1848 for Catholic schools and whose name is borne by a village on the Chicago-Libertyville auto highway; the Wilmots or Wilmettes, children by his Potawatomi wife, Archange, of Antoine Ouilmette, modern Chicago's reputed first white resident, whose name is perpetuated in the city's north-shore suburb, Wilmette, a one-time possession of his wife under government treaty; Medard or Madore Beaubien, son of Jean Baptiste Beaubien by the Ottawa mixed-blood, Josette Lafromboise. Beaubien's claim to a large section of "downtown" Chicago is a *cause célèbre* among American land-suits. When the case was hearing,

(New York, 1860). For contemporary press notices of St. Mary's Mission, cf. E. Harold Young, "Contemporary References to St. Mary's Mission" in *Mid-America*, 17: 84-103 (1935).

¹⁵⁹ Frank A. Root and William E. Connelly, *The Overland Stage to California: Personal Reminiscences and Authentic History of the Great Overland Stage Line and Pony Express from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean* (Topeka, 1901),

p. 154.

¹⁶⁰ Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, p. 89.

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Madore Beaubien was called upon in the little town of Silver Lake, some twelve miles east of St. Mary's, to give testimony in favor of his father's claim. Madore gave the land on which Silver Lake is laid out and was three times mayor of the town. "Long" John Wentworth, Chicago's pioneer mayor, said of Madore Beaubien that he had "the reputation of being the handsomest man that was ever in this city. . . . He gave as reason for abandoning Chicago, where he was a merchant, that he would rather be a big Indian than a little white man."¹⁶¹

Another "Chicago" Potawatomi of tribal celebrity was Pierre Le Clerc (Pierish or Perish La Clair or Le Clair), who in 1833 with other Chicago Catholics petitioned the Bishop of St. Louis for a resident priest. He was present at the Fort Dearborn massacre of 1815 at Chicago and in the capacity of interpreter arranged the terms of the surrender. He was an orator and in that capacity was in Washington in 1845 to discuss the cession of the Iowa reserve to the government.¹⁶² Le Clerc died on the Kaw River reserve March 28, 1849, attended in his last moments by Father Hoecken of St. Mary's. Joseph Lafromboise or Laflomboise put his mark as a principal chief to the Potawatomi treaty of 1861. Originally from Milwaukee, he was of mixed French and Indian blood, was one of the petitioners in 1833 for a resident priest in Chicago, and took a leading part in negotiating the Potawatomi treaty of that year. "The Prairie and Lake Indians recognize Caldwell, Robinson, and [Joseph] Lafromboise as their principal men, in whom they have unlimited confidence and in whose decision in all matters relating to their people they fully acquiesce; and to use their own language they wish their Great Father, the President, and Secretary of War to permit no interference with the treaty of Chicago as far as it relates to the country ceded west of Lake Michigan."¹⁶³ Chief Lafromboise was among the petitioners in 1848 for Catholic schools for the Potawatomi and in 1862 his mark was the first affixed to the Potawatomi memorial to the government requesting for St. Mary's Mission a title in fee-simple to a half-section of land.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ *Idem*, p. 92.

¹⁶² Richard Smith Elliot, *Notes Taken in Sixty Years* (St. Louis, 1883), p. 208.

¹⁶³ T. J. V. Owen to Cass, November 17, 1834, cited in Garraghan, *op. cit.*,

p. 57.

¹⁶⁴ A muster-roll of the "Putawatomi Indians within the Osage River Sub-Agency," dated October 14, 1842, shows the following English and French names: Laurence, Samuel, Joseph, Louis and Angelique Bertrand, Thomas Evans, Andrew Fuller, Eliva Bourassa, Mary Nadeau, Peter Moose, Lazarus Winchell, Joel W. Barrow, S. A. Howard, Andrew Jackson, John S. Mason, R. M. Johnson, John Tipton, Baptiste Dutrois, Louis McNeff and Miss Burnett. (H). Not all of these were Catholics.

The Michigan-Indiana band had fewer celebrities from an historical point of view than the "Chicago" band. Probably the most prominent members of the former group of Potawatomi were the Bertrands, of mixed French and Indian blood. The town of Bertrand on the Michigan-Indiana line and Bertrand Avenue in St. Marys perpetuate the name. Benjamin or "Beny" Bertrand was the chosen representative of the Catholic Indians in 1867 to defend the interests of the mission at Washington; the names of other members of the family will be found occurring at intervals in the pages of this history. John Tipton, an Indiana mixed-blood Potawatomi, rendered long-continued and important services to the mission as school-teacher and interpreter.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ The post-office spelling of the town that grew up around the mission is "St. Marys." All references by name to the mission itself follow the spelling "St. Mary's."

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